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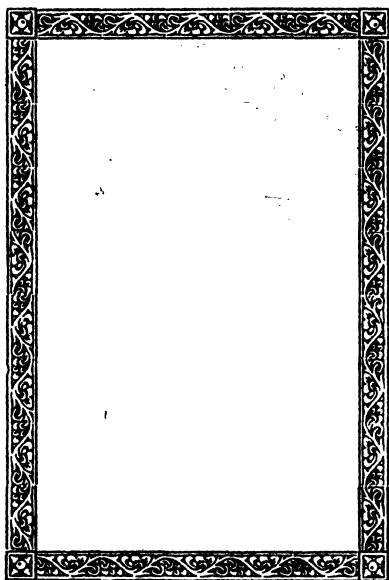
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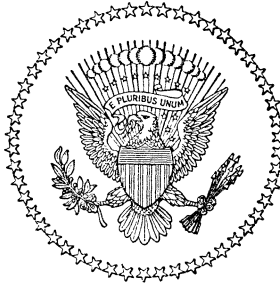
Lyndon B. Johnson

*Containing the Public Messages, Speeches, and
Statements of the President*

1967

(IN TWO BOOKS)

BOOK I—JANUARY 1 TO JUNE 30, 1967



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FOREWORD

THE PAPERS in this volume reflect a difficult year for the American people.

It was not unexpected. The challenges that faced Americans were, for the most part, clear at the beginning of the year. Our men were facing the threat of intensified aggression in Vietnam, with little prospect that the enemy would choose to negotiate a settlement of the war. At home, Americans faced racial turmoil and sharp dissent.

The perils were plain. They were complicated by the understandable desire of many Americans for fast, simple solutions to our tedious and complex problems.

The papers in this volume reflect one Administration's effort to pursue a balanced course that would neither escalate the war in Vietnam, nor sacrifice American interests in Southeast Asia; that would neither permit anarchy to rule America's cities, nor invite the suppression of civil liberties.

In Vietnam, we persevered in a measured, limited war—and by the end of the year had further reduced the possibility that North Vietnam might take over the South by force.

At home, we continued our efforts to provide decent conditions of life for Americans of every station, every race, every region. Vital expenditures for the poor, for aid to education, for health, for welfare, were increased.

The minimum wage was increased; legislation providing for increased social security payments was introduced, as was the first major federal effort aimed at crime control. New consumer protection laws were passed, and the District of Columbia was granted a limited form of home rule.

Foreword

Other major new advances—passed by the previous session of Congress—became part of the ordinary operations of government. The first anniversary of Medicare was celebrated on July 1—and the program was providing effective protection for more than 20 million elderly Americans. The prediction that the 90th Congress would dismantle the bold new efforts of the 89th Congress proved unfounded.

With it all, the nation moved into its seventh consecutive year of prosperity. Americans enjoyed higher incomes than ever before. The number who still lived in poverty continued to decline—though poverty remained the nation's principal domestic problem.

No year is entirely predictable. The Six Day War in the Middle East erupted, threatening to involve more than just the nations of the region. The "hot line" between Washington and Moscow was used for the first time, in an effort to clarify the intentions of both nations.

The Middle East crisis gave me an opportunity to meet Chairman Kosygin of the U.S.S.R. in Glassboro, N.J. We emerged from our talks, if not with agreement on the issues that divide us, at least with a fuller understanding of our respective positions.

Certainly the most graphic evidence that the United States and the Soviet Union can cooperate in some areas involved the agreement we reached on a draft nuclear non-proliferation treaty. The ultimate promulgation of that treaty will, I believe, reduce the danger of a world-wide nuclear catastrophe.

It is far too early to judge the events of 1967, or the quality of our response to them.

But I would risk this tentative assessment of our work in this year: we did much of what we wanted to do—and, I believe, all of what we had to do.



PREFACE

IN THIS VOLUME are gathered most of the public messages and statements of the 36th President of the United States that were released by the White House in 1967. Similar volumes are available covering the period November 22, 1963–December 31, 1966, and the administrations of Presidents Truman, Eisenhower, and Kennedy. A volume covering the year 1968 is under preparation.

The series was begun in 1957 in response to a recommendation of the National Historical Publications Commission. An extensive compilation of the messages and papers of the Presidents, covering the period 1789 to 1897, was assembled by James D. Richardson and published under congressional authority between 1896 and 1899. Since that time various private compilations were issued, but there was no uniform, systematic publication comparable to the *Congressional Record* or the *United States Supreme Court Reports*. Many Presidential papers could be found only in mimeographed White House releases or as reported in the press. The National Historical Publications Commission therefore recommended the establishment of an official series in which Presidential writings and utterances of a public nature could be made promptly available.

The Commission's recommendation was incorporated in regulations of the Administrative Committee of the Federal Register issued under section 6 of the Federal Register Act (44 U.S.C. 306). The Committee's regulations, establishing the series and providing for the coverage of prior years, are reprinted at page 1227 as "Appendix D."

Preface

CONTENT AND ARRANGEMENT

The text of this book is based on Presidential materials issued during the period as White House releases and on transcripts of news conferences. Original source materials, where available, have been used to protect against errors in transcription. A list of White House releases from which final selections were made is published at page 1197 as "Appendix A."

Proclamations, Executive orders, and similar documents required by law to be published in the *Federal Register* and *Code of Federal Regulations* are not repeated. Instead, they are listed by number and subject under the heading "Appendix B" at page 1219.

The President is required by statute to transmit numerous reports to Congress. Those transmitted during the period covered by this volume are listed at page 1225 as "Appendix C."

The items published in this volume are presented in chronological order, rather than being grouped in classes. Most needs for a classified arrangement are met by the subject index. For example, a reader interested in veto messages sent to Congress during 1967 will find them listed in the index under the heading "veto messages."

The dates shown at the end of item headings are White House release dates. In instances where the date of the document differs from the release date that fact is shown in brackets immediately following the heading. Other editorial devices, such as text notes, footnotes, and cross references, have been supplied where needed for purposes of clarity.

Remarks or addresses were delivered in Washington, D.C., unless otherwise indicated. Similarly, statements, messages, and letters were issued from the White House in Washington unless otherwise indicated.

The planning and publication of this series is under the direction of

Preface

David C. Eberhart of the Office of the Federal Register. The editor of the present volume was Warren R. Reid, assisted by Dorothy G. Chance. Dorothy P. Territo, Staff Assistant to the President, and William J. Hopkins, Executive Assistant to the President, provided aid and counsel in the selection and annotation of the materials. Frank H. Mortimer of the Government Printing Office developed the typography and design.

JAMES B. RHOADS

Archivist of the United States

LAWSON B. KNOTT, Jr.

Administrator of General Services

November 1968

CONTENTS

Book I

	<i>Page</i>
FOREWORD	V
PREFACE	VII
LIST OF ITEMS	XIII
PUBLIC PAPERS OF LYNDON B. JOHNSON, JANUARY I–JUNE 30, 1967 . . .	I
INDEX	A–I

Book II

LIST OF ITEMS	VII
PUBLIC PAPERS OF LYNDON B. JOHNSON, JULY I–DECEMBER 31, 1967 . .	67I
<i>Appendix A</i> —White House Releases	1197
<i>Appendix B</i> —Presidential Documents Published in the Federal Register	1219
<i>Appendix C</i> —Presidential Reports to the Congress	1225
<i>Appendix D</i> —Rules Governing This Publication	1227
INDEX	A–I

LIST OF ITEMS, Book I

	<i>Page</i>
1 Remarks to the Lyndon B. Johnson Australian Science Scholars. January 5, 1967	1
2 Statement by the President on the Death of Representative John E. Fogarty of Rhode Island. January 10, 1967	2
3 Annual Message to the Congress on the State of the Union. January 10, 1967	2
4 Statement by the President Upon Announcing the Appointment of a Commission on Codes, Zoning, Taxation and Development Standards. January 12, 1967	14
5 Remarks at the Swearing In of Alan S. Boyd as Secretary of the New Department of Transportation. January 16, 1967	15
6 The President's News Conference of January 17, 1967	16
7 The President's Toast at a Dinner Honoring the Vice President, the Speaker, and the Chief Justice. January 17, 1967	26
8 Letter Accepting Resignation of John T. Connor as Secretary of Commerce. January 18, 1967	28
9 Remarks Upon Presenting the Medal of Honor to Maj. Bernard F. Fisher, USAF. January 19, 1967	28
10 Message to the Congress Transmitting Second Annual Report on the International Coffee Agreement. January 19, 1967	30
11 Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House Recommending Extension of the Appalachian Program. January 20, 1967	31
12 Special Message to the Congress Proposing Programs for Older Americans. January 23, 1967	32

List of Items, Book I

	<i>Page</i>
13 Annual Budget Message to the Congress, Fiscal Year 1968. January 24, 1967	39
14 Letter to the Speaker of the House Requesting Supplemental Appropriations in Support of Military Operations in South- east Asia. January 24, 1967	61
15 Annual Message to the Congress on the District of Columbia Budget. January 25, 1967	62
16 Annual Message to the Congress: The Economic Report of the President. January 26, 1967	72
17 Toasts of the President and President-Elect Costa e Silva of Brazil. January 26, 1967	89
18 Remarks at the Signing of the Treaty on Outer Space. Janu- ary 27, 1967	91
19 Statement by the President on the Death of Astronauts Virgil I. Grissom, Edward H. White 2d, and Roger B. Chaffee. January 27, 1967	92
20 Special Message to the Congress: Protecting Our Natural Heritage. January 30, 1967	93
21 The President's Remarks Upon Being Advised That He Would Receive the Franklin D. Roosevelt Birthday Memorial Award. January 30, 1967	103
22 Memorandum Urging Support of the Red Cross by Federal Employees and Members of the Armed Forces. January 30, 1967	104
23 Remarks to the Members of the United States Jaycees Gov- ernmental Affairs Seminar. January 31, 1967	104
24 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report on U.S. Aeronautics and Space Activities. January 31, 1967	107
25 Special Message to the Congress: American's Servicemen and Veterans. January 31, 1967	108

List of Items, Book I

	<i>Page</i>
26 Statement by the President on the Message on America's Servicemen and Veterans. January 31, 1967	113
27 Letter on Law Enforcement in the District of Columbia. January 31, 1967	113
28 Remarks Upon Accepting a Portrait of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. January 31, 1967	115
29 Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker Proposing To Add the San Rafael Wilderness, California, to the National Wilderness Preservation System. February 1, 1967	116
30 Remarks at a Ceremony Marking the Effective Date of the Increase in Minimum Wages. February 1, 1967	117
31 Letter to the Secretary of Commerce Concerning a Report on the Environmental Science Services Administration. February 1, 1967	119
32 Remarks at the Presidential Prayer Breakfast. February 2, 1967	119
33 Special Message to the Congress on Food for India and on Other Steps To Be Taken in an International War on Hunger. February 2, 1967	121
34 The President's News Conference of February 2, 1967	128
35 Special Message to the Congress on Crime in America. February 6, 1967	134
36 Statement by the President on the Message on Crime in America. February 6, 1967	145
37 Remarks Upon Presenting the National Medal of Science Awards for 1966. February 6, 1967	146
38 Special Message to the Senate on Transmitting the Treaty on Outer Space. February 7, 1967	147

List of Items, Book I

	<i>Page</i>
39 Special Message to the Congress Recommending a 12-Point Program for America's Children and Youth. February 8, 1967	150
40 Statement by the President on the Message on America's Children and Youth. February 8, 1967	160
41 Remarks to a Group of Boy Scouts Following Their Presentation of the Scouts' Annual "Report to the Nation." February 8, 1967	161
42 The President's Reply to a Message From Pope Paul VI on Vietnam. February 8, 1967	162
43 Remarks of Welcome at the White House to King Hassan II of Morocco. February 9, 1967	162
44 Special Message to the Congress on Foreign Aid. February 9, 1967	164
45 Statement by the President on the Foreign Aid Message. February 9, 1967	172
46 Toasts of the President and King Hassan II of Morocco. February 9, 1967	173
47 Statement by the President on Announcing an Agreement With Mexico on the Rio Grande Saline Problem. February 10, 1967	175
48 Statement by the President Concerning the Report "The Space Program in the Post-Apollo Period." February 11, 1967	175
49 Remarks at a Ceremony at the Lincoln Memorial. February 12, 1967	176
50 Statement by the President on the Resumption of Bombing in North Vietnam. February 13, 1967	178
51 Remarks of Welcome at the White House to Haile Selassie, Emperor of Ethiopia. February 13, 1967	179

List of Items, Book I

	<i>Page</i>
52 Toasts of the President and the Emperor of Ethiopia. February 14, 1967	180
53 Message to the Congress Transmitting First Annual Report of the National Endowment for the Arts. February 15, 1967	182
54 Message to the Congress Transmitting First Annual Report of the National Endowment for the Humanities. February 15, 1967	183
55 Special Message to the Congress on Equal Justice. February 15, 1967	184
56 Statement by the President on the Message on Equal Justice. February 15, 1967	195
57 Special Message to the Congress "To Protect the American Consumer." February 16, 1967	196
58 Statement by the President on the Message on Consumer Protection. February 16, 1967	206
59 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report of the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. February 17, 1967	206
60 Statement by the President Concerning the Report of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice. February 18, 1967	208
61 Presidential Unit Citation Awarded to the 21st Tactical Air Support Squadron, USAF. February 20, 1967	209
62 Statement by the President on the Death of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer. February 20, 1967	209
63 Remarks at a White House Luncheon for Farm Leaders. February 20, 1967	210
64 Message to the Delegates to the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee. February 21, 1967	213

List of Items, Book I

	<i>Page</i>
65 Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House Transmitting a Proposal To Modernize the Patent System. February 21, 1967	214
66 Statement by the President Announcing the New Freedom Share Savings Notes. February 21, 1967	216
67 Statement by the President on the 50th Anniversary of the Smith-Hughes Vocational Education Act. February 23, 1967	217
68 Remarks at Ceremony Marking the Ratification of the Presidential Inability (25th) Amendment to the Constitution. February 23, 1967	217
69 Statement by the President on the Death of Roy Roberts. February 24, 1967	218
70 The President's News Conference of February 27, 1967	219
71 Special Message to the Congress: The Nation's Capital. February 27, 1967	226
72 Special Message to the Congress Transmitting Reorganization Plan 1 of 1967, Functions Relating to Ship Mortgages. February 27, 1967	239
73 Remarks at a Press Briefing by David Lilienthal and Robert Komer Following Their Return From Vietnam. February 27, 1967	240
74 Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House on Executive Order 11322 "Trade and Other Transactions Involving Southern Rhodesia." February 27, 1967	242
75 Statement by the President on the Death of Henry Luce. February 28, 1967	243
76 Statement by the President Upon Recommending Development of a Nuclear-Powered Rocket Engine and New Nuclear Research Facilities. February 28, 1967	243

List of Items, Book I

	<i>Page</i>
77 Special Message to the Congress: "Education and Health in America." February 28, 1967	244
78 Statement by the President on His Message on Education and Health. February 28, 1967	258
79 The President's Remarks to the Press Upon Announcing His Intention To Nominate Ramsey Clark as Attorney General. February 28, 1967	258
80 The President's News Conference of March 2, 1967	259
81 Remarks at a Ceremony Marking the 100th Anniversary of Howard University. March 2, 1967	263
82 Remarks on the Occasion of the Centennial of the United States Office of Education. March 2, 1967	265
83 Letter to Senator Jackson Concerning the Bombing of North Vietnam. March 2, 1967	267
84 Message to the People of Puerto Rico on the 50th Anniversary of the Granting of United States Citizenship. March 2, 1967	270
85 Statement by the President Announcing the Appointment of a Commission To Study the Federal Budget. March 3, 1967	270
86 Statement by the President Announcing the Appointment of Miss Betty Furness as Special Assistant for Consumer Affairs. March 4, 1967	271
87 Statement by the President Upon Appointing the National Advisory Council on Economic Opportunity. March 4, 1967	272
88 Statement by the President Announcing a Series of Actions To Encourage Housing Construction. March 4, 1967	273
89 Memorandum "Economic Planning for the End of Vietnam Hostilities." March 5, 1967	274

List of Items, Book I

	<i>Page</i>
90 Message to the Congress Transmitting the Fifth Annual Report of the Peace Corps. March 6, 1967	275
91 Special Message to the Congress Transmitting a Report on the Community Work and Training Program. March 6, 1967	276
92 Special Message to the Congress on Selective Service. March 6, 1967	277
93 Remarks at the Seventh Annual Federal Woman's Award Ceremony. March 7, 1967	288
94 Message to the Senate Transmitting the Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs, 1961. March 8, 1967	290
95 Letter Concerning the Progress Report by the Federal Woman's Award Study Group. March 8, 1967	290
96 Message to the Congress Transmitting Third Joint Annual Report on the National Wilderness Preservation System. March 8, 1967	291
97 Remarks at the Swearing In of James J. Reynolds as Under Secretary and Thomas R. Donahue as Assistant Secretary of Labor. March 8, 1967	292
98 Statement by the President on a Budget Amendment Reducing Funds Proposed for the Atomic Energy Commission. March 9, 1967	293
99 Special Message to the Congress Transmitting Reorganization Plan 2 of 1967: United States Tariff Commission. March 9, 1967	294
100 Message to the Congress Transmitting 20th Annual Report on U.S. Participation in the United Nations. March 9, 1967	295
101 Message to the Congress Transmitting First Report on Marine Resources and Engineering Development. March 9, 1967	298

List of Items, Book I

	<i>Page</i>
102 Remarks Upon Awarding the Medal of Honor to Specialist 6 Lawrence Joel, USA. March 9, 1967	299
103 Special Message to the Congress Recommending Reinstatement of the Investment Tax Credit and Accelerated Depreciation Investment Incentives. March 9, 1967	301
104 The President's News Conference of March 9, 1967	303
... Statement by the President on the Message on Reinstatement of Investment Incentives	303
105 Remarks at the Swearing In of Ramsey Clark as Attorney General. March 10, 1967	312
106 Remarks Upon Presenting the Presidential Unit Citation to the 3d Aerospace Rescue and Recovery Group, Military Airlift Command. March 10, 1967	315
107 Letter to Harry S. Truman on the 20th Anniversary of the Truman Doctrine. March 11, 1967	316
108 Message to King Constantine of Greece on the 20th Anniversary of the Truman Doctrine. March 11, 1967	317
109 Message to President Sunay of Turkey on the 20th Anniversary of the Truman Doctrine. March 11, 1967	318
110 Special Message to the Congress on the Latin American Summit Meeting. March 13, 1967	318
111 Remarks of Welcome at the White House to Prime Minister Chung of Korea. March 14, 1967	325
112 Toasts of the President and Prime Minister Chung. March 14, 1967	327
113 Joint Statement Following Discussions With Prime Minister Chung of Korea. March 14, 1967	329
114 Special Message to the Congress: America's Unfinished Business, Urban and Rural Poverty. March 14, 1967	331

List of Items, Book I

	<i>Page</i>
115 Remarks at the Hermitage at Ceremonies Marking the 200th Anniversary of the Birth of Andrew Jackson. March 15, 1967	346
116 Address on U.S. Policy in Vietnam Delivered Before a Joint Session of the Tennessee State Legislature. March 15, 1967	348
117 Remarks in Columbia, Tenn., at the Dedication of Columbia State Community College. March 15, 1967	354
118 Statement by the President Upon Signing Bill Authorizing Supplemental Appropriations for the Department of Defense. March 16, 1967	356
119 Statement by the President Following Senate Approval of the Consular Convention With the U.S.S.R. March 16, 1967	356
120 Statement by the President Announcing the Release of Deferred Funds for Federal Programs. March 17, 1967	357
121 Special Message to the Congress: The Quality of American Government. March 17, 1967	358
122 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report Under the Communications Satellite Act. March 17, 1967	368
123 Remarks at a White House Conference With the Governors. March 18, 1967	369
124 Remarks at the Governors' Luncheon. March 18, 1967	372
125 The President's Toast at a Dinner for the Governors. March 18, 1967	374
126 Remarks at the Airport Upon Arrival in Guam for Discussions on Vietnam. March 20, 1967	375
127 Remarks of Welcome to Chairman Thieu and Prime Minister Ky Upon Their Arrival in Guam. March 20, 1967	377
128 Remarks at the Opening Session of the Guam Conference. March 20, 1967	378

List of Items, Book I

	<i>Page</i>
129 Statement by the President on the New Constitution Adopted by the Constituent Assembly of the Republic of Vietnam. March 20, 1967	379
130 Toasts of the President and Chairman Thieu at a Dinner in in Guam. March 20, 1967	380
131 Joint Statement Following the Meeting in Guam With Chairman Thieu and Prime Minister Ky. March 21, 1967	381
132 The President's News Conference in Guam Following the Conference. March 21, 1967	382
133 Statement by the President Following a Meeting With the High Commissioner of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. March 21, 1967	387
134 Remarks at the Airport Upon Departing From Guam. March 21, 1967	388
135 Remarks at Andrews Air Force Base Near Washington Upon Returning From the Guam Conference. March 21, 1967	389
136 Letter to Ho Chi Minh Proposing Bilateral Discussions on the Vietnam Conflict. March 21, 1967	390
137 Message to the Congress Transmitting First Annual Report on the Operation of the Automotive Products Agreement With Canada. March 22, 1967	392
138 Statement by the President Upon Signing Order Providing Emergency Feed for Livestock Owned by Indians in Disaster Areas. March 22, 1967	392
139 Memorandum on Aircraft Noise and Land Use in the Vicinity of Airports. March 22, 1967	392
140 Statement by the President on the Cost of the Pay Increase for Federal Employees and Military Personnel. March 23, 1967	393

List of Items, Book 1

	<i>Page</i>
141 The President's Birthday Greetings to General Westmoreland. March 23, 1967	394
142 Statement by the President on the Swearing In of William Roth as Special Representative for Trade Negotiations. March 24, 1967	394
143 Remarks of Welcome at the White House to Prime Minister Maiwandwal of Afghanistan. March 28, 1967	395
144 Toasts of the President and Prime Minister Maiwandwal. March 28, 1967	396
145 Joint Statement Following Discussions With the Prime Minister of Afghanistan. March 28, 1967	399
146 Remarks to the Delegates to the National Conference on Crime Control. March 28, 1967	400
147 Statement by the President Concerning the Report on the Relationship Between the CIA and Private Voluntary Organizations. March 29, 1967	403
148 Remarks to the Directors of the State Departments of Commerce. March 29, 1967	404
149 Statement by the President Upon Signing Order "Effective Date of Department of Transportation Act." March 30, 1967	406
150 Remarks at a Dinner for the Democratic State Chairmen. March 30, 1967	407
151 Remarks Upon Arrival in Texas With Latin American Ambassadors for a Weekend Visit. March 31, 1967	409
152 Proclamation 3774, Pan American Day and Pan American Week, 1967. April 1, 1967	409
153 Statement by the President Upon Signing Resolution Providing Additional Emergency Food for India. April 1, 1967	411

List of Items, Book I

	<i>Page</i>
154 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report of National Capital Transportation Agency. April 3, 1967	412
155 Remarks of Welcome at the White House to President Sunay of Turkey. April 3, 1967	412
156 Remarks at a Ceremony Marking the 50th Anniversary of the Federal Land Banks. April 3, 1967	414
157 Statement by the President Reviewing Actions Taken To Carry Out Recommendations of the White House Conference on International Cooperation. April 3, 1967	416
158 Toasts of the President and President Sunay of Turkey. April 3, 1967	418
159 Statement by the President Stating His Objections to Restrictive Provisions in a Supplemental Appropriations Bill. April 4, 1967	421
160 Remarks at a Ceremony Honoring the Winners of the Fourth Annual Physical Fitness Leadership Awards. April 4, 1967	421
161 Remarks to Directors and Managers of the Veterans Administration. April 4, 1967	423
162 Joint Statement Following Discussions With President Sunay of Turkey. April 4, 1967	425
163 Special Message to the Congress on Federal Pay and Postal Rates. April 5, 1967	427
164 Statement by the President Upon Announcing Allocation of Funds for Educational Opportunity Grants to College Students. April 5, 1967	430
165 Message to the Congress Transmitting 16th Annual Report of the National Science Foundation. April 6, 1967	431
166 Remarks Upon Presenting the Medal of Honor Posthumously to Specialist 4 Daniel Fernandez, USA. April 6, 1967	433

List of Items, Book I

	<i>Page</i>
167 Remarks at a Press Briefing Following a Meeting With the NATO Nuclear Planning Group. April 7, 1967	435
168 Statement by the President Upon Signing Order Establishing the Commission on Postal Organization. April 8, 1967	436
169 Remarks of Welcome to the Vice President Upon His Return From Europe. April 10, 1967	437
170 Special Message to the Congress on the Impending Nationwide Rail Strike. April 10, 1967	439
171 Remarks Upon Arrival in Uruguay for the Punta del Este Meeting of American Chiefs of State. April 11, 1967	442
172 Statement by the President on the Joint Resolution Extending the "No Strike" Period in the Railroad Dispute. April 11, 1967	442
173 The President's Toast at the Dinner in Punta del Este, Uruguay, for the Presidents of Central American States. April 11, 1967	443
174 Statement by the President Upon Signing Bill Extending the "No Strike" Period in the Railroad Dispute. April 12, 1967	444
175 Statement by the President at an Informal Meeting With the American Chiefs of State at Punta del Este, Uruguay. April 12, 1967	444
176 Remarks in Punta del Este at the Public Session of the Meeting of American Chiefs of State. April 13, 1967	446
177 Statement by the President Following the Close of the Meeting of American Chiefs of State at Punta del Este, Uruguay. April 14, 1967	449
178 Remarks at the Airport in Paramaribo, Surinam, During the Return From the Meeting at Punta del Este. April 14, 1967	451

List of Items, Book I

	<i>Page</i>
179 Message to the Congress Transmitting First Annual Report of the Department of Housing and Urban Development. April 17, 1967	451
180 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report of the National Capital Housing Authority. April 17, 1967	453
181 Statement by the President on the Death of Konrad Adenauer. April 19, 1967	454
182 Remarks Upon Presenting the National Teacher of the Year Award. April 19, 1967	454
183 Statement by the President Concerning a Report on the Teacher Corps. April 20, 1967	455
184 Statement by the President Upon Signing Order Providing Further Training for Government Employees. April 20, 1967	456
185 Message to the Congress Transmitting First Annual Report of the National Advisory Council on Extension and Continuing Education. April 21, 1967	457
186 Memorandum on Air Pollution. April 21, 1967	458
187 Statement by the President on Offering Assistance Following Tornadoes in the Midwest. April 22, 1967	460
188 Statement by the President Upon Receiving Report of Special Panel To Investigate the Railroad Labor Dispute. April 22, 1967	460
189 Telegram to the Governors Inviting Them to a Luncheon Honoring General Westmoreland. April 24, 1967	462
190 Message to President Podgorny on the Death of Soviet Cosmonaut Vladimir Komarov. April 24, 1967	462
191 Exchange of Remarks With Chancellor Kurt Kiesinger Following Discussions in Bonn. April 26, 1967	462
192 Remarks to Members of the American Physical Society. April 26, 1967	463

List of Items, Book I

	<i>Page</i>
193 Remarks at the Dedication of the Crossland Vocational Center, Camp Springs, Maryland. April 27, 1967	465
194 Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House Urging Further Extension of the "No Strike" Period in the Railroad Dispute. April 28, 1967	468
195 Remarks at a Luncheon for General Westmoreland. April 28, 1967	469
196 The President's Introduction of Martha Raye at the Luncheon for General Westmoreland. April 28, 1967	477
197 Statement by the President Upon Authorizing Construction of a Prototype Supersonic Transport Aircraft. April 29, 1967	478
198 Statement by the President on the Preservation of the Egyptian Abu Simbel Temples. April 29, 1967	479
199 Annual Message to the Congress: The President's Manpower Report. May 1, 1967	479
200 Remarks at the Swearing In of Betty Furness as Special Assistant to the President for Consumer Affairs. May 1, 1967	488
201 Remarks at the Reception for the 1966-1967 White House Fellows. May 1, 1967	489
202 Remarks Upon Presenting the Medal of Honor Posthumously to Staff Sgt. Peter S. Connor, USMC. May 2, 1967	492
203 Letter to the President of the Senate Requesting Supplemental Appropriations for Summer Youth Programs. May 2, 1967	494
204 The President's News Conference of May 3, 1967	496
205 Remarks to the State Directors of the Selective Service System. May 3, 1967	503
206 Remarks at a Dinner Honoring John W. McCormack, Speaker of the House of Representatives. May 3, 1967	505

List of Items, Book I

	<i>Page</i>
207 Special Message to the Congress Recommending Procedures To Complete Collective Bargaining in the Railway Labor Dispute. May 4, 1967	506
208 Special Message to the Congress Transmitting Reports on Incentive Awards to Military Personnel. May 4, 1967	510
209 Statement by the President on the "Share Your Summer" Program for Disadvantaged Children. May 5, 1967	511
210 Remarks in Austin, Texas, at the Unveiling of a Bust of Former Mayor Tom Miller. May 6, 1967	512
211 Remarks at a Reception for Participants in the Conference on Women in the War on Poverty. May 8, 1967	514
212 Remarks of Welcome at the White House to Vice President Yen of the Republic of China. May 9, 1967	518
213 Toasts of the President and Vice President Yen. May 9, 1967	520
214 Statement by the President Upon Authorizing an Agreement for a Worldwide Drug Reaction Monitoring System. May 9, 1967	521
215 Letter to the Secretary, HEW, Delegating Authority in Connection With the Worldwide Drug Reaction Monitoring System. May 9, 1967	522
216 Remarks at the Democratic Congressional Dinner. May 9, 1967	522
217 Statement by the President on the Proposed International Center for Advanced Study in the Health Sciences. May 10, 1967	524
218 Statement by the President Upon Signing Bill Authorizing Increased Appropriations for the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. May 10, 1967	525
219 Joint Statement Following Discussions With Vice President Yen of the Republic of China. May 10, 1967	526

List of Items, Book I

	<i>Page</i>
220 Message to the Congress Transmitting 15th Semiannual Report of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. May 11, 1967	527
221 Remarks to the Lawyers Conference on Crime Control. May 13, 1967	528
222 Remarks in Windsor Locks, Connecticut, at the New England Governors Conference. May 15, 1967	531
223 Press Briefing With the Governors Following the New England Governors Conference. May 15, 1967	532
224 Statement by the President on the General Agreement Reached in the Kennedy Round Trade Negotiations at Geneva. May 16, 1967	540
225 The President's News Conference of May 18, 1967	541
226 Presidential Unit Citation Awarded to the 1st Squadron, 4th Cavalry, 1st Infantry Division, USA. May 19, 1967	548
227 Remarks Upon Signing Bill Providing for a Desalting Plant in Southern California. May 19, 1967	550
228 Remarks to State Committeemen and Executive Directors of the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service. May 19, 1967	551
229 Proclamation 3785, Prayer for Peace, Memorial Day, 1967. May 22, 1967	554
230 Remarks to Delegates to the International Conference on Water for Peace. May 23, 1967	555
231 Remarks Upon Presenting Presidential "E" Awards for Excellence in Developing New Markets for Exports. May 23, 1967	558
232 Statement by the President Upon Signing Order Establishing the President's Advisory Council on Cost Reduction. May 23, 1967	560

List of Items, Book I

	<i>Page</i>
233 Statement by the President on Rising Tensions in the Near East. May 23, 1967	561
234 Remarks to a Group of Visiting Japanese Governors. May 24, 1967	563
235 Statement by the President Upon Awarding the Distinguished Service Medal to Maj. Gen. James W. Humphreys, Jr., USAF. May 24, 1967	564
236 Special Message to the Congress on Election Reform: The Political Process in America. May 25, 1967	565
237 Remarks in Montreal Upon Visiting EXPO '67. May 25, 1967	574
238 Remarks in Montreal Upon Presenting the United States Gift to the People of Canada. May 25, 1967	575
239 Press Briefing in Montreal With Prime Minister Pearson of Canada. May 25, 1967	576
240 Memorandum on the Need for Action To Prevent Oil Pollution of Coastal Waters. May 26, 1967	577
241 Remarks at the Christening of the Aircraft Carrier U.S.S. <i>John F. Kennedy</i> . May 27, 1967	579
242 Statement by the President Upon Signing Bill Establishing the John Fitzgerald Kennedy National Historic Site. May 27, 1967	580
243 Exchange of Memorial Day Messages With Chairman Thieu of the Republic of Vietnam. May 30, 1967	580
244 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report of the Railroad Retirement Board. May 31, 1967	581
245 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report on Special International Exhibitions. May 31, 1967	582

List of Items, Book I

	<i>Page</i>
246 Remarks of Welcome at the White House to Prime Minister Holt of Australia. June 1, 1967	583
247 Special Message to the Congress Transmitting Reorganization Plan 3 of 1967: Government of the District of Columbia. June 1, 1967	585
248 Toasts of the President and Prime Minister Holt of Australia. June 1, 1967	589
249 Remarks of Welcome at the White House to Prime Minister Wilson of the United Kingdom. June 2, 1967	591
250 The President's Toast at a Dinner Honoring Prime Minister Wilson of the United Kingdom. June 2, 1967	592
251 Remarks in New York City at the New York State Democratic Dinner. June 3, 1967	593
252 Statement by the President Upon Appointing the President's Committee on Urban Housing. June 3, 1967	596
253 Statement by the President on the Need for Legislation To Prevent or Minimize Electric Power Blackouts. June 6, 1967	597
254 Statement by the President on the United Nations Security Council's Cease-Fire Vote in the Middle East Situation. June 6, 1967	598
255 Statement by the President Upon Establishing the National Security Council Special Committee on the Middle East. June 7, 1967	599
256 Toasts of the President and of President Banda of the Republic of Malawi. June 8, 1967	599
257 Letter to Senator Mansfield on the Situation in the Middle East. June 8, 1967	602

List of Items, Book I

	<i>Page</i>
258 Remarks at the Swearing In of Vicente T. Ximenes as a Member of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. June 9, 1967	603
259 Memorandum Establishing the Inter-Agency Committee on Mexican American Affairs. June 9, 1967	605
260 Message to the Congress Transmitting 11th Annual Report of the Surgeon General. June 12, 1967	606
261 Remarks to the National Legislative Conference, Building and Construction Trades Department, AFL-CIO. June 12, 1967	607
262 Remarks at the Graduation Ceremony of the Capitol Page School. June 13, 1967	610
263 Remarks to the Press Announcing the Nomination of Thurgood Marshall as Associate Justice of the Supreme Court. June 13, 1967	611
264 The President's News Conference of June 13, 1967	612
265 Statement by the President on Accident Prevention in the Federal Government. June 13, 1967	617
266 Remarks at a Reception for the Presidential Scholars. June 13, 1967	618
267 Remarks to Delegates to the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association Youth Conference. June 14, 1967	620
268 Remarks at the Swearing In of Alexander B. Trowbridge as Secretary of Commerce. June 14, 1967	625
269 Remarks to the Press Announcing the Nomination of Warren Christopher as Deputy Attorney General. June 15, 1967	626
270 Remarks at a Democratic Party Dinner in Austin, Texas. June 16, 1967	627

List of Items, Book I

	<i>Page</i>
271 The President's Foreword to the Report of the World Food Panel of the President's Science Advisory Committee. June 17, 1967	629
272 Address at the State Department's Foreign Policy Conference for Educators. June 19, 1967	630
273 The President's Telegram to His Daughter Luci on the Birth of His Grandson Patrick Lyndon Nugent. June 21, 1967	635
274 Letter Requesting a Study of the Status and Needs of American Museums. June 21, 1967	635
275 Remarks Upon Presenting the Young American Medals for Bravery and Service. June 21, 1967	636
276 Remarks to Members of the National Council on Crime and Delinquency. June 21, 1967	637
277 Message to the Congress Transmitting the Second Annual Report of the Office of Economic Opportunity. June 22, 1967	640
278 The President's Toast at a Luncheon Honoring Visiting Danish, Italian, and British Leaders. June 22, 1967	641
279 The President's Toast at a Luncheon Honoring Chairman Kosygin of the Soviet Union, Glassboro, New Jersey. June 23, 1967	643
280 Remarks Following the President's First Meeting With Chairman Kosygin at Glassboro, New Jersey. June 23, 1967	644
281 Remarks at a President's Club Dinner in Los Angeles. June 23, 1967	645
282 Remarks Following the President's Second Meeting With Chairman Kosygin at Glassboro, New Jersey. June 25, 1967	650
283 The President's Remarks Upon Arrival at the White House Following the Glassboro Meetings With Chairman Kosygin. June 25, 1967	651

List of Items, Book I

	<i>Page</i>
284 Statement by the President Upon Signing Bill Providing Funds for Saline Water Conversion Research. June 26, 1967	653
285 Statement by the President Upon Signing the Mental Health Amendments of 1967. June 26, 1967	653
286 Remarks in Baltimore to Delegates to the National Convention of the United States Jaycees. June 27, 1967	654
287 Statement by the President Upon Providing for Emergency Relief Assistance for War Victims in the Middle East. June 27, 1967	660
288 Memorandum on the Fundraising Campaign in Federal Agencies in the Washington Metropolitan Area. June 27, 1967	660
289 Remarks of Welcome at the White House to the King and Queen of Thailand. June 27, 1967	661
290 Toasts of the President and the King of Thailand. June 27, 1967	662
291 Remarks in Philadelphia at the Opportunities Industrialization Center. June 29, 1967	664
292 Statement by the President Upon Signing Bill Extending and Enlarging the Teacher Corps. June 29, 1967	668
293 Joint Statement Following Discussions With the King of Thailand. June 29, 1967	668
294 Statement by the President Upon Signing Proclamation Reducing the Level of Dairy Imports. June 30, 1967	669
295 Statement by the President Upon Receiving the First Annual Report of the Citizens' Advisory Committee on Recreation and Natural Beauty. June 30, 1967	670

LIST OF ITEMS, Book II

	<i>Page</i>
296 Remarks to the Conference of Democratic Governors in St. Louis. July 1, 1967	671
297 The President's News Conference in St. Louis Following the Democratic Governors Conference. July 1, 1967	673
298 Statement by the President on the First Anniversary of Medicare. July 1, 1967	678
299 Statement by the President Upon Signing the Older Americans Act Amendments of 1967. July 1, 1967	680
300 Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House Transmitting a Report on Strip and Surface Mining. July 3, 1967	681
301 Statement by the President: Independence Day. July 4, 1967	682
302 Presidential Unit Citation Awarded to the 8th Airborne Battalion, Airborne Division, Army of the Republic of Vietnam. July 5, 1967	683
303 Statement by the President on the Agreement With Mexico for an International Flood Control Project on the Tijuana River. July 6, 1967	684
304 Statements by the President on Federal Assistance Programs for College Students. July 8, 1967	684
305 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report of the Commodity Credit Corporation. July 11, 1967	685
306 Toasts of the President and Former Chancellor Erhard of Germany. July 11, 1967	686

List of Items, Book II

	<i>Page</i>
307 Statement by the President Urging Congressional Support of the Reorganization Plan for the District of Columbia. July 11, 1967	687
308 Remarks Upon Presenting the Distinguished Service Medal to Adm. David L. McDonald. July 13, 1967	688
309 The President's News Conference of July 13, 1967	690
310 Letter to the Speaker of the House and to the Senate Majority Leader on the Railroad Strike. July 17, 1967	696
311 Statement by the President Upon Signing Joint Resolution To Provide for Settlement of the Railroad Strike. July 17, 1967	698
312 The President's News Conference of July 18, 1967	699
313 Toasts of the President and President Asgeirsson of Iceland. July 18, 1967	705
314 Message to the Congress Transmitting National Science Foundation Report on Weather Modification. July 19, 1967	707
315 Remarks at an Award Ceremony in Connection With the Federal Employee Savings Bond Program. July 19, 1967	708
316 Statement by the President on the Death of John T. McNaughton. July 19, 1967	709
317 Statement by the President on Announcing the Recipients of the President's Award for Distinguished Federal Civilian Service. July 19, 1967	710
318 Statement by the President on the Failure of the House To Act on the Rat Extermination Act. July 20, 1967	710
319 Remarks Following a Tour of Inspection at the National Institutes of Health, Bethesda, Maryland. July 21, 1967	711
320 Statement by the President on the Death of Carl Sandburg. July 22, 1967	714

List of Items, Book II

	<i>Page</i>
321 Telegram in Reply to Governor Romney's Request for Federal Troop Assistance in Detroit. July 24, 1967	714
322 Remarks to the Nation After Authorizing the Use of Federal Troops in Detroit. July 24, 1967	715
323 Remarks to the Delegates to Boys Nation. July 26, 1967	717
324 Remarks at the Department of Defense Cost Reduction Ceremony. July 27, 1967	718
325 Telegram to Governor Romney and Mayor Cavanagh in Reply to Their Request for Disaster Relief Assistance in Detroit. July 27, 1967	720
326 The President's Address to the Nation on Civil Disorders. July 27, 1967	721
327 Remarks Upon Signing Order Establishing the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. July 29, 1967	724
328 The President's News Conference of July 31, 1967	726
329 Special Message to the Congress: The State of the Budget and the Economy. August 3, 1967	733
330 The President's News Conference on the Tax Message. August 3, 1967	740
331 Remarks to the Press After a Meeting With Cyrus Vance and General Throckmorton on the Situation in Detroit. August 3, 1967	746
332 Remarks to the Delegates to Girls Nation. August 4, 1967	748
333 Remarks at the Swearing In of Clifford L. Alexander as Chairman, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. August 4, 1967	750
334 Presidential Unit Citation Awarded the 2d Battalion (Airborne), 503d Infantry, 173d Airborne Brigade (Separate), USA, and Attached Units. August 4, 1967	751

List of Items, Book II

	<i>Page</i>
335 Remarks at the Swearing In of Warren Christopher as Deputy Attorney General of the United States. August 5, 1967	752
336 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report of the Atlantic-Pacific Interoceanic Canal Study Commission. August 8, 1967	753
337 Letter to the Speaker of the House Urging Support of the Reorganization Plan for the District of Columbia. August 8, 1967	754
338 Letter to Senate and House Committee Chairmen Recommending Measures To Expand the Guaranteed Loan Program for College Students. August 9, 1967	755
339 Statement by the President Following Action in the House of Representatives on the Reorganization Plan for the District of Columbia. August 9, 1967	757
340 Remarks to the Press Following a Meeting With the U.S. Representative to the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee in Geneva. August 11, 1967	757
341 Statement by the President on the New Government of the District of Columbia. August 11, 1967	758
342 Statement by the President Upon Announcing the Appointment of the Members of the Consumer Advisory Council. August 11, 1967	758
343 Veto of a Bill To Increase Life Insurance Coverage for Government Employees, Officials, and Members of Congress. August 12, 1967	759
344 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report on the International Educational and Cultural Exchange Program. August 14, 1967	761
345 Statement by the President Upon Directing Expanded Efforts To Assist Returning Veterans To Find Suitable Employment. August 14, 1967	762

List of Items, Book II

	<i>Page</i>
346 Special Message to the Congress on Communications Policy. August 14, 1967	763
347 Remarks of Welcome at the White House to Chancellor Kiesinger of Germany. August 15, 1967	771
348 Remarks of the President and Chancellor Kiesinger Report- ing to the Press on Their Meeting. August 15, 1967	773
349 Toasts of the President and Chancellor Kiesinger of Ger- many. August 15, 1967	774
350 Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House Recommending Legislation To Provide for an Elected School Board in the District of Columbia. August 16, 1967	776
351 Joint Statement Following Discussions With Chancellor Kiesinger of Germany. August 16, 1967	778
352 Remarks Upon Presenting the Vietnam Civilian Service Awards. August 16, 1967	779
353 Letter to the Senate Majority Leader Urging Enactment and Funding of Programs for the Cities. August 16, 1967	782
354 Statement by the President: Labor Day. August 16, 1967	783
355 Memorandum to Secretary Weaver on the Need for a Pilot Program To Stimulate Private Enterprise in Low-Income Housing. August 17, 1967	784
356 Toasts of the President and President Houphouet-Boigny of the Ivory Coast. August 17, 1967	785
357 Remarks at a Ceremony in Observance of the Sixth An- niversary of the Alliance for Progress. August 17, 1967	787
358 The President's News Conference of August 18, 1967	788
359 Statement by the President Upon Signing Bill Extending the Urban Studies Fellowship Program. August 19, 1967	796

List of Items, Book II

	<i>Page</i>
360 Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House on the Status of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. August 21, 1967	797
361 Remarks Upon Presenting the Medal of Honor to Gun- nery Sgt. Jimmie E. Howard, USMC. August 21, 1967	798
362 Statement by the President Upon Signing Appropriations Bill for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. August 21, 1967	800
363 Remarks of Welcome at the White House to the Shah of Iran. August 22, 1967	801
364 Toasts of the President and His Imperial Majesty Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, Shah of Iran. August 22, 1967	803
365 Remarks to Participants in the 12th Annual Program of the Council of International Programs for Youth Leaders and Social Workers. August 23, 1967	805
366 Joint Statement Following Discussions With the Shah of Iran. August 23, 1967	806
367 Statement by the President on the Eighteen-Nation Disarma- ment Committee's Draft Treaty on Nuclear Nonprolifera- tion. August 24, 1967	807
368 Message on the Death of Henry J. Kaiser. August 25, 1967	808
369 Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House Transmitting Final Report on Earthquake Recovery Assistance to Alaska. August 28, 1967	808
370 Statement by the President Following Senate Committee Action on the Model Cities and Rent Supplement Programs. August 28, 1967	809
371 Remarks at a News Briefing Following the Announcement of the Creation of a New International Monetary Reserve Asset. August 28, 1967	810

List of Items, Book II

	<i>Page</i>
372 Statement by the President Upon Directing the Development of a New Community on the Site of the National Training School in Washington. August 30, 1967	812
373 Remarks at a Meeting With the President's Committee on Mental Retardation To Receive the Committee's First Report. August 30, 1967	812
374 Remarks Upon Signing the Veterans' Pension and Readjustment Assistance Act of 1967. August 31, 1967	814
375 The President's News Conference of September 1, 1967	816
... Statement by the President on Authorizing an Agreement Providing for Additional Wheat Shipments to India	823
376 Statement by the President: Labor Day, 1967. September 2, 1967	825
377 Statement by the President on His Intention To Nominate Walter E. Washington and Thomas W. Fletcher as Commissioner of the District of Columbia and Assistant to the Commissioner. September 6, 1967	826
378 Statement by the President Upon Signing Bill To Strengthen the College Work-Study Program. September 7, 1967	827
379 Memorandum on Employee-Management Cooperation in the Federal Government. September 8, 1967	828
380 Excerpts From Remarks at a Meeting With Insurance Executives To Discuss Their Plans for Participation in Urban Programs. September 13, 1967	829
381 The President's Toast at a Luncheon Honoring the Japanese Cabinet Ministers Attending the Meeting of the Joint U.S.-Japan Committee on Trade and Economic Affairs. September 13, 1967	830
382 Remarks in Kansas City, Missouri, at the Meeting of the International Association of Chiefs of Police. September 14, 1967	831

List of Items, Book II

	<i>Page</i>
383 Citation Accompanying National Security Medal Awarded Posthumously to Desmond FitzGerald. September 15, 1967	836
384 Remarks Upon Presenting the Presidential Unit Citation to the 1st Cavalry Division (Airmobile) and Attached Units. September 15, 1967	837
385 Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House of Representatives Urging Enactment of Gun Control Legislation. September 15, 1967	839
386 The President's Remarks at a News Briefing by Members of the Special Railroad Board on Their Final Recommendations. September 15, 1967	841
387 Remarks at the Memorial Service for Carl Sandburg. September 17, 1967	841
388 Remarks at "Employer of the Year" Ceremony Honoring Outstanding Employers of the Handicapped. September 18, 1967	843
389 Remarks of Welcome at the White House to President Saragat of Italy. September 18, 1967	844
390 Joint Statement Following Discussions With the President of Italy. September 19, 1967	845
391 Toasts of the President and President Saragat of Italy. September 19, 1967	846
392 Letter to the Secretary of Transportation on the Need for Expanding and Improving the Air Traffic Control System. September 20, 1967	848
393 Remarks to Representatives of National Voluntary Organizations Concerned With Consumer Interests. September 22, 1967	849
394 Remarks Upon Signing Bill Authorizing U.S. Contribution to the Inter-American Development Bank. September 22, 1967	851

List of Items, Book II

	<i>Page</i>
395 Remarks at a Luncheon Honoring the Foreign Ministers Attending a Meeting of the Organization of American States. September 22, 1967	853
396 Statement by the President Upon Announcing Appointments to the National Advisory Council Authorized by the Education Professions Development Act of 1967. September 22, 1967	854
397 Remarks to Representatives of National Fraternal Organizations. September 22, 1967	855
398 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report of the Saint Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation. September 25, 1967	857
399 Letter to the Chairman, Senate Committee on the District of Columbia, on the Need for an Elected School Board in Washington. September 26, 1967	858
400 Remarks of Welcome at the White House to President Diori of the Republic of Niger. September 26, 1967	859
401 Special Message to the Congress Proposing a U.S. Contribution to the "Special Funds" of the Asian Development Bank. September 26, 1967	860
402 Remarks Recorded in Connection With the 1968 United Community Campaigns of America. September 26, 1967	864
403 Toasts of the President and President Diori of the Republic of Niger. September 26, 1967	865
404 Remarks to the Press by the President and Foreign Secretary George Brown of the United Kingdom Following Their Meeting. September 27, 1967	866
405 Remarks Upon Signing Bill To Extend the Food Stamp Act of 1964. September 27, 1967	867

List of Items, Book II

	<i>Page</i>
406 Remarks at the Swearing In of Walter E. Washington and Thomas W. Fletcher as Commissioner of the District of Columbia and Assistant to the Commissioner. September 28, 1967	868
407 Remarks Upon Presenting the Medal of Honor to Sgt. David C. Dolby, USA. September 28, 1967	870
408 The President's News Conference at Harlingen, Texas, Following an Inspection of Hurricane Damage. September 28, 1967	872
409 Address on Vietnam Before the National Legislative Conference, San Antonio, Texas. September 29, 1967	876
410 Statement by the President Upon Signing the Department of Defense Appropriation Act, 1968. September 30, 1967	881
411 The President's News Conference at the LBJ Ranch. September 30, 1967	882
412 Memorandum on Inaugurating a Test Program To Reduce Hard-Core Unemployment. October 2, 1967	886
413 Remarks Upon Signing the Vocational Rehabilitation Act Amendments of 1967. October 3, 1967	889
414 Statement by the President on Asking for a Report on the Economic Condition of the Textile and Apparel Industries. October 4, 1967	891
415 Remarks at a National Conference of Cooperative Organizations. October 4, 1967	891
416 Statement by the President Following the Return of a Mission To Survey the Scientific and Technological Assets and Needs of the Republic of China. October 5, 1967	893
417 The President's News Conference of October 5, 1967	894

List of Items, Book II

	<i>Page</i>
418 Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House Proposing Additions to the National Wilderness Preservation System. October 6, 1967	901
419 Statement by the President Upon Appointing a National Advisory Commission on Health Facilities. October 6, 1967	902
420 Remarks to Officials of the Federal Home Loan Bank System in Connection With the Observance of the System's 35th Anniversary. October 6, 1967	903
421 Remarks at a "Salute to the President" Democratic Party Dinner in Washington. October 7, 1967	909
422 Statement by the President on the Death of Clement Attlee. October 8, 1967	914
423 Remarks to Delegates to the International Conference on the World Crisis in Education, Williamsburg, Virginia. October 8, 1967	914
424 Presidential Unit Citation Awarded to Detachment ALFA, Mine Squadron Eleven, USN. October 9, 1967	918
425 Remarks at Ceremony Marking the Entry Into Force of the Outer Space Treaty. October 10, 1967	918
426 Toasts of the President and General Ankrah, Chairman, National Liberation Council of the Republic of Ghana. October 10, 1967	920
427 Statement by the President Upon Signing the Small Business Act Amendments of 1967. October 11, 1967	922
428 Statement by the President on Taking "Escape Clause" Tariff Actions on Typewriter Ribbon Cloth, Stainless Steel Flatware, Sheet Glass, and Certain Carpets. October 12, 1967	923
429 The President's Telegrams to the Participating Teams on the Final Day of the 1967 World Series. October 12, 1967	924

List of Items, Book II

	<i>Page</i>
430 Remarks at a Meeting With the President's Committee on Consumer Interests. October 12, 1967	925
431 Remarks Upon Presenting the Harmon International Aviation Trophies. October 13, 1967	926
432 Statement by the President Upon Announcing Plans To Employ Medically Trained Veterans in Civilian Health Occupations. October 16, 1967	927
433 Remarks of Welcome at the White House to Prime Minister Lee of Singapore. October 17, 1967	928
434 The President's Toast at a Dinner Honoring Prime Minister Lee. October 17, 1967	930
435 Joint Statement Following Discussions With Prime Minister Lee of Singapore. October 18, 1967	931
436 Joint Statement on Economic Cooperation Between Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic. October 18, 1967	932
437 Statement by the President on the Death of Shigeru Yoshida. October 20, 1967	933
438 Toasts of the President and Prime Minister Souvanna Phouma of Laos. October 20, 1967	933
439 White House Statement Following the President's Meeting With Prime Minister Souvanna Phouma of Laos. October 20, 1967	934
440 Statement by the President Upon Signing the Military Construction Authorization Act, 1968. October 21, 1967	935
441 Memorandum Following the Peace Demonstrations at the Lincoln Memorial and the Pentagon. October 23, 1967	936
442 Remarks Before the International Federation of Commercial, Clerical, and Technical Employees. October 23, 1967	936
443 Remarks at the Swearing In of Erwin N. Griswold as Solicitor General of the United States. October 23, 1967	939

List of Items, Book II

	<i>Page</i>
444 Toasts of the President and President Ahidjo of Cameroon. October 24, 1967	941
445 Message to the Congress Transmitting 111th Annual Report on the Trade Agreements Program, 1966. October 25, 1967	942
446 Remarks Upon Presenting the Medal of Honor to Maj. Howard V. Lee, USMC. October 25, 1967	943
447 Remarks of Welcome at the White House to President Diaz Ordaz of Mexico. October 26, 1967	945
448 Remarks at a Ceremony for the Awarding of Honorary Degrees to President Johnson and President Diaz Ordaz of Mexico. October 26, 1967	947
449 Toasts of the President and President Diaz Ordaz. October 26, 1967	948
450 Remarks at the Dedication of the Theodore Roosevelt Memorial in Washington. October 27, 1967	951
451 Joint Statement Following Discussions With President Diaz Ordaz of Mexico. October 27, 1967	952
452 Remarks to the Delegates to the Mexican-American Con- ference, El Paso, Texas. October 28, 1967	956
453 Remarks at the Chamizal Ceremony, Juárez, Mexico. October 28, 1967	959
454 Text of the Chamizal Declaration Recognizing the Transfer of Lands Between the United States and Mexico at El Paso and Ciudad Juárez. October 28, 1967	961
455 Message to the American Bar Association's Special Commit- tee on Crime Prevention and Control. October 30, 1967	962
456 Presidential Unit Citation Awarded to Third Marine Divi- sion, Reinforced, Fleet Marine Force Pacific. October 31, 1967	963

List of Items, Book II

	<i>Page</i>
457 Presidential Unit Citation Awarded to the 7th Airborne Battalion, Airborne Division, Army of the Republic of Vietnam. October 31, 1967	964
458 Memorandum in Response to Task Force Report "Reducing Federal Grant-in-Aid Processing Time." October 31, 1967	964
459 Remarks of Welcome at the White House to King Mahendra of Nepal. November 1, 1967	966
460 The President's News Conference of November 1, 1967	967
461 Toasts of the President and King Mahendra of Nepal. November 1, 1967	976
462 Joint Statement Following Discussions With King Mahendra of Nepal. November 1, 1967	978
463 Statement by the President on the Report "Social and Economic Conditions of Negroes in the United States." November 2, 1967	980
464 Message Greeting Members of the Foreign Service on Foreign Service Day. November 2, 1967	981
465 Remarks to the Delegates to the 1967 Consumer Assembly. November 2, 1967	982
466 Remarks at the Swearing In of the Members of the New District of Columbia Council. November 3, 1967	985
467 Statement by the President Upon Signing the Independent Offices and Department of Housing and Urban Development Appropriation Act, 1968. November 3, 1967	989
468 Statement by the President Upon Signing Bill Prohibiting Obstruction of Criminal Investigations. November 4, 1967	990
469 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report on U.S. Food Aid Programs. November 6, 1967	991

List of Items, Book II

	<i>Page</i>
470 Statement by the President Concerning a Gift Permitting Construction of an Addition to the National Gallery of Art. November 6, 1967	993
471 Statement by the President on the Death of John Nance Garner. November 7, 1967	994
472 Message to President Podgorny on the Occasion of the 50th Anniversary of the Establishment of the Soviet Government. November 7, 1967	994
473 Statement by the President on the Development of a Multi-national Program for Science and Technology in Latin America. November 7, 1967	995
474 Remarks Upon Signing the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967. November 7, 1967	995
475 Remarks Upon Signing Bill Providing Equal Opportunity in Promotions for Women in the Armed Forces. November 8, 1967	998
476 Statement by the President on the New International Grains Arrangement. November 8, 1967	1000
477 Message to the Congress Transmitting the Surgeon General's First Report on Regional Medical Programs. November 8, 1967	1001
478 Statement by the President Upon Signing Order Enlarging the Federal Council for Science and Technology. November 8, 1967	1002
479 Statement by the President Upon Signing the Departments of Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare Appropriation Act, 1968. November 9, 1967	1002
480 The President's Toast at a Luncheon in Honor of Crown Prince Vong Savang of Laos. November 9, 1967	1003

List of Items, Book II

	<i>Page</i>
481 Proclamation 3819, Thanksgiving Day, 1967. November 9, 1967	1004
482 Statement by the President Upon Signing the Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, the Judiciary, and Related Agencies Appropriation Act, 1968. November 9, 1967	1005
483 Statement by the President on the Successful Launching of the First Saturn V Rocket. November 9, 1967	1007
484 Remarks in New York City at the Jewish Labor Committee Dinner Honoring George Meany. November 9, 1967	1007
485 The President's Veterans Day Tour of Military Installations. November 10-11, 1967	1012
486 Remarks of Welcome at the White House to Prime Minister Sato of Japan. November 14, 1967	1023
487 Toasts of the President and Prime Minister Sato of Japan. November 14, 1967	1024
488 Message to the Congress Transmitting Report on United States Participation in the United Nations, 1966. November 15, 1967	1026
489 Statement by the President Upon Signing the Foreign Assistance Act of 1967. November 15, 1967	1028
490 Remarks Delivered by Telephone to a Joint Convention of Education Leaders. November 15, 1967	1029
491 Joint Statement Following Discussions With Prime Minister Sato of Japan. November 15, 1967	1033
492 The President's Remarks to Reporters Following His Meeting With Prime Minister Sato. November 15, 1967	1037
493 Remarks at a Reception for Leaders of Veterans Organizations. November 15, 1967	1038

List of Items, Book II

	<i>Page</i>
494 Remarks Upon Presenting the Medal of Honor to Staff Sgt. Charles B. Morris, USA. November 16, 1967	1043
495 The President's News Conference of November 17, 1967	1045
496 Remarks Delivered by Telephone to the Centennial Convention of the National Grange. November 18, 1967	1055
497 Statement by the President on the Devaluation of the British Pound. November 18, 1967	1057
498 Remarks at a Ceremony Marking the Birth of the 200 Millionth American. November 20, 1967	1058
499 Remarks Upon Signing Bill Establishing the National Commission on Product Safety. November 20, 1967	1060
500 Remarks to the Press on Making Public the Report of the National Advisory Commission on Health Manpower. November 20, 1967	1062
501 Statement by the President on the Fourth Anniversary of the Death of John F. Kennedy. November 20, 1967	1064
502 Remarks at a Dinner Honoring Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen. November 20, 1967	1065
503 Remarks Upon Signing the Air Quality Act of 1967. November 21, 1967	1067
504 Memorandum Urging Continued Improvement of Programs in Aid of Small Business. November 22, 1967	1070
505 Statement by the President Following Senate Approval of the Bill To Increase Social Security Benefits. November 22, 1967	1070
506 Statement by the President Upon Signing Bills Authorizing Sale of Surplus Bismuth, Molybdenum, and Rare Earths. November 24, 1967	1071

List of Items, Book II

	<i>Page</i>
507 Statement by the President Upon Signing the Library Services and Construction Act Amendments. November 24, 1967	1072
508 Special Message to the Congress Transmitting Multilateral Trade Agreement Concluding the Kennedy Round of Trade Negotiations. November 27, 1967	1072
509 Statement by the President on the Completion of the Agency for International Development Program in Iran. November 29, 1967	1075
510 Statement by the President Commending NEED for Its Work in Aiding Victims of the 6-Day War in the Middle East. November 29, 1967	1076
511 Statement by the President on the Nomination of Secretary McNamara as President of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. November 29, 1967	1077
512 Remarks at the Swearing In of Howard J. Samuels as Under Secretary of Commerce. November 30, 1967	1078
513 Statement by the President on the Death of Dr. Alan T. Waterman. December 1, 1967	1080
514 Remarks Delivered by Telephone to the Regional Democratic Conference in Charleston, West Virginia. December 2, 1967	1080
515 Remarks Transmitted by Closed-Circuit Television to Ceremonies Marking the 25th Anniversary of the First Nuclear Reactor. December 2, 1967	1083
516 Statement by the President on the Death of Francis Cardinal Spellman, Archbishop of New York. December 2, 1967	1085
517 Remarks Upon Signing the Mental Retardation Amendments of 1967. December 4, 1967	1086
518 The President's News Conference of December 4, 1967	1088

List of Items, Book II

	<i>Page</i>
519 Remarks to the Foreign Policy Conference for Business Executives. December 4, 1967	1094
520 Remarks Upon Signing the Partnership for Health Amendments of 1967. December 5, 1967	1099
521 Statement by the President on the Preservation of Peace in Cyprus. December 5, 1967	1100
522 Statement by the President on the Meat Inspection Bill. December 5, 1967	1101
523 Statement by the President on the Death of President Oscar Gestido of Uruguay. December 6, 1967	1101
524 Remarks at a Meeting of the Business Council. December 6, 1967	1102
525 Remarks Recorded for a Television Program on the Report of the National Advisory Commission on Food and Fiber. December 7, 1967	1104
526 The President's Remarks at a News Briefing by Ambassador Eugenie Anderson on Civil Programs in Vietnam. December 8, 1967	1106
527 Statement by the President Upon Signing Bill Establishing the Judge Advocate General's Corps, USN. December 8, 1967	1107
528 Veto of Bill Granting Masters of Vessels a Lien on Those Vessels for Their Wages and Certain Disbursements. December 9, 1967	1108
529 Television Interview With the President and Mrs. Johnson Recorded in Connection With the Wedding of Their Daughter Lynda Bird. December 9, 1967	1108
530 Statement by the President Urging Passage of the Safe Streets and Crime Control Act. December 11, 1967	1116

List of Items, Book II

	<i>Page</i>
531 Statement by the President on the Use of Surplus Federal Lands for Model Communities in Atlanta and San Antonio. December 12, 1967	1116
532 Remarks at the Dedication of Central Texas College, Killeen, Texas. December 12, 1967	1117
533 Remarks Following an Inspection of NASA's Michoud Assembly Facility Near New Orleans. December 12, 1967	1121
534 Remarks to Delegates to the National Convention, AFL-CIO. December 12, 1967	1124
535 Statement by the President Upon Signing Bill Naming a Federal Office Building in Detroit in Memory of Senator Patrick V. McNamara. December 12, 1967	1131
536 Remarks by the President at a Press Briefing by Col. Daniel James, Jr., USAF, Following His Report on Vietnam. December 13, 1967	1132
537 Remarks Upon Signing Bill Amending the Federal Credit Union Act. December 13, 1967	1132
538 Remarks at the Presentation of the Papers of President Andrew Johnson. December 14, 1967	1133
539 Remarks Upon Signing Bill Amending the Flammable Fabrics Act. December 14, 1967	1135
540 Remarks at the Smithsonian Institution at a Ceremony Marking the 200th Anniversary of the Encyclopaedia Britannica. December 14, 1967	1139
541 Remarks Upon Signing Bill Amending the Meat Inspection Act. December 15, 1967	1143
542 Statement by the President Upon Authorizing Federal Assistance to the New Haven Railroad. December 15, 1967	1145

List of Items, Book II

		<i>Page</i>
543	Statement by the President on the Forthcoming Retirement of Prime Minister Lester Pearson of Canada. December 15, 1967	1146
544	Remarks at the Lighting of the Nation's Christmas Tree. December 15, 1967	1146
545	Remarks Upon Signing the Kennedy Round Trade Negotiations Proclamation. December 16, 1967	1148
546	Remarks Upon Signing Bills Increasing the Pay of Federal Civilian Employees and of Members of the Uniformed Services. December 16, 1967	1151
547	Statement by the President After Signing Bill for the Acquisition of Lands for Migratory Waterfowl Refuges. December 16, 1967	1153
548	Statement by the President After Signing the Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1967. December 16, 1967	1154
549	The President's Christmas Message to the Men and Women of the Armed Forces. December 16, 1967	1155
550	Statement by the President on the Death of Prime Minister Harold Holt of Australia. December 18, 1967	1155
551	Interview for the Australian Broadcasting Company Following the Death of Prime Minister Holt. December 18, 1967	1156
552	Telegram on the Occasion of the Silver Bridge Tragedy, West Virginia-Ohio. December 18, 1967	1157
553	Statement by the President Upon Signing Bill Establishing the National Park Foundation. December 19, 1967	1157
554	"A Conversation With the President," Joint Interview for Use by the Television Networks. December 19, 1967	1158
555	The President's Remarks Upon Arrival in Honolulu at the Beginning of His Round-the-World Trip. December 19, 1967	1173

List of Items, Book II

	<i>Page</i>
556 Statement by the President After Signing Joint Resolution Providing for Continuing Appropriations, Fiscal Year 1968. December 19, 1967	1174
557 Statement by the President on the United Nations Agreement for the Rescue and Return of Astronauts and Space Objects. December 19, 1967	1175
558 Statement by the President Upon Establishing a Task Force To Conduct a National Survey of Bridge Safety. December 20, 1967	1176
559 Remarks at the Airport in Pago Pago, American Samoa. December 20, 1967	1177
560 Statement by the President Upon Signing Bill To Establish the Federal Judicial Center. December 20, 1967	1177
561 Remarks Upon Arrival in Canberra, Australia, To Attend Memorial Services for Prime Minister Holt. December 21, 1967	1178
562 Joint Statement Following Discussions in Canberra With Prime Minister McEwen of Australia. December 21, 1967	1179
563 Joint Statement Following Discussions in Canberra With President Pak of Korea. December 21, 1967	1180
564 Joint Statement Following Discussions in Canberra With President Thieu of Vietnam. December 21, 1967	1180
565 Remarks to a Group of American Combat Pilots at the Royal Thai Air Force Base, Khorat, Thailand. December 23, 1967	1181
566 Remarks to Senior Unit Commanders, Cam Ranh Bay, Vietnam. December 23, 1967	1183
567 Remarks to Service Personnel and Award of Distinguished Service Medal and Medal of Freedom to Military and Civilian Leaders, Cam Ranh Bay, Vietnam. December 23, 1967	1184

List of Items, Book II

	<i>Page</i>
568 Statement by the President Upon Signing Bill Increasing Benefits for Federal Employees in Hazardous Duty Posts. December 23, 1967	1187
569 Joint Statement Following Discussions in Karachi With President Ayub of Pakistan. December 23, 1967	1188
570 Statement by the President Upon Arriving in Rome. December 23, 1967	1188
571 Statement by the President Following His Meeting at the Vatican With Pope Paul VI. December 23, 1967	1189
572 Statement by the President Upon His Departure From Italy. December 23, 1967	1189
573 The President's Christmas Message to the Nation Upon Returning From His Round-the-World Trip. December 24, 1967	1190
574 Statement by the President Upon Signing Bill Providing for District of Columbia Participation in the Medicaid Program. December 27, 1967	1192
575 Statement by the President Upon Signing the District of Columbia Crime Bill. December 27, 1967	1192
576 Statement by the President Upon Signing Order Relating to Federal Participation in Regional Economic Development. December 29, 1967	1195
577 Message to the Governor-General of Canada on the Death of Vincent Massey. December 30, 1967	1196

Lyndon B. Johnson

January 1–June 30, 1967

I Remarks to the Lyndon B. Johnson Australian Science Scholars.

January 5, 1967

Ambassador Waller, Dr. Hornig, Professor Messel, my young friends whom I am delighted to have here in the White House this morning:

This is a highly unusual meeting. Because today a great Australian university, the National Science Foundation, and distinguished officials of this Government join me to honor you 10 American high school students—because you have done your homework well.

That says a great deal about the high value the world puts on academic excellence today.

Just before I visited Australia last fall, Professor Harry Messel wrote me a letter. The great University of Sydney, he said, wanted to include 10 American high school students in its summer science program. These students would receive not only an opportunity to visit Australia—and we know that is a great privilege—but they would hear some of the world's great scholars. They would meet some of the most talented and interesting young people living today. They would receive scholarships which would literally take them around the world in 20 days.

It gave me pleasure to accept that generous offer and I did it quickly. I was grateful that these scholarships would be associated with me. But I also couldn't resist the idea of exposing more Americans to Australia's hospitality.

So tomorrow these 10 scholars, chosen from thousands throughout our land, will begin their journey.

I want to say to each of you that you give all of us great cause for pride, because of your application, your dedication, and your achievement.

You represent a great idea: the idea of international educational opportunity.

I have just been discussing that with one of the great, distinguished officials of this Government, Assistant Secretary of State, Mr. Lincoln Gordon. You will be hearing a great deal more about that in the days to come, as a result of the work that we are doing together.

In the next few weeks, through the generosity of the University of Sydney and the Australian people, you will go there to meet these students from other lands. You will be guests in their homes. You will share their experiences. And the journey that you will begin tomorrow will strengthen, I think, the friendship between our countries.

You may feel that it is an honor to receive these medals that mark your achievement today. But I want you to know that we feel honored in your presence. And, like your own parents, I feel a bit uncomfortable when I reflect that you can do the new math when I remember how much difficulty I had with the old math.

I hope all of you have a good trip to Australia. I just wish I were going with you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:14 p.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House. In his opening words he referred to Keith Waller, Australian Ambassador to the United States, Dr. Donald F. Hornig, Special Assistant to the President for Science and Technology, and Professor Harry Messel, head of the School of Physics and director of the Nuclear Research Foundation at the University of Sydney. W. W. Leonard, chairman of the Nuclear Research Foundation and managing director of Ampol Petroleum, Ltd., one of the sponsors of the Summer Science Schools, was also present for the ceremony.

An announcement concerning the selection of the scholars, including their names, made public by the White House Press Office on November 21, 1966, is published in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 2, p. 1717). See also the President's remarks at the Art Gallery of New South Wales, Sydney, Australia, on October 22, 1966 (1966 volume, this series, Book II, p. 1251).

[2] Jan. 10

Public Papers of the Presidents

2 Statement by the President on the Death of Representative
John E. Fogarty of Rhode Island. *January 10, 1967*

JOHN FOGARTY was a great leader and an effective Member of Congress. I am shocked and saddened by his death. He was a major architect in the fields of health and education. Lady Bird and I extend our deep-

est sympathy to his wife and daughter.

NOTE: The statement was read by Tom Johnson, Assistant Press Secretary, at his news conference at 11:30 a.m. on Tuesday, January 10, 1967. It was not made public in the form of a White House press release.

3 Annual Message to the Congress on the State of the Union.
January 10, 1967

[Delivered in person before a joint session at 9:33 p.m.]

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Vice President, distinguished Members of the Congress:

I share with all of you the grief that you feel at the death today of one of the most beloved, respected, and effective Members of this body, the distinguished Representative from Rhode Island, Mr. Fogarty.

I have come here tonight to report to you that this is a time of testing for our Nation.

At home, the question is whether we will continue working for better opportunities for all Americans, when most Americans are already living better than any people in history.

Abroad, the question is whether we have the staying power to fight a very costly war, when the objective is limited and the danger to us is seemingly remote.

So our test is not whether we shrink from our country's cause when the dangers to us are obvious and close at hand, but, rather, whether we carry on when they seem obscure and distant—and some think that it is safe to lay down our burdens.

I have come tonight to ask this Congress and this Nation to resolve that issue: to meet our commitments at home and abroad—to continue to build a better America—and to reaffirm this Nation's allegiance to freedom.

As President Abraham Lincoln said, "We must ask where we are, and whither we are tending."

I.

The last 3 years bear witness to our determination to make this a better country.

We have struck down legal barriers to equality.

We have improved the education of 7 million deprived children and this year alone we have enabled almost 1 million students to go to college.

We have brought medical care to older people who were unable to afford it. Three and one-half million Americans have already received treatment under Medicare since July.

We have built a strong economy that has put almost 3 million more Americans on the payrolls in the last year alone.

We have included more than 9 million new workers under a higher minimum wage.

We have launched new training programs to provide job skills for almost 1 million Americans.

We have helped more than a thousand local communities to attack poverty in the neighborhoods of the poor.

We have set out to rebuild our cities on a scale that has never been attempted before.

We have begun to rescue our waters from the menace of pollution and to restore the beauty of our land and our countryside, our cities and our towns.

We have given 1 million young Americans a chance to earn through the Neighborhood Youth Corps—or through Head Start, a chance to learn.

So together we have tried to meet the needs of our people. And, we have succeeded in creating a better life for the many as well as the few. Now we must answer whether our gains shall be the foundations of further progress, or whether they shall be only monuments to what might have been—abandoned now by a people who lacked the will to see their great work through.

I believe that our people do not want to quit—though the task is great, the work hard, often frustrating, and success is a matter not of days or months, but of years—and sometimes it may be even decades.

II.

I have come here tonight to discuss with you five ways of carrying forward the progress of these last 3 years. These five ways concern programs, partnerships, priorities, prosperity, and peace.

First, programs. We must see to it, I think, that these new programs that we have passed work effectively and are administered in the best possible way.

Three years ago we set out to create these new instruments of social progress. This required trial and error—and it has produced both. But as we learn, through success and failure, we are changing our strategy and we are trying to improve our tactics. In the long run, these starts—some rewarding, others in-

adequate and disappointing—are crucial to success.

One example is the struggle to make life better for the less fortunate among us.

On a similar occasion, at this rostrum in 1949, I heard a great American President, Harry S. Truman, declare this: "The American people have decided that poverty is just as wasteful and just as unnecessary as preventable disease."

Many listened to President Truman that day here in this Chamber, but few understood what was required and did anything about it. The executive branch and the Congress waited 15 long years before ever taking any action on that challenge, as it did on many other challenges that great President presented. And when, 3 years ago, you here in the Congress joined with me in a declaration of war on poverty, then I warned, "It will not be a short or easy struggle—no single weapon . . . will suffice—but we shall not rest until that war is won."

And I have come here to renew that pledge tonight.

I recommend that we intensify our efforts to give the poor a chance to enjoy and to join in this Nation's progress.

I shall propose certain administrative changes suggested by the Congress—as well as some that we have learned from our own trial and error.

I shall urge special methods and special funds to reach the hundreds of thousands of Americans that are now trapped in the ghettos of our big cities and, through Head Start, to try to reach out to our very young, little children. The chance to learn is their brightest hope and must command our full determination. For learning brings skills; and skills bring jobs; and jobs bring responsibility and dignity, as well as taxes.

This war—like the war in Vietnam—is

not a simple one. There is no single battle-line which you can plot each day on a chart. The enemy is not easy to perceive, or to isolate, or to destroy. There are mistakes and there are setbacks. But we are moving, and our direction is forward.

This is true with other programs that are making and breaking new ground. Some do not yet have the capacity to absorb well or wisely all the money that could be put into them. Administrative skills and trained manpower are just as vital to their success as dollars. And I believe those skills will come. But it will take time and patience and hard work. Success cannot be forced at a single stroke. So we must continue to strengthen the administration of every program if that success is to come—as we know it must.

We have done much in the space of 2 short years, working together.

I have recommended, and you, the Congress, have approved, 10 different reorganization plans, combining and consolidating many bureaus of this Government, and creating two entirely new Cabinet departments.

I have come tonight to propose that we establish a new department—a Department of Business and Labor.

By combining the Department of Commerce with the Department of Labor and other related agencies, I think we can create a more economical, efficient, and streamlined instrument that will better serve a growing nation.

This is our goal throughout the entire Federal Government. Every program will be thoroughly evaluated. Grant-in-aid programs will be improved and simplified as desired by many of our local administrators and our Governors.

Where there have been mistakes, we will try very hard to correct them.

Where there has been progress, we will try to build upon it.

Our second objective is partnership—to create an effective partnership at all levels of government. And I should treasure nothing more than to have that partnership begin between the executive and the Congress.

The 88th and the 89th Congresses passed more social and economic legislation than any two single Congresses in American history. Most of you who were Members of those Congresses voted to pass most of those measures. But your efforts will come to nothing unless it reaches the people.

Federal energy is essential. But it is not enough. Only a total working partnership among Federal, State, and local governments can succeed. The test of that partnership will be the concern of each public organization, each private institution, and each responsible citizen.

Each State, county, and city needs to examine its capacity for government in today's world, as we are examining ours in the executive department, and as I see you are examining yours. Some will need to reorganize and reshape their methods of administration—as we are doing. Others will need to revise their constitutions and their laws to bring them up to date—as we are doing. Above all, I think we must work together and find ways in which the multitudes of small jurisdictions can be brought together more efficiently.

During the past 3 years we have returned to State and local governments about \$40 billion in grants-in-aid. This year alone, 70 percent of our Federal expenditures for domestic programs will be distributed through the State and local governments. With Federal assistance, State and local governments by 1970 will be spending close to \$110 billion annually. These enormous sums must be used wisely, honestly, and effectively.

We intend to work closely with the States

and the localities to do exactly that.

Our *third* objective is priorities, to move ahead on the priorities that we have established within the resources that are available.

I wish, of course, that we could do all that should be done—and that we could do it now. But the Nation has many commitments and responsibilities which make heavy demands upon our total resources. No administration would more eagerly utilize for these programs all the resources they require than the administration that started them.

So let us resolve, now, to do all that we can, with what we have—knowing that it is far, far more than we have ever done before, and far, far less than our problems will ultimately require.

Let us create new opportunities for our children and our young Americans who need special help.

We should strengthen the Head Start program, begin it for children 3 years old, and maintain its educational momentum by following through in the early years.

We should try new methods of child development and care from the earliest years, before it is too late to correct.

And I will propose these measures to the 90th Congress.

Let us insure that older Americans, and neglected Americans, share in their Nation's progress.

We should raise social security payments by an overall average of 20 percent. That will add \$4 billion 100 million to social security payments in the first year. I will recommend that each of the 23 million Americans now receiving payments get an increase of at least 15 percent.

I will ask that you raise the minimum payments by 59 percent—from \$44 to \$70 a month, and to guarantee a minimum benefit of \$100 a month for those with a total of 25 years of coverage. We must raise the limits

that retired workers can earn without losing social security income.

We must eliminate by law unjust discrimination in employment because of age.

We should embark upon a major effort to provide self-help assistance to the forgotten in our midst—the American Indians and the migratory farm workers. And we should reach with the hand of understanding to help those who live in rural poverty.

And I will propose these measures to the 90th Congress.

So let us keep on improving the quality of life and enlarging the meaning of justice for all of our fellow Americans.

We should transform our decaying slums into places of decency through the landmark Model Cities program. I intend to seek for this effort, this year, the full amount that you in Congress authorized last year.

We should call upon the genius of private industry and the most advanced technology to help rebuild our great cities.

We should vastly expand the fight for clean air with a total attack on pollution at its sources, and—because air, like water, does not respect manmade boundaries—we should set up “regional airsheds” throughout this great land.

We should continue to carry to every corner of the Nation our campaign for a beautiful America—to clean up our towns, to make them more beautiful, our cities, our countryside, by creating more parks, and more seashores, and more open spaces for our children to play in, and for the generations that come after us to enjoy.

We should continue to seek equality and justice for each citizen—before a jury, in seeking a job, in exercising his civil rights. We should find a solution to fair housing, so that every American, regardless of color, has a decent home of his choice.

We should modernize our Selective Serv-

ice System. The National Commission on Selective Service will shortly submit its report. I will send you new recommendations to meet our military manpower needs. But let us resolve that this is to be the Congress that made our draft laws as fair and as effective as possible.

We should protect what Justice Brandeis called the "right most valued by civilized men"—the right to privacy. We should outlaw all wiretapping—public and private—wherever and whenever it occurs, except when the security of this Nation itself is at stake—and only then with the strictest governmental safeguards. And we should exercise the full reach of our constitutional powers to outlaw electronic "bugging" and "snooping."

I hope this Congress will try to help me do more for the consumer. We should demand that the cost of credit be clearly and honestly expressed where average citizens can understand it. We should immediately take steps to prevent massive power failures, to safeguard the home against hazardous household products, and to assure safety in the pipelines that carry natural gas across our Nation.

We should extend Medicare benefits that are now denied to 1,300,000 permanently and totally disabled Americans under 65 years of age.

We should improve the process of democracy by passing our election reform and financing proposals, by tightening our laws regulating lobbying, and by restoring a reasonable franchise to Americans who move their residences.

We should develop educational television into a vital public resource to enrich our homes, educate our families, and to provide assistance in our classrooms. We should insist that the public interest be fully served through the public's airwaves.

And I will propose these measures to the 90th Congress.

Now we come to a question that weighs very heavily on all our minds—on yours and mine. This Nation must make an all-out effort to combat crime.

The 89th Congress gave us a new start in the attack on crime by passing the Law Enforcement Assistance Act that I recommended. We appointed the National Crime Commission to study crime in America and to recommend the best ways to carry that attack forward.

And while we do not have all the answers, on the basis of its preliminary recommendations we are ready to move.

This is not a war that Washington alone can win. The idea of a national police force is repugnant to the American people. Crime must be rooted out in local communities by local authorities. Our policemen must be better trained, must be better paid, and must be better supported by the local citizens that they try to serve and to protect.

The National Government can and expects to help.

And so I will recommend to the 90th Congress the Safe Streets and Crime Control Act of 1967. It will enable us to assist those States and cities that try to make their streets and homes safer, their police forces better, their corrections systems more effective, and their courts more efficient.

When the Congress approves, the Federal Government will be able to provide a substantial percentage of the cost:

- 90 percent of the cost of developing the State and local plans, master plans, to combat crime in their area;
- 60 percent of the cost of training new tactical units, developing instant communications and special alarm systems, and introducing the latest equipment and techniques so that they can become

weapons in the war on crime;
—50 percent of the cost of building crime laboratories and police academy-type centers so that our citizens can be protected by the best trained and served by the best equipped police to be found anywhere.

We will also recommend new methods to prevent juvenile delinquents from becoming adult delinquents. We will seek new partnerships with States and cities in order to deal with this hideous narcotics problem. And we will recommend strict controls on the sale of firearms.

At the heart of this attack on crime must be the conviction that a free America—as Abraham Lincoln once said—must “let reverence for the laws . . . become the political religion of the Nation.”

Our country’s laws must be respected. Order must be maintained. And I will support—with all the constitutional powers the President possesses—our Nation’s law enforcement officials in their attempt to control the crime and the violence that tear the fabric of our communities.

Many of these priority proposals will be built on foundations that have already been laid. Some will necessarily be small at first, but “every beginning is a consequence.” If we postpone this urgent work now, it will simply have to be done later, and later we will pay a much higher price.

Our *fourth* objective is prosperity, to keep our economy moving ahead, moving ahead steadily and safely.

We have now enjoyed 6 years of unprecedented and rewarding prosperity.

Last year, in 1966:

—Wages were the highest in history—and the unemployment rate, announced yesterday, reached the lowest point in 13 years;

—Total after-tax income of American

families rose nearly 5 percent;

—Corporate profits after taxes rose a little more than 5 percent;

—Our gross national product advanced 5.5 percent, to about \$740 billion;

—Income per farm went up 6 percent.

Now we have been greatly concerned because consumer prices rose 4.5 percent over the 18 months since we decided to send troops to Vietnam. This was more than we had expected—and the Government tried to do everything that we knew how to do to hold it down. Yet we were not as successful as we wished to be. In the 18 months after we entered World War II, prices rose not 4.5 percent, but 13.5 percent. In the first 18 months after Korea, after the conflict broke out there, prices rose not 4.5 percent, but 11 percent. During those two periods we had OPA price control that the Congress gave us and War Labor Board wage controls.

Since Vietnam we have not asked for those controls and we have tried to avoid imposing them. We believe that we have done better, but we make no pretense of having been successful or doing as well as we wished.

Our greatest disappointment in the economy during 1966 was the excessive rise in interest rates and the tightening of credit. They imposed very severe and very unfair burdens on our home buyers and on our homebuilders, and all those associated with the home industry.

Last January, and again last September, I recommended fiscal and moderate tax measures to try to restrain the unbalanced pace of economic expansion. Legislatively and administratively we took several billions out of the economy. With these measures, in both instances, the Congress approved most of the recommendations rather promptly.

As 1966 ended, price stability was seem-

ingly being restored. Wholesale prices are lower tonight than they were in August. So are retail food prices. Monetary conditions are also easing. Most interest rates have retreated from their earlier peaks. More money now seems to be available.

Given the cooperation of the Federal Reserve System, which I so earnestly seek, I am confident that this movement can continue. I pledge the American people that I will do everything in a President's power to lower interest rates and to ease money in this country. The Federal Home Loan Bank Board tomorrow morning will announce that it will make immediately available to savings and loan associations an additional \$1 billion, and will lower from 6 percent to $5\frac{3}{4}$ percent the interest rate charged on those loans.

We shall continue on a sensible course of fiscal and budgetary policy that we believe will keep our economy growing without new inflationary spirals; that will finance responsibly the needs of our men in Vietnam and the progress of our people at home; that will support a significant improvement in our export surplus, and will press forward toward easier credit and toward lower interest rates.

I recommend to the Congress a surcharge of 6 percent on both corporate and individual income taxes—to last for 2 years or for so long as the unusual expenditures associated with our efforts in Vietnam continue. I will promptly recommend an earlier termination date if a reduction in these expenditures permits it. This surcharge will raise revenues by some \$4.5 billion in the first year. For example, a person whose tax payment, the tax he owes, is \$1,000, will pay, under this proposal, an extra \$60 over the 12-month period, or \$5 a month. The overwhelming majority of Americans who pay taxes today are below that figure and they

will pay substantially less than \$5 a month. Married couples with two children, with incomes up to \$5,000 per year, will be exempt from this tax—as will single people with an income of up to \$1,900 a year.

Now if Americans today still paid the income and excise tax rates in effect when I came into the Presidency, in the year 1964, their annual taxes would have been over \$20 billion more than at present tax rates. So this proposal is that while we have this problem and this emergency in Vietnam, while we are trying to meet the needs of our people at home, your Government asks for slightly more than one-fourth of that tax cut each year in order to try to hold our budget deficit in fiscal 1968 within prudent limits and to give our country and to give our fighting men the help they need in this hour of trial.

For fiscal 1967, we estimate the budget expenditures to be \$126.7 billion and revenues of \$117 billion. That will leave us a deficit this year of \$9.7 billion.

For fiscal 1968, we estimate budget expenditures of \$135 billion. And with the tax measures recommended, and a continuing strong economy, we estimate revenues will be \$126.9 billion. The deficit then will be \$8.1 billion.

I will very soon forward all of my recommendations to the Congress. Yours is the responsibility to discuss and to debate them—to approve or modify or reject them.

I welcome your views, as I have welcomed working with you for 30 years as a colleague and as Vice President and President.

I should like to say to the Members of the opposition—whose numbers, if I am not mistaken, seem to have increased somewhat—that the genius of the American political system has always been best expressed through creative debate that offers choices and reasonable alternatives. Throughout our

history, great Republicans and Democrats have seemed to understand this. So let there be light and reason in our relations. That is the way to a responsible session and a responsive government.

Let us be remembered as a President and a Congress who tried to improve the quality of life for every American—not just the rich, not just the poor, but every man, woman, and child in this great Nation of ours.

We all go to school—to good schools or bad schools. We all take air into our lungs—clean air or polluted air. We all drink water—pure water or polluted water. We all face sickness someday, and some more often than we wish, and old age as well. We all have a stake in this Great Society—in its economic growth, in reduction of civil strife—a great stake in good government.

We just must not arrest the pace of progress we have established in this country in these years. Our children's children will pay the price if we are not wise enough, and courageous enough, and determined enough to stand up and meet the Nation's needs as well as we can in the time allotted us.

III.

Abroad, as at home, there is also risk in change. But abroad, as at home, there is a greater risk in standing still. No part of our foreign policy is so sacred that it ever remains beyond review. We shall be flexible where conditions in the world change—and where man's efforts can change them for the better.

We are in the midst of a great transition—a transition from narrow nationalism to international partnership; from the harsh spirit of the cold war to the hopeful spirit of common humanity on a troubled and a threatened planet.

In *Latin America*, the American chiefs of

state will be meeting very shortly to give our hemispheric policies new direction.

We have come a long way in this hemisphere since the inter-American effort in economic and social development was launched by the conference at Bogotá in 1960 under the leadership of President Eisenhower. The Alliance for Progress moved dramatically forward under President Kennedy. There is new confidence that the voice of the people is being heard; that the dignity of the individual is stronger than ever in this hemisphere, and we are facing up to and meeting many of the hemispheric problems together. In this hemisphere that reform under democracy can be made to happen—because it has happened. So together, I think, we must now move to strike down the barriers to full cooperation among the American nations, and to free the energies and the resources of two great continents on behalf of all of our citizens.

Africa stands at an earlier stage of development than Latin America. It has yet to develop the transportation, communications, agriculture, and, above all, the trained men and women without which growth is impossible. There, too, the job will best be done if the nations and peoples of Africa cooperate on a regional basis. More and more our programs for Africa are going to be directed toward self-help.

The future of Africa is shadowed by unsolved racial conflicts. Our policy will continue to reflect our basic commitments as a people to support those who are prepared to work towards cooperation and harmony between races, and to help those who demand change but reject the fool's gold of violence.

In the *Middle East* the spirit of good will toward all, unfortunately, has not yet taken hold. An already tortured peace seems to be

constantly threatened. We shall try to use our influence to increase the possibilities of improved relations among the nations of that region. We are working hard at that task.

In the great subcontinent of *South Asia* live more than a sixth of the earth's population. Over the years we—and others—have invested very heavily in capital and food for the economic development of India and Pakistan.

We are not prepared to see our assistance wasted, however, in conflict. It must strengthen their capacity to help themselves. It must help these two nations—both our friends—to overcome poverty, to emerge as self-reliant leaders, and find terms for reconciliation and cooperation.

In *Western Europe* we shall maintain in NATO an integrated common defense. But we also look forward to the time when greater security can be achieved through measures of arms control and disarmament, and through other forms of practical agreement.

We are shaping a new future of enlarged partnership in nuclear affairs, in economic and technical cooperation, in trade negotiations, in political consultation, and in working together with the governments and peoples of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

The emerging spirit of confidence is precisely what we hoped to achieve when we went to work a generation ago to put our shoulder to the wheel and try to help rebuild Europe. We faced new challenges and opportunities then and there—and we faced also some dangers. But I believe that the peoples on both sides of the Atlantic, as well as both sides of this Chamber, wanted to face them together.

Our relations with the *Soviet Union* and *Eastern Europe* are also in transition. We

have avoided both the acts and the rhetoric of the cold war. When we have differed with the Soviet Union, or other nations, for that matter, I have tried to differ quietly and with courtesy, and without venom.

Our objective is not to continue the cold war, but to end it.

We have reached an agreement at the United Nations on the peaceful uses of outer space.

We have agreed to open direct air flights with the Soviet Union.

We have removed more than 400 non-strategic items from export control.

We are determined that the Export-Import Bank can allow commercial credits to Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Czechoslovakia, as well as to Romania and Yugoslavia.

We have entered into a cultural agreement with the Soviet Union for another 2 years.

We have agreed with Bulgaria and Hungary to upgrade our legations to embassies.

We have started discussions with international agencies on ways of increasing contacts with Eastern European countries.

This administration has taken these steps even as duty compelled us to fulfill and execute alliances and treaty obligations throughout the world that were entered into before I became President.

So tonight I now ask and urge this Congress to help our foreign and our commercial trade policies by passing an East-West trade bill and by approving our consular convention with the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union has in the past year increased its long-range missile capabilities. It has begun to place near Moscow a limited antimissile defense. My first responsibility to our people is to assure that no nation can ever find it rational to launch a nuclear attack or to use its nuclear power as a credible threat against us or against our allies.

I would emphasize that that is why an important link between Russia and the United States is in our common interest, in arms control and in disarmament. We have the solemn duty to slow down the arms race between us, if that is at all possible, in both conventional and nuclear weapons and defenses. I thought we were making some progress in that direction the first few months I was in office. I realize that any additional race would impose on our peoples, and on all mankind, for that matter, an additional waste of resources with no gain in security to either side.

I expect in the days ahead to closely consult and seek the advice of the Congress about the possibilities of international agreements bearing directly upon this problem.

Next to the pursuit of peace, the really greatest challenge to the human family is the race between food supply and population increase. That race tonight is being lost.

The time for rhetoric has clearly passed. The time for concerted action is here and we must get on with the job.

We believe that three principles must prevail if our policy is to succeed:

First, the developing nations must give highest priority to food production, including the use of technology and the capital of private enterprise.

Second, nations with food deficits must put more of their resources into voluntary family planning programs.

And third, the developed nations must all assist other nations to avoid starvation in the short run and to move rapidly towards the ability to feed themselves.

Every member of the world community now bears a direct responsibility to help bring our most basic human account into balance.

IV.

I come now finally to *Southeast Asia*—and to *Vietnam* in particular. Soon I will submit to the Congress a detailed report on that situation. Tonight I want to just review the essential points as briefly as I can.

We are in Vietnam because the United States of America and our allies are committed by the SEATO Treaty to “act to meet the common danger” of aggression in Southeast Asia.

We are in Vietnam because an international agreement signed by the United States, North Vietnam, and others in 1962 is being systematically violated by the Communists. That violation threatens the independence of all the small nations in Southeast Asia, and threatens the peace of the entire region and perhaps the world.

We are there because the people of South Vietnam have as much right to remain non-Communist—if that is what they choose—as North Vietnam has to remain Communist.

We are there because the Congress has pledged by solemn vote to take all necessary measures to prevent further aggression.

No better words could describe our present course than those once spoken by the great Thomas Jefferson:

“It is the melancholy law of human societies to be compelled sometimes to choose a great evil in order to ward off a greater.”

We have chosen to fight a limited war in Vietnam in an attempt to prevent a larger war—a war almost certain to follow, I believe, if the Communists succeed in overrunning and taking over South Vietnam by aggression and by force. I believe, and I am supported by some authority, that if they are not checked now the world can expect

to pay a greater price to check them later.

That is what our statesmen said when they debated this treaty, and that is why it was ratified 82 to 1 by the Senate many years ago.

You will remember that we stood in Western Europe 20 years ago. Is there anyone in this Chamber tonight who doubts that the course of freedom was not changed for the better because of the courage of that stand?

Sixteen years ago we and others stopped another kind of aggression—this time it was in Korea. Imagine how different Asia might be today if we had failed to act when the Communist army of North Korea marched south. The Asia of tomorrow will be far different because we have said in Vietnam, as we said 16 years ago in Korea: "This far and no further."

I think I reveal no secret when I tell you that we are dealing with a stubborn adversary who is committed to the use of force and terror to settle political questions.

I wish I could report to you that the conflict is almost over. This I cannot do. We face more cost, more loss, and more agony. For the end is not yet. I cannot promise you that it will come this year—or come next year. Our adversary still believes, I think, tonight, that he can go on fighting longer than we can, and longer than we and our allies will be prepared to stand up and resist.

Our men in that area—there are nearly 500,000 now—have borne well "the burden and the heat of the day." Their efforts have deprived the Communist enemy of the victory that he sought and that he expected a year ago. We have steadily frustrated his main forces. General Westmoreland reports that the enemy can no longer succeed on the battlefield.

So I must say to you that our pressure must be sustained—and will be sustained—until he realizes that the war he started is costing him more than he can ever gain.

I know of no strategy more likely to attain that end than the strategy of "accumulating slowly, but inexorably, every kind of material resource"—of "laboriously teaching troops the very elements of their trade." That, and patience—and I mean a great deal of patience.

Our South Vietnamese allies are also being tested tonight. Because they must provide real security to the people living in the countryside. And this means reducing the terrorism and the armed attacks which kidnaped and killed 26,900 civilians in the last 32 months, to levels where they can be successfully controlled by the regular South Vietnamese security forces. It means bringing to the villagers an effective civilian government that they can respect, and that they can rely upon and that they can participate in, and that they can have a personal stake in. We hope that government is now beginning to emerge.

While I cannot report the desired progress in the pacification effort, the very distinguished and able Ambassador, Henry Cabot Lodge, reports that South Vietnam is turning to this task with a new sense of urgency. We can help, but only they can win this part of the war. Their task is to build and protect a new life in each rural province.

One result of our stand in Vietnam is already clear.

It is this: The peoples of Asia now know that the door to independence is not going to be slammed shut. They know that it is possible for them to choose their own national destinies—without coercion.

The performance of our men in Vietnam—backed by the American people—has created a feeling of confidence and unity among the independent nations of Asia and the Pacific. I saw it in their faces in the 19 days that I spent in their homes and in their countries. Fear of external Communist con-

quest in many Asian nations is already subsiding—and with this, the spirit of hope is rising. For the first time in history, a common outlook and common institutions are already emerging.

This forward movement is rooted in the ambitions and the interests of Asian nations themselves. It was precisely this movement that we hoped to accelerate when I spoke at Johns Hopkins in Baltimore in April 1965, and I pledged “a much more massive effort to improve the life of man” in that part of the world, in the hope that we could take some of the funds that we were spending on bullets and bombs and spend it on schools and production.

Twenty months later our efforts have produced a new reality: The doors of the billion dollar Asian Development Bank that I recommended to the Congress, and you endorsed almost unanimously, I am proud to tell you are already open. Asians are engaged tonight in regional efforts in a dozen new directions. Their hopes are high. Their faith is strong. Their confidence is deep.

And even as the war continues, we shall play our part in carrying forward this constructive historic development. As recommended by the Eugene Black mission, and if other nations will join us, I will seek a special authorization from the Congress of \$200 million for East Asian regional programs.

We are eager to turn our resources to peace. Our efforts in behalf of humanity I think need not be restricted by any parallel or by any boundary line. The moment that peace comes, as I pledged in Baltimore, I will ask the Congress for funds to join in an international program of reconstruction and development for all the people of Vietnam—and their deserving neighbors who wish our help.

We shall continue to hope for a reconcilia-

tion between the people of Mainland China and the world community—including working together in all the tasks of arms control, security, and progress on which the fate of the Chinese people, like their fellow men elsewhere, depends.

We would be the first to welcome a China which decided to respect her neighbors' rights. We would be the first to applaud her were she to apply her great energies and intelligence to improving the welfare of her people. And we have no intention of trying to deny her legitimate needs for security and friendly relations with her neighboring countries.

Our hope that all of this will someday happen rests on the conviction that we, the American people and our allies, will and are going to see Vietnam through to an honorable peace.

We will support all appropriate initiatives by the United Nations, and others, which can bring the several parties together for unconditional discussions of peace—anywhere, any time. And we will continue to take every possible initiative ourselves to constantly probe for peace.

Until such efforts succeed, or until the infiltration ceases, or until the conflict subsides, I think the course of wisdom for this country is that we just must firmly pursue our present course. We will stand firm in Vietnam.

I think you know that our fighting men there tonight bear the heaviest burden of all. With their lives they serve their Nation. We must give them nothing less than our full support—and we have given them that—nothing less than the determination that Americans have always given their fighting men. Whatever our sacrifice here, even if it is more than \$5 a month, it is small compared to their own.

How long it will take I cannot prophesy.

I only know that the will of the American people, I think, is tonight being tested.

Whether we can fight a war of limited objectives over a period of time, and keep alive the hope of independence and stability for people other than ourselves; whether we can continue to act with restraint when the temptation to "get it over with" is inviting but dangerous; whether we can accept the necessity of choosing "a great evil in order to ward off a greater"; whether we can do these without arousing the hatreds and the passions that are ordinarily loosed in time of war—on all these questions so much turns.

The answers will determine not only where we are, but "whither we are tending."

A time of testing—yes. And a time of transition. The transition is sometimes slow; sometimes unpopular; almost always very painful; and often quite dangerous.

But we have lived with danger for a long time before, and we shall live with it for a long time yet to come. We know that "man is born unto trouble." We also know that

this Nation was not forged and did not survive and grow and prosper without a great deal of sacrifice from a great many men.

For all the disorders that we must deal with, and all the frustrations that concern us, and all the anxieties that we are called upon to resolve, for all the issues we must face with the agony that attends them, let us remember that "those who expect to reap the blessings of freedom must, like men, undergo the fatigues of supporting it."

But let us also count not only our burdens but our blessings—for they are many.

And let us give thanks to the One who governs us all.

Let us draw encouragement from the signs of hope—for they, too, are many.

Let us remember that we have been tested before and America has never been found wanting.

So with your understanding, I would hope your confidence, and your support, we are going to persist—and we are going to succeed.

4 Statement by the President Upon Announcing the Appointment of a Commission on Codes, Zoning, Taxation and Development Standards. *January 12, 1967*

NO GREATER challenge faces America than the future of its cities.

The problems are deeply rooted. They are as old as the cities from which they grow.

We have learned that difficulties borne from generations of decay and neglect do not yield to quick or easy solutions.

That is why men of vision and good will have committed themselves to find the right answers. We know those answers can be found.

Today we renew and continue that search.

I am pleased to announce that one of our most distinguished statesmen and econo-

mists—Senator Paul H. Douglas—will head a Commission of distinguished citizens to make the thorough study of our cities and urban areas I recommended to the Congress in my 1965 message on the American city and which the Congress approved in 1966.

Under Senator Douglas' direction the Commission will report to the President and to the Congress. Its charter is twofold:

First: to work with the Department of Housing and Urban Development and conduct a penetrating review of zoning, housing and building codes, taxation and development standards. These processes have not

kept pace with the times. Stunting growth and opportunity, they are the springboards from which many of the ills of urban life flow.

Second: to recommend the solutions, particularly those ways in which the efforts of the Federal Government, private industry, and local communities can be marshaled to increase the supply of low-cost decent housing.

I am delighted that Senator Douglas will continue to serve his country in this promising and challenging assignment.

This Commission is a valuable new addition to our Government-wide efforts—led by Robert Weaver, our able Secretary of Housing and Urban Development—to help arrest the growing blight of our central cities and to bring about an urban renaissance that will make the American city a better

place for all to live and work.

I urge all citizens to cooperate and assist the Commission in its vital work.

NOTE: The White House Press Office also released the names of the Chairman and members of the Commission, as follows: Paul Douglas, Chairman; David L. Baker, supervisor of the 2d District of Orange County, Calif.; Hugo Black, Jr., lawyer, Miami, Fla.; Lewis Davis, architect, Brody & Associates, New York, N.Y.; John DeGrove, professor, Florida Atlantic University, Boca Raton, Fla.; Anthony Downs, treasurer, Real Estate Research Corp., Chicago, Ill.; Ezra Ehrenkrantz, president, Building Systems Development, Inc., San Francisco, Calif.; Jeh Johnson, architect, Poughkeepsie, N.Y.; John Lyons, general president, International Association of Bridge Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers; Richard W. O'Neill, editor, House and Home Magazine; Richard Ravitch, vice president, HRH Construction Corp., New York, N.Y.; Carl Sanders, former Governor of Georgia; Chloethiel W. Smith, Washington architect and city planner; Thomas Vandergriff, mayor, Arlington, Texas; and Coleman Woodbury, professor of urban affairs, University of Wisconsin.

5 Remarks at the Swearing In of Alan S. Boyd as Secretary of the New Department of Transportation. *January 16, 1967*

Secretary and Mrs. Boyd, Members of the Cabinet, Members of Congress, Judge Durfee, ladies and gentlemen, distinguished guests:

There are many enjoyable things that come to a President in the performance of his duty each day and each week, but none have come to me lately that I enjoy more than what I am about to do this morning.

That is, to welcome, as an outstanding merit appointment to the President's Cabinet, a distinguished public official—one who has served with great credit to his State, to his family, and to his people.

Alan Boyd will undertake a major assignment in attempting to coordinate a national transportation policy for this great land of ours.

He will bring together, as authorized and approved by the Congress, more than 30 various agencies, and attempt to get economy and efficiency and give the kind of results that the American people would like to point to with pride.

I said, when I realized we would have a new Transportation Department, that I wanted to look this country over and select the most competent man available for this assignment.

You might not believe this—and maybe my credibility will be attacked for saying it—but the pressures were relatively few. I don't recall any—although somebody might produce a letter.

But I had the best personnel man in the Government look far and wide throughout

the land. I reviewed every single prospect that we could think of.

We looked at business, we looked at labor, we looked at public officials, we looked at State commissions, and so forth. And the one and only name that came up was Alan Boyd.

I asked him to come to see me and to take this assignment. He has agreed to do so. In doing so, he is doing so at great sacrifice to

himself financially and to his family recreationally.

I hope that it will be of great benefit to all the Nation. I believe it will be.

Mr. Secretary, we are ready to swear you in and welcome you to the Cabinet.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:36 a.m. in the East Room at the White House. In his opening words he referred to Judge James R. Durfee of the United States Court of Claims, who administered the oath of office.

6 The President's News Conference of *January 17, 1967*

[Held with Charles L. Schultze, Director, Bureau of the Budget]

BUDGET AND ECONOMIC MESSAGES

THE PRESIDENT. [1.] We have our Budget Message about in shape. It will go up on Tuesday, the 24th. You will be briefed Monday afternoon, a full day before it goes up.

The Economic Message will go up on the 26th unless something unforeseen develops. We have been working this afternoon on the details of the deferments and the withholding that we indicated to Chairman Mills¹ and others back in September we would attempt to make from last year's authorizations and appropriations.

CUTBACKS IN PROGRAMS AND EXPENDITURES

[2.] You will recall that we stated at that time that we would attempt, along with the investment credit legislation, and as soon as appropriations bills were passed and were reviewed by the various departments, to try to withhold or defer or stretch out and post-

pone the equivalent of \$3 billion, or at least \$3 billion. It was \$3 billion in Federal programs, and not expenditures.

Most of the articles were written on expenditures. There is a good deal of difference between the two. I am not criticizing. I want to point that out so we don't make the same error again.

When we did make the announcement, in order to get the \$3 billion in expenditures which the stories had indicated, it was necessary to go to \$5 billion-something in programs. We are still working to that end. We have gone over various items this afternoon.

Just as a little more background for you—this is on the record, but it is a little background on the subject—the Congress increased my budget recommendations by \$3 billion 202 million. The last figure we have on the expenditures increase is \$2 billion 600 million. That is what we estimated would be the increase in expenditures.

We propose to reduce the program level not by \$3 billion, but by \$5.3 billion. We propose to reduce the expenditures by \$3 billion.

¹ Representative Wilbur D. Mills of Arkansas, Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives.

HIGHWAY PROGRAM

[3.] One of the bigger items is the obligation for roads. As we have previously told you, that was \$1.1 billion. We have under consideration an additional \$400 million. That is not included in any of these figures. No determination has been made on it.

I will want to review that with the successor to Mr. Whitton and some details with the Budget Director and with Mr. Boyd.² But we do plan definitely to withhold \$1.1 billion, or to defer it. How long, I don't know, but that depends on the economic situation.

For your background, our road program in 1967 was estimated to be \$4 billion 440 million. From that we are withholding \$1.1 billion at the moment, and considering another \$400 million.

Q. These are expenditures?

THE PRESIDENT. These are obligations.

Q. What fiscal year is this, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT. This is fiscal 1967. I will take questions after this is over, if I may give you this now. I think that I can make it clear.

As an illustration, in 1960 we had \$2 billion 610 million in road obligations. In 1961 we had \$3 billion 187 million. In 1962 we had \$3 billion 34 million. That jumped from \$3 billion 34 million to \$4 billion 1.

We think it is a very desirable program. We are very anxious to carry it on, but if we

² Rex M. Whitton, Federal Highway Administrator, Department of Commerce. With the transfer of that position to the new Department of Transportation, the White House on January 17 announced the appointment of Lowell K. Bridwell, Deputy Under Secretary of Commerce for Transportation, as Federal Highway Administrator in the Department of Transportation (3 Weekly Comp. Pres. Docs., p. 52). Alan S. Boyd, until then Under Secretary of Commerce for Transportation, was sworn in on January 16 as the first Secretary of Transportation (see Item 5 above).

do have tight labor supplies and if we do have tight problems such as we have had with our economy, we would like to release this under different conditions. We would feel free to do it at any time if we felt those conditions were justified. We expect to get about \$400 million in expenditures from that item.

PURCHASE OF MORTGAGES

[4.] In addition, the Congress appropriated about \$1 billion to purchase various housing paper over and above our request. We have released \$250 million of that. We have impounded, or withheld, \$750 million. Those are the two bigger items.

A good many people are anxious to get more details on more detailed programs. We have those. They will be submitted to the Congress very shortly. Mr. Schultze will go over some of those now with you.

CORPS OF ENGINEERS, PUBLIC WORKS

[5.] One is the Corps of Engineers, which they call the public works program. I think you refer to them as "pork barrels." They are the dams and the post offices and things like that under GSA. Dams and irrigation are under Interior and the Corps of Engineers. He can review the exact figures on those. I think that they will be interesting.

MR. SCHULTZE. Starting with the Corps of Engineers, there are some illustrations of the kinds of things that are involved in cutting back programs by \$5 billion and expenditures by \$3 billion.

For the Corps of Engineers in the 1967 budget, we asked for 25 new starts. The Congress gave us 58. What we are doing is taking every one of those and deferring them from 3 to 6 months, depending on the nature of the project.

Q. Including the 25?

MR. SCHULTZE. All 58. In other words, they will be deferred from 3 to 6 months, depending on the nature of the project. In addition, we have gone down the list of ongoing work in the Corps of Engineers. Where it is physically possible and economically possible to defer new components, and new parts of an ongoing project, we have done that. Altogether the value of contracts involved that will be deferred under this procedure comes out to about \$436 million. The value of expenditures that will be cut in the fiscal year 1967 from that is about \$60 million.

These, as you know, are long-term projects. You cut a \$100,000 contract and you get about \$10,000 to \$20,000 the first year.

THE PRESIDENT. I could make one point. One of the handicaps we have is the appropriation bills came the latter part of the year. Almost 6 months of the fiscal year had gone.

MR. SCHULTZE. A good example of that is the highway program. Given the fact we were well into the year, we started with October 31. From October 31 we told them to take \$1 billion 100 thousand off.

HEW PROJECTS

[6.] In the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare we cut back, or deferred, or postponed contracts on obligations and commitments amounting to \$590 million, approximately, in such areas as the following: for example, deferring or postponing construction contract awards in various health and education areas amounting to some \$200 million-odd. This leads to expenditure cuts in this year of \$100 million-some, and cutting back on some research facility grants.

In other words, it was simply postponing

things that would have been done in December, and pushing them over to January and February.

This sort of postponement within the year on about \$60 million worth of work can save us about \$45 million in actual expenditures simply because you are starting them later in the year.

EXAMPLES IN GSA

[7.] In the case of, for example, the General Services Administration, which builds most Federal buildings—we are deferring and postponing those buildings to the tune of some 85-odd million dollars, giving us an expenditure saving of \$20 million.

The next is a small item. It indicates the fact that you have to go through hundreds of items to do this. We have issued new standards to the purchase of automobiles, which will cut back about \$8 million worth of automobile purchases this year.

It is my recollection of those standards that they used to be that you would run the car for 6 years or 60,000 miles. Now I think it is 7 years or 72,000 miles. We calculated how many cars were involved. It comes to \$8 million.

That is a small item but it is indicative.

AGRICULTURE PROJECTS

[8.] In another case, in the Agriculture Department, we are taking the so-called small watershed project, which is another form of public works, the small upstream public works of one kind or the other, dams and embankments and the like, and postponing, deferring, and stretching those out, and saving us some \$17 million in expenditures this year.

In that particular case, for example, we

started the year in terms of our own budget recommendations, asking for 35 such small watershed starts. We got 80 from the Congress. There are others in various FHA loan programs and similar loan programs of the Department of Agriculture.

THE PRESIDENT. That is farmers' home loan program.

MR. SCHULTZE. We are again deferring and cutting back on those loan programs, giving us altogether in the loan programs combined a saving up to about \$90 million in expenditures for the year.

THE PRESIDENT. We hope if money continues to get easier, the drain on those loan programs, or the demand, will be less. As they tightened they couldn't get money at the bank. They could come to the Government agencies to get it.

AEC PROJECTS; THE PROGRAMS GENERALLY

[9.] MR. SCHULTZE. In the case of the Atomic Energy Commission again, scattered throughout the Commission's program, we are deferring or postponing some construction and other projects worth about \$85 million in contract value, saving us about \$30 million in expenditures.

These are the kinds of items. Obviously, it is not a complete list and it won't add up to the totals. We are preparing the totals in usable and assimilable form which we will submit to the Congress shortly. This gives you an idea of the kind of things involved across the board.

I tried to give you illustrations of the different kinds of items. You see they are heavily in terms of deferring and stretching out and slowing down and postponing wherever possible rather than cutting whole programs out.

THE PRESIDENT. I think we should emphasize to all of you, so you don't misunder-

stand, that we are making no claim or no pretense. We have made no promise to kill any one of these items.

They all remain authorized where that was the action, or authorized and appropriated. But because the economy at that time was heating up, and because we were asking the Congress to suspend the investment credit and to ask the States and the cities and the private people to withhold their construction and their plant and equipment investment, we agreed with Chairman Mills to withhold and postpone or to defer for the time being \$3 billion worth of programs.

We are shooting now at in excess of \$5 billion in programs. We hope \$3 billion in expenditures. The economy will come and go and change. That is our breakdown as of today. That is what we are shooting at.

In addition, we have in all of the departments other items under consideration and we have not made judgments on them.

For example, there are \$400 million in obligations that won't mean near that much in expenditures. But would you guess \$100 million in expenditures?

MR. SCHULTZE. For this year, it will probably be less than \$100 million.

THE PRESIDENT. But we have that under consideration. In other departments we are reviewing to see if there are any other places that we can take action.

MR. SCHULTZE. One point is very important, if I may add. In the President's September 8th Economic Message, we indicated that when we went at this business of reducing expenditures, we would essentially do it in three ways. That is exactly what we have done:

First, we would withhold or postpone or defer funds that we had requested in the budget.

Secondly, we would withhold, defer, or

postpone in areas where the Congress had added appropriations to our recommendations.

Thirdly, we would reduce in cases where the Congress, as they did in a number of cases, substantially increased our substantive legislative authorizations—we would not send up appropriations to cover that.

THE PRESIDENT. That is it in the supplemental. A good many times the Congress will pass a bill and say, "We authorize you to spend \$50 million." Then, they will come right down and say, "Now that we have passed the legislation, send up a supplemental so we can get it this year."

So we said, "We will do it in three ways." Some of those would be withholding authorizations that had been passed, not asking for supplementals. Although we think they are desirable and we would like to do it, we are withholding some.

MR. SCHULTZE. Last September, when we sent the supplemental up, we did not include such items and again when we went up—whatever supplementals we have to send this year we will not include those.

THE PRESIDENT. We will take any questions.

QUESTIONS

HIGHWAYS

[10.] Q. Sir, as to the \$400 million additional program withholding on highways, it is not included in the \$5.3 billion program you have given us?

THE PRESIDENT. No, nor in the \$3 billion expenditures.

Q. What you have been doing is mainly today hardening up these \$5.3 billion and \$3 billion figures which you told us about down in Texas earlier, getting down to specific programs where that will come from?

THE PRESIDENT. We have been pretty specific. This is somewhat more detailed. We will see if there have been any changes from what we thought and what extra items should be considered, like the road program.

Basically, this is what we have planned: The two big items, as you must see, are the \$1 billion for roads and \$750 million for purchases of housing, the public works and the Corps of Engineers and Interior. Those are the really big ones. HEW has some.

We have, on new construction, tried to postpone new construction wherever we could. That means new buildings, new post offices, new HEW research centers, and new things of that nature. That is what we had in Texas. But we are now just trying to take a good look and see if there is anything else that can be added.

HOUSING CREDIT

[11.] Q. I am not clear yet on this \$750 million and \$250 million figure that you used.

THE PRESIDENT. Congress appropriated \$1 billion not requested by the administration for the administration to use in purchasing housing paper. We have decided that we would get the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, because of the conditions in the market, to make available more money to savings and loans.

The legislation we passed up there last year has improved their situation some. They have reduced their interest rates to the borrowing persons by one-quarter of 1 percent, as I announced the other day.

We are trying to withhold the appropriated funds that Congress gave us to the extent of \$1 billion. We have already authorized the expenditure of \$250 million. It is conceivable that we would have to release other amounts of it, but we have not done

so. We hope we do not have to. That will depend on the economic situation.

Housing had a big jump again in December. We had one in November. We don't know how permanent that is. That is one of the major items that we did not ask for and Congress gave us. We are not going to use it, as of this time, in light of the conditions today.

REASONS FOR CUTBACKS

[12.] Q. Mr. President, would it be fair to say that all of these programs would have gone ahead under the original figures if it were not for the war in Vietnam?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I wouldn't say that.

Q. Then could you explain why you are cutting down on all of these?

THE PRESIDENT. I have done that two or three times. It is the economy. There are a lot of people employed, a tightness of labor. We are over our budget figures. We are running in excess. Congress added about \$3 billion in programs from what we asked. Presidents pretty generally have tried to hold back additions when Congress exceeded them.

Q. If the economy should turn around, would these withholdings be reversed?

THE PRESIDENT. They could be very easily. We are now studying it every day. There are some funds in the past several years that have been authorized and appropriated. We have given serious consideration to releasing those at the appropriate time. They may very well be released any day. That depends on the conditions in the particular department.

We think that you can get by, at least for a few months, on new Federal buildings and post offices. We may not think that we can get by on a very important ammunition depot that has been authorized. It depends

on the department. It depends on the situation.

But we are now studying what we can do. In this year's budget, we will include a request for new obligational authority for \$1 billion for defense facilities over and above what has already been authorized and appropriated for.

In case we wanted to, or in case we needed to, if the men should come home and we should have a need for extra jobs, we could immediately come up to Congress and say: "You have already authorized this. Give us some money now, we will come in with a supplemental for it."

We are now prepared. In case we do need jobs for our men, we will have projects that are available to them. We will not have to work them up overnight.

RELATION TO PROPOSED TAX INCREASE

[13.] Q. In your mind, does this buttress your case for a 6 percent tax surcharge?

THE PRESIDENT. This just carries out a commitment that we have made at the time. We sent up the investment credit request and the accelerated depreciation request. We believed that would temper the economy—in some degree cool it.

We told them that with the announcement of this, which we did announce, and which we had withheld, and which we did not put into the economic bloodstream, that we thought that would be helpful to the economy.

Now, we think that in the light of the expenditures we are going to have next year, and in the light of the fact that \$20 billion have been rebated to the taxpayers, over what they would have paid had we not had three tax repealers, that this is prudent and good, sound fiscal policy to go ahead with the budget that we have.

We will ask married people with two children who earn over \$5,000 to make some modest contribution. I believe the schedule showed yesterday, if you have two children and make \$10,000, you would pay \$67 a year. That is about \$5 a month with a \$10,000 income.

With a \$15,000 income, it is \$10 or \$20 a month. It is a very nominal amount.

As to a corporation, I had better not get into corporation figures, but I saw one schedule where I believe with \$500,000 it is \$14,000. So we think it is a very small part of what has already been rebated.

We think it is fiscally desirable so we don't have to pay interest on this amount of money, to try to raise at least a part of it, or \$4 billion, or \$5 billion, or \$6 billion. We think we can do it.

We hope with social security we will pay out to the lower groups in the neighborhood of \$4 billion plus. We would expect to take from those making above \$10,000 and up a little over \$4 billion. So it kind of balances off.

We think that is desirable rather than have a deficit of the magnitude we would have. However, in all of the wars we have had we have not only had tax bills and controls, but we have had deficits.

During World War II, we had deficits that ranged up in the dozens of billions of dollars.

During Korea, we had rather high deficits, too. You know we look at it as to how it affects the economy. We hear our people say, "If you bring these people back from Europe, we will save money that way. You will reduce expenses here and there."

Well, that is fine. If they can reduce expenditures that the Congress is willing to vote, we will gladly consider their judgments. We invite them.

Someone said today at lunch that they seriously thought it would cost us as much if we brought them back. So where they are going to reduce, I don't know.

What happened last year? At one time that figure was up from \$3 billion to \$8 billion. But we had conferences with the leadership, several times, of both parties. We had conferences with the members of the Appropriations Committees of both parties. We pled with them to stay within the budget estimates.

We have a budget estimate in here for \$1 billion for a pay raise that would give our Federal people some increase to come close to as much as private industry is getting.

A good many items in the budget they may raise, instead of reduce. I am sure they will reduce some.

My judgment is if we can judge it further by the past, you can see what will happen. We have tried to reduce everything and postpone everything that we could reduce which we thought was in the national interest.

I don't think we can reduce the Teacher Corps. I don't think we can postpone the Head Start projects. I don't think we can postpone what we are doing in the cities.

I know we have our interest bill. I know we have our defense bill. The increase is \$5 billion for defense and \$700 million for interest, and \$1 billion for the pay raise. That makes \$6.7 billion. The total increase was \$8.3 billion. So there is \$7 billion of the \$8.3 billion there.

Some people say that they can reduce other items.

In most instances those items were increased rather than reduced. I don't want to make a judgment on what they want to do. I am trying to tell you what we are trying to do. We may not be able to do everything that we hope.

This is what we hope. There it is spelled out in just about as much detail as we can give it to you by department.

There are about five principal items. There are roads, housing, agricultural loans, and so-called public works projects in both the Corps of Engineers and in Interior. They may all be AA-plus projects. We are trying to hold them back until we have a stronger need for them than we had last September and October.

I want to emphasize that nobody said we are going to save this much money ultimately. We are trying. I went over all of this list with the leadership several times. It has been reviewed with them. They understand it. They did not endorse it item by item, but they generally are familiar with it. They generally approved it. I would hope that all of them would try to stay within the budget this year.

SUBMITTAL OF PROPOSALS TO CHAIRMAN MILLS

[14.] Q. Are you sending a detailed list of these proposals to Chairman Mills?

THE PRESIDENT. We have. I am giving it to all of you now. I can't get much more detailed than to point out 85 projects in the various areas, the new construction in HEW and things of that kind. We have watched the construction angle very closely because of the tightness of the labor market and because of the overheating there.

I will be glad to answer any other questions if you have them.

HEART, CANCER, AND STROKE CENTERS

[15.] Q. Are some of these HEW projects the heart and cancer and stroke centers that were under construction?

MR. SCHULTZE. Yes, a small amount. That

was about \$10 million. It is a small amount.

THE PRESIDENT. I will take any other question on any other subject if you have them.

SCHEDULE OF MESSAGES

[16.] Q. When is the budget going up?

THE PRESIDENT. On the 24th, on Tuesday. By law it is due there the 25th.

The Economic Message we would expect the 26th, unless something unforeseen develops. We will try to brief you on Monday afternoon. You will have Monday afternoon and Tuesday morning before it goes up at noon.

Q. Mr. President, do you plan to tie your supplemental in with your Vietnam message, and if so, can you say when that is coming up?

THE PRESIDENT. We don't have a schedule on messages. We won't have until they are ready to go. Often after the recommendations get here there have to be changes.

I think it is bad to schedule or promise something and then miss it. We will give you advance notice. We will brief you just as soon as they are available.

Speculations and predictions on them do not get us anywhere. We are working on a number of messages. We are working around the clock.

Q. How about putting those together? Can you say whether you plan to do that, the supplemental and the Vietnam message?

THE PRESIDENT. I think we will have some reference to the amount of money. One of them will be a statement of the situation. The other will be the amount of money.

You pretty well know how much money we will need. We have given you that figure exactly.

MR. SCHULTZE. In expenditure terms, it is

\$9.6 billion. I believe that is right.

THE PRESIDENT. That is Secretary McNamara's figure, \$9.4 billion.

CONGRESSIONAL REACTION TO PROPOSED
TAX INCREASE

[17.] Q. Have you had any reading yet from people in the House particularly, on when and whether you are going to get the tax increase you asked for?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think anyone will know that until the bill comes to us. I would think that they would have their own views, and make their own contributions. We expect them to. It is a fine committee.

Last year, we asked them for a tax bill and to restore some excise taxes and accelerate some payments. We had nothing that was urgent on the agenda that had been scheduled. They were very cooperative, as were Senator Long and Senator Williams in the Senate.³

We received it here and signed it on March 15th. We took about \$11 billion out of the economy last year. We are asking them to take out about \$4 billion this year. We did it by accelerated payments and excise taxes.

In September, we asked for the investment credit and the accelerated depreciation and changes in certain corporate rates. We got it before the Congress adjourned. So they were very cooperative.

Now, we do have something that has a high priority. We have a debt limit. We are running very close to it. The Congress cut our figure last year and reduced it by \$2 billion, as you recall. So we must have hearings on that.

We must get action on that in the Con-

³ Senator Russell B. Long of Louisiana, Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, and Senator John J. Williams of Delaware, ranking Republican member of the Committee.

gress if we are to pay our bills and not violate the law.

Before it was determined what our budget would be, or what our tax situation would be, we committed ourselves to the social security program. When we talked to Chairman Mills and others, they agreed that early in the session when we got the debt limit out of the way we would take up social security.

I made a speech in Baltimore,⁴ as you may remember, and outlined some objectives we had. That will take some time. How long, I don't know.

I reviewed this schedule with Mr. Mills on December 12th. I asked him to come to the ranch, but he had a family situation. Some of the other leaders came. Senator Mansfield, Mr. Boggs, and others came, as did Senator Dirksen.⁵

Mr. Mills could not come on that occasion, so we came back. I asked Mr. Mills to come to Washington. He met with us at some length on December 12th. We reviewed the various alternatives following the debt limit and social security, if we sent up a tax measure, and the various percentages that he would consider and so forth.

Then on December 13th, we met from 2:30 until about 5:30. We spent all afternoon with the Acting Secretary of the Treasury⁶ and the Council of Economic Advisers, Mr. Califano,⁷ and the Director of the Budget, Mr. Schultze.

⁴ See 1966 volume, this series, Book II, Item 509.

⁵ Senator Mike Mansfield of Montana, Majority Leader of the Senate, Representative Hale Boggs of Louisiana, Majority Whip of the House of Representatives, and Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen of Illinois, Minority Leader of the Senate.

⁶ Under Secretary Joseph W. Barr, who was Acting Secretary during Mr. Fowler's attendance at the NATO meeting in Paris, December 12-16, 1966.

⁷ Joseph A. Califano, Jr., Special Assistant to the President.

We reviewed this with him then. We received his ideas and his general impressions. We had Senator Long here. We asked him to come from Louisiana. We sent them both back that night by plane. They left here about 6:30 after reviewing the possibilities.

Then Secretary Fowler came back from Europe. We had the Secretary of the Treasury and Mr. McNamara, the Secretary of Labor, Secretary of Commerce, and the Council of Economic Advisers together. They had a series of meetings and made their recommendations to me.

I considered those recommendations. Then I exchanged views with each of these executive people before I wrote my message.

Now, no one wants a tax bill unless it is in the national interest. We think it is. We may not be persuasive but we are going to give our views and we are going to respect theirs. We believe if we have a tax bill that we will have an easier money situation.

So we are not asking too much. We hope that this will reduce the deficit. We have had deficits in other wars—rather substantial ones—in Korea, and extremely substantial ones in World War II.

We just think that while we have 2,900,000 new jobs, with very high employment and very high wages, it is time to defer some of this.

FEDERAL RESERVE ACTION

[18.] Q. You mentioned easier money. What do you hope the Federal Reserve will do in the face of this tax increase?

THE PRESIDENT. We think that the Federal Reserve has been cooperating and working very well. We are very glad to see the 90-day bill rate down. It is 4.60 or 4.70 compared to almost 6 percent at one time.

Since we are asking for a tax increase, and since we are trying to exercise prudence, such as withholding these things we have here today, and applying some restraints ourselves, Mr. Martin⁸ and his colleagues have been very cooperative. They work with us very closely. We don't always agree on everything in the Government, even among the Cabinet members.

As all of you know, we hoped we would all agree before the decision of the Federal Reserve last December. We didn't. In the light of all that has happened, I think that the Government is in pretty general agreement. I think Mr. Martin favors a tax increase. He recommended it to me. The Secretary of the Treasury recommended it. The Chairman of the Economic Advisers recommended it. The Secretary of Defense recommended it. The Secretary of Labor recommended it. The Secretary of Commerce recommended it.

They reviewed it from all possible angles. None of us really wanted it. But we didn't think it was too much to ask.

The gross national product has been going up. We think tax repeal contributed to that and brought about good conditions. Now we think we ought to adjust ourselves and try to pay for some of these things.

WAYS AND MEANS COMMITTEE ACTION

[19.] Q. Is the Ways and Means Committee going ahead with social security ahead of the tax bill?

THE PRESIDENT. They have not told me. That was their plan, though, before we ever decided on a tax item. I think the best an-

⁸ William McChesney Martin, Jr., Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System.

nouncement on that would be from Mr. Mills.

Q. You wouldn't object to that?

THE PRESIDENT. That is their program. That is what we agreed to. It is not for me to set their agenda. I know from my 30 years there that I would get in trouble if I started to try to list the priorities under which they should proceed.

It was their plan. It was agreeable to the administration before we ever made a tax recommendation, for them to take up the debt limit and then social security. We decided back in September that we would have these meetings before Congress returned and try to explore the desirability of a tax increase. If one were decided upon, I would recommend it. That is what we did.

DEFENSE DEPARTMENT BUDGET

[20.] Q. Can you say what the Defense Department budget will be?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, but I think it is just as well we wait. It is up approximately \$5 billion. It will be in the neighborhood of \$73 billion-plus. However, you have to give me a few hundred million leeway on that. It has already gone to the printer. It can't be changed.

Miss Helen Thomas, United Press International: Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: President Johnson's ninety-fourth news conference was held in his office at the White House at 5:45 p.m. on Tuesday, January 17, 1967. As printed above, this item follows the text of the Official White House Transcript.

7 The President's Toast at a Dinner Honoring the Vice President, the Speaker, and the Chief Justice. *January 17, 1967*

Mr. Vice President, Mr. Speaker, Mr. Chief Justice, Mr. Leader Mansfield, Mr. Leader Dirksen, Mr. Leader Ford, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

Tonight we have come here to honor three men whom we love as well as three institutions which we cherish.

A common thread runs through the careers of all three of these men. It binds together the institutions which they represent and which they speak for. That is the love of liberty.

Each of these men has passed through many trials. Each has borne the burden of many conflicts. Each has suffered the venomous abuse which often attends good men in public life.

Yet never have they retreated. Never have they for one moment withdrawn from the

struggle. Never have they flinched from the total commitment to freedom.

It was the richness of this American earth which made all of us powerful and affluent in this land. But it was the fidelity of men like these which really made us free.

So in these turbulent hours which are to come, filled with achievement and promise, filled with crisis and doubt, the names of Humphrey and McCormack and Warren stand for tenacity of purpose and for sureness of vision.

These three men have loved the law. They have loved the human spirit. They have strengthened the institutions of Government. They have understood the demands of change.

They have served all of their fellow men. They have been faithful to a cause which

endures beyond the passing generation.

I tell you no secret when I say I am very proud that I may call each of them my friend, Republicans and Democrats.

But prouder still am I that they are the friends of all the people. They have the power today. They have the voice to speak for every man.

So tonight we express our great pleasure at the honor you do us by coming here.

I should like my fellow Americans to join me in saluting these adventurers, these pioneers, these statesmen.

We are not going to ask you to take the pledge of allegiance. But we are going to remind you that it would be good for each of us, if we could truly say, unto ourselves, one nation, indivisible, united, with equality and justice and understanding.

Finally the thing which we seek most is understanding of all men everywhere—peace in the world.

So to these statesmen who have blazed a trail for human dignity in this land, I want to ask those associated with us tonight to join in a toast to the Vice President of the United States, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and to the great Chief Justice of the United States.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:20 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House. In his opening words he referred to Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey, Representative John W. McCormack of Massachusetts, Speaker of the House of Representatives, Earl Warren, Chief Justice of the United States, Senator Mike Mansfield of Montana, Majority Leader of the Senate, Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen of Illinois, Minority Leader of the Senate, and Representative Gerald R. Ford of Michigan, Minority Leader of the House of Representatives.

Following the President's remarks, the Vice President proposed a toast as follows:

Mr. President, Mrs. Johnson, Speaker and Mrs. McCormack, Chief Justice and Mrs. Warren, dis-

tinguished Members of the Congress, the Cabinet, and the many honored guests:

Mr. President, I am sure that you must know as I speak to you tonight and to your guests, how very humble and yet grateful we are for the high honor that you have paid us. You have paid honor, and honor justly deserved and earned, to the great Speaker; to a man of the law that has breathed into the law the spirit of humanity and justice, the Chief Justice; and you have made me eternally grateful for the words that you have said tonight.

I can't help but say what a magnificent evening, and what an evening of fellowship and friendship, and of fun. It seems as if we are one family here tonight.

You said, Mr. President, in your State of the Union Message, that this is a time of testing. I think in those words you truly challenge the American people—challenge them as they want to be challenged, because this is a brave people.

You know, Mr. President, more than any of us, that the burdens of world leadership are not carried easily; yet you also know, and we know with you, that they must be carried.

You, Mr. President, as a young Congressman—and I have heard you speak of those days many times, and heard you speak of them with deep meaning, affection, and concern—were moved and you were inspired by the dreams and the leadership of the man who in that day occupied this house and was your President and my President—Franklin Roosevelt.

I know that the life of Franklin Roosevelt and his works inspired you. I know that you share his vision—his vision as stated then and as known now—of a world of human opportunity in which people—all people, as you have said this evening—may live in dignity and in freedom—yes, in opportunity; but, above all, in peace.

The last words Franklin Roosevelt ever wrote, and yet never had the chance to speak, were written in another time of testing and they are words yet unspoken and yet known, and truly like the living word.

They were these: "The only limit to our realization of tomorrow will be our doubts of today."

And then this man said, "Let us move forward with strong and active faith."

That was the challenge of a President in his time. It was the challenge left us by President Roosevelt, but it is very much the same challenge that you gave to us only a few days ago in your State of the Union Message—a message of profound thought, a message of courage, and a message of demonstrated leadership.

That challenge given to us is one that those who stand alongside of you, Mr. President, readily accept. And not only accept, but we hasten to take it up.

Tonight, Mr. President and Mrs. Johnson, Mr. Speaker and Mrs. McCormack, Chief Justice and Mrs. Warren, and others, I ask you to join me, my fellow Americans, in a toast to a man who lives at a

time that we are being tested; who has been tested; who has that faith, that strong and active faith, which this Nation and this world need and reach out to accept.

I ask you to join me in a toast to the President of the United States.

[As printed above, this item follows the text released by the White House Press Office.]

8 Letter Accepting Resignation of John T. Connor as Secretary of Commerce. *January 18, 1967*

Dear Jack:

It is never easy to part with a member of our official family or adequately to convey how much we will miss him.

The diversity of your experience and skills, your astute business sense, your managerial and organizational skills, and your economic judgments have contributed much to the successful operation of the Department of Commerce. Your leadership has been vital to our record economic progress.

You have given two full and selfless years to your country at a time of vast decision and change, and although I appreciate the personal decisions you must now embrace, I

also want you to know that I am grateful for your willingness to remain available to serve your country when needed.

You and Mary have been a source of great strength to Lady Bird and me. I hope you and your family find the happiness and success that you so richly deserve.

Sincerely,

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

[Honorable John T. Connor, Secretary of Commerce, Washington, D.C.]

NOTE: Mr. Connor served as Secretary of Commerce from January 18, 1965, to January 31, 1967. His letter of resignation, released with the President's reply, is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 3, p. 62).

9 Remarks Upon Presenting the Medal of Honor to Maj. Bernard F. Fisher, USAF. *January 19, 1967*

Major Fisher, Mrs. Fisher and family, Secretary Brown, General McConnell, distinguished guests, members of the press, ladies and gentlemen:

We have come here to the East Room this morning to honor Maj. Bernard F. Fisher of the United States Air Force. He is the first Air officer to win the Medal of Honor in Vietnam.

Major Fisher has won this honor—the Nation's highest honor—because of uncom-

mon gallantry in the face of death.

The action for which we salute him today took place last March and took place during a very bitter and a very bloody battle.

Yet in that battle it did not involve taking a life, but did involve saving a life. The man Major Fisher rescued, Lt. Col. Dafford Myers, is here with us today.

I should like to point out that this desire to save lives instead of taking lives is not just confined to Major Fisher. It is rather,

I think, typical of all our men in Vietnam. It is particularly true of those who serve with Major Fisher in the most difficult air war in the history of the United States.

Like Major Fisher, these men fight with determination. But they hate the killing, and they hate the destruction, and they hate the waste that are products of war.

Like Major Fisher, all of these air men have accepted an extra risk.

It is not the hazard of flying in the mountainous, jungle-covered country, though that is very difficult.

It is not the threat of an aggressive, well-equipped, and fanatical enemy, though this is very great.

These men are conducting the most careful and the most self-limited air war in history.

They are trying to apply the maximum amount of pressure with the minimum amount of danger to our own people.

There are no fixed fronts in Vietnam, nothing that really separates friend from enemy or civilian from military.

Through Major Fisher and Lieutenant Colonel Myers, and the other fliers in that March mission who are here today—Captain Francisco Vazquez, Captain Jon Lucas, and Captain Dennis Hague—I would like through all these gallant men to honor the men of the United States Air Force who are serving us in Vietnam and in that area.

Those men in that Air Force are helping us to win a very difficult war.

They are helping us to defeat a very treacherous enemy.

They are helping a young nation to be free and to be born and to be independent.

They are helping their own Nation, the United States of America, to honor a pledge, to keep a commitment, to make its word good, and to be treated, trusted, and re-

spected in its alliances.

They deserve the best their Nation can offer them because they are the best of this Nation.

Thank you very much.

[Secretary of the Air Force Harold Brown read the citation, the text of which follows.]

The President of the United States of America, authorized by Act of Congress, March 3, 1896, has awarded in the name of The Congress the Medal of Honor to

BERNARD F. FISHER

MAJOR, UNITED STATES AIR FORCE

for conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity in action at the risk of his life above and beyond the call of duty:

Major Bernard F. Fisher distinguished himself by conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity at the risk of his life above and beyond the call of duty as an A-1E pilot near A Shau, Republic of Vietnam, on 10 March 1966. On that date, the special forces camp at A Shau was under attack by 2,000 North Vietnamese Army Regulars. Hostile troops had positioned themselves between the airstrip and the camp. Other hostile troops had surrounded the camp and were continuously raking it with automatic weapons fire from the surrounding hills. The tops of the 1,500-foot hills were obscured by an 800-foot ceiling, limiting aircraft maneuverability and forcing pilots to operate within range of hostile gun positions, which often were able to fire down on the attacking aircraft. During the battle, Major Fisher observed a fellow airman crash land on the battle torn airstrip. In the belief that the downed pilot was seriously injured and in imminent

danger of capture, Major Fisher announced his intention to land on the airstrip to effect a rescue. Although aware of the extreme danger and likely failure of such an attempt, he elected to continue. Directing his own air cover, he landed his aircraft and taxied almost the full length of the runway, which was littered with battle debris and parts of an exploded aircraft. While effecting a successful rescue of the downed pilot, heavy ground fire was observed, with nineteen bullets striking his aircraft. In the face of the withering ground fire, he applied power and gained enough speed to lift-off at the overrun of the airstrip. Major Fisher's conspicuous gallantry, his profound concern for his fellow airman, and his intrepidity at the risk of his life above and beyond the call of

duty are in the highest traditions of the United States Air Force and reflect great credit upon himself and the armed forces of his country.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:42 a.m. in the East Room at the White House. In his opening words he referred to Maj. Bernard F. Fisher, Mrs. Fisher, Harold Brown, Secretary of the Air Force, and Gen. John P. McConnell, Chief of Staff of the Air Force.

A White House announcement of January 18 stated that Major Fisher's was the seventh Medal of Honor awarded in the Vietnam conflict and the first to a member of the Air Force. The announcement added that Capt. Francisco Vazquez, Capt. Jon Lucas, and Capt. Dennis Hague, who had flown cover for Major Fisher's mission in Vietnam, would attend the ceremony, as would Major Fisher's wife Rella Jane and their five sons. The announcement is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 3, p. 62).

10 Message to the Congress Transmitting Second Annual Report on the International Coffee Agreement. *January 19, 1967*

To the Congress of the United States:

I am transmitting to you my Second Annual Report on the operation of the International Coffee Agreement as required by P.L. 89-23.

During the past year the International Coffee Agreement has successfully served both coffee producers and consumers in a changing market situation. New measures have made the Agreement more flexible and responsive to consumer wants. Coffee prices continued to be reasonably stable, at levels fair to consuming and producing countries alike.

Nevertheless, major problems remain. Until production is brought into balance with demand, countries heavily dependent on earnings from their production of coffee will

face a continuing threat of instability. The Coffee Agreement provides time to work out solutions. It has already encouraged producing countries to pay more attention to the need to diversify their economies.

With cooperation from all members, the Coffee Agreement will continue to operate as a stabilizing force in the world coffee market. It is an important adjunct to the Alliance for Progress in Latin America and to our economic assistance programs in other parts of the world.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

The White House

January 19, 1967

NOTE: The report is entitled "1966 Annual Report of the President to the Congress on the International Coffee Agreement" (Department of State, 18 pp., processed, with annexes).

11 Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House Recommending Extension of the Appalachian Program.

January 20, 1967

Dear Mr. President: (Dear Mr. Speaker:)

I recommend that the Congress extend the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965.

The Act was conceived in a true spirit of partnership. It was originated by the Governors of the Appalachian states. It was formed in close cooperation with the Executive Branch. And it was approved by the Congress of all the people.

That partnership has flourished. Working together through the Appalachian Regional Commission, the 12 Governors and the Federal Co-Chairman are bringing new hope—human and economic—to the 18 million people who live in Appalachia.

Today, there is a spirit of opportunity and purpose in a region where once prospects were bleak and hopes were dim.

Because of the work done by the Commission and cooperating Federal, state and local agencies

- 51 hospitals have been completed or are under construction
- 52 vocational education schools are being built
- work is underway on 790 miles of the development highway system
- new libraries, airports, college classrooms and water resource projects are being pursued to completion
- thousands of workers have been trained, hired and added to the payrolls

During the past two years, the Appalachian partnership has proved the wisdom of cooperative Federal-state relationships. Let us continue that partnership for there is still

much to be done to bring into Appalachia a full share of America's prosperity.

I therefore urge an extension of the Appalachian program in substantially the same form as it was enacted in 1965. I hope that the Commission's success in the past will insure its continuance in the future.

In my State of the Union Message, I expressed my intention to submit to the Congress a proposal to merge the present Departments of Commerce and Labor into a single Cabinet-level Department. When that proposal is forwarded to the Congress, it will contain a recommendation that Federal activities relating to regional economic development and depressed areas be coordinated through the new Department. This Department would then have the basic responsibility for the Federal government's efforts in all of the regional commissions that have been or soon will be established, including the Appalachian Regional Commission.

In the meantime, I urge the Congress to extend the authorization for the Appalachian regional program.

Sincerely,

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

NOTE: This is the text of identical letters addressed to the Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey, President of the Senate, and to the Honorable John W. McCormack, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

The Appalachian Regional Development Act Amendments of 1967 were approved by the President on October 11, 1967 (Public Law 90-103, 81 Stat. 257).

For the President's remarks on signing the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965, which established the Appalachian Regional Commission, see 1965 volume, this series, Book I, Item 103.

12 Special Message to the Congress Proposing Programs for Older Americans. *January 23, 1967*

To the Congress of the United States:

America is a young nation. But each year a larger proportion of our population joins the ranks of the senior citizens. Today, over nineteen million Americans are 65 or older—a number equal to the combined populations of twenty states. One out of every ten citizens is in this age group—more than twice as many as a half century ago.

These figures represent a national triumph. The American born in 1900 could expect to reach his forty-seventh birthday. The American born today has a life expectancy of seventy years. Tomorrow, the miracles of man's knowledge will stretch the life span even farther.

These figures also represent a national challenge. One of the tests of a great civilization is the compassion and respect shown to its elders. Too many of our senior citizens have been left behind by the progress they worked most of their lives to create. Too often the wisdom and experience of our senior citizens is lost or ignored. Many who are able and willing to work suffer the bitter rebuff of arbitrary and unjust job discrimination.

In this busy and productive nation, the elderly are too frequently destined to lead empty, neglected lives:

- 5.3 million older Americans have yearly incomes below the poverty level.
- Only one out of five has a job, often at low wages.
- Over two million elderly citizens are on welfare.
- Nearly forty percent of our single older citizens have total assets of less than \$1000.

Countless numbers dwell in city and rural

slums, lonely and forgotten, isolated from the invigorating spirit of the American community. They suffer a disproportionate burden of bad housing, poor health facilities, inferior recreation and rehabilitation services.

THE FEDERAL ROLE

The historic Social Security Act of 1935, sponsored by that great President Franklin D. Roosevelt, first proclaimed a federal role in the task of creating a life of dignity for the older American. By 1951, the number of our senior citizens who had earned and received social security benefits exceeded the number on public welfare. Today, more than 15 million Americans over 65 draw social security, while only 2 million remain on the welfare rolls.

We in the Executive Branch and you in the Congress have extended the federal role in other ways:

- The last eight housing acts contain special public housing provisions for the elderly and special assistance for them when they rent, buy or modernize their own homes.
- The Hill-Burton hospital program seeks to expand and improve nursing homes and other long-term care facilities.
- Public Welfare provides programs to help restore older people to self-support and self-care.
- The Manpower Development and Training programs direct special efforts at the problems of the middle-aged and older Americans.
- The National Institutes of Health have established programs of research on aging.

In 1965, the Congress enacted and I signed into law two landmark measures for older Americans:

—*Medicare*, to ease the burden of hospital and doctor bills.

—*The Older Americans Act*, to develop community services to put more meaning into the lives of the senior citizens.

When he signed the 1935 Social Security Act, President Franklin Roosevelt said, "This law . . . represents a cornerstone in a structure which is being built but is by no means complete." President Truman in 1950 and President Kennedy in 1961 proposed and the Congress passed legislation to improve the social security system.

The time has come to build on the solid foundations provided by the work of Congress and the Executive Branch over the last three decades. Last summer, I declared a Bill of Rights for Older Americans—to fix as our nation's goal an adequate income, a decent home, and a meaningful retirement for each senior citizen.

Now we must take steps to move closer toward that goal.

Let us raise Social Security benefits to a level which will better meet today's needs.

Let us improve and extend the health care available to the elderly.

Let us attack the roots of unjust job discrimination.

Let us renew and expand our programs to help bring fulfillment and meaning to retirement years.

TOWARD AN ADEQUATE INCOME

Social Security benefits today are grossly inadequate.

Almost two and one-half million individuals receive benefits based on the minimum of \$44 a month. The average monthly benefit is only \$84.

Although social security benefits keep five and one-half million aged persons above the poverty line, more than five million still live in poverty.

A great nation cannot tolerate these conditions. I propose Social Security legislation which will bring the greatest improvement in living standards for the elderly since the Act was passed in 1935.

I recommend effective July 1, 1967:

1. *A 20% overall increase in social security payments.*
2. *An increase of 59% for the 2.5 million people now receiving minimum benefits—to \$70 for an individual and \$105 for a married couple.*
3. *An increase of at least 15% for the remaining 20.5 million beneficiaries.*
4. *An increase to \$150 in the monthly minimum benefit for a retired couple with 25 years of coverage—to \$100 a month for an individual.*
5. *An increase in the special benefits paid to more than 900,000 persons 72 or over, who have made little or no social security contribution—from \$35 to \$50 monthly for an individual; from \$52.50 to \$75 for a couple.*
6. *Special benefits for an additional 200,000 persons 72 or over, who have never received benefits before.*

During the first year, additional payments would total \$4.1 billion—almost five times greater than the major increase enacted in 1950, almost six times greater than the increase of 1961. These proposals will take 1.4 million Americans out of poverty this year—a major step toward our goal that every elderly citizen have an adequate income and a meaningful retirement.

The time has also come to make other improvements in the Act.

The present Social Security system leaves 70,000 severely disabled widows under age

62 without protection.

The limits on the income that retired workers can earn and still receive benefits are so low that they discourage those who are able and willing to work from seeking jobs.

Some farm workers qualify for only minimum social security benefits. Others fail to qualify at all. As a result, many farm workers must go on the welfare rolls in their old age.

Federal employees in the civil service and foreign service retirement systems are now excluded from social security coverage. Those having less than five years service receive no benefits if they die, become disabled, or leave Federal employment. Those who leave after longer service lose survivor and disability protection.

I propose legislation to eliminate these inequities and close these loopholes.

I recommend that:

- Social security benefits be extended to severely disabled widows under 62.*
- The earnings exemption be increased by 12%, from \$125 to \$140 a month, from \$1500 to \$1680 a year.*
- The amount above \$1680 a year up to which a beneficiary can retain \$1 in payments for each \$2 in earnings be increased from \$2700 to \$2880.*
- One-half million additional farm workers be given Social Security coverage.*
- Federal service be applied as social security credit for those employees who are not eligible for civil service benefits when they retire, become disabled, or die.*

Social Security financing must continue on an actuarially sound basis. This will require future adjustments both in the amount of annual earnings credited toward benefits and in the contribution rate of employers and employees.

I recommend:

- a three-step increase in the amount of annual earnings credited toward benefits—to \$7800 in 1968; to \$9000 in 1971; and to \$10,800 in 1974.*
- that the scheduled rate increase to 4.4% in 1969 be revised to 4.5%; and that the increase to 4.85% in 1973 be revised to 5%.*

PUBLIC ASSISTANCE

Despite these improvements in social security, many elderly Americans will continue to depend on public assistance payments for the essentials of life. Yet these welfare programs are far behind the times. While many states have recently improved their eligibility standards for medical assistance, their regular welfare standards are woefully inadequate.

In nine states, the average amounts paid for old-age assistance are as low as \$50 a month, or less.

Twenty-seven states do not even meet their own minimum standards for welfare payments.

The Federal Old-Age Assistance Act allows the states to provide special incentives to encourage older persons on welfare to seek employment. But almost half the states have not taken advantage of this provision.

To make vitally needed changes in public assistance laws, I recommend legislation to provide that:

- state welfare agencies be required to raise cash payments to welfare recipients to the level the state itself sets as the minimum for subsistence;*
- state agencies be required to bring these minimum standards up-to-date annually;*
- each state maintain its welfare subsistence standards at not less than two-*

- thirds the level set for medical assistance;*
—state welfare programs be required to establish a work-incentive provision for old-age assistance recipients.

TAX REFORM FOR SENIOR CITIZENS

Our Federal income tax laws today unfairly discriminate against older taxpayers with low incomes who continue to work after 65. The system of deductions, credits, and exemptions is so complex that many senior citizens are unable to understand them and thus do not receive the full benefits to which they are entitled.

I recommend that:

- the tax structure for senior citizens be completely overhauled, simplified and made fairer.*
—existing tax discrimination against the older Americans who are willing and able to work be eliminated.

Under this proposal, taxes will be reduced for almost 3 million older Americans—two out of every three who now pay taxes. Nearly 500,000 of these Americans will no longer have to pay taxes. There will be some increases for those in the upper tax brackets—those best able to afford them.

THE SUCCESS—AND THE FUTURE—OF MEDICARE

During the long wait for Medicare, many older Americans needlessly suffered and died because they could not afford proper health care. Nearly half had no health insurance protection. For most, coverage was grossly inadequate. As a result, men and women spent their later years overburdened by health care costs. Many were forced to turn to public assistance. Others had to impose financial hardship on their relatives. Still others went without necessary medical care.

Since Medicare went into effect just over six months ago:

- more than two and one-half million older Americans have received hospital care.
- hospitals have received nearly \$1 billion in payments.
- more than three and one-half million Americans have been treated by doctors under the voluntary coverage of Medicare.
- 130,000 people have received home health services, and Medicare paid the bills.
- 6,700 hospitals, with more than 98 per cent of the general hospital beds in the nation, have become partners in Medicare.

High standards set by Medicare will raise the level of health care for all citizens—not just the aged. Compliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act has hastened the end of racial discrimination in hospitals and has brought good medical care to many who were previously denied it.

Medicare is an unqualified success. Nevertheless, there are improvements which can be made and shortcomings which need prompt attention.

The 1.5 million seriously disabled Americans under 65 who receive Social Security and Railroad Retirement benefits should be included under Medicare. The typical member of this group is over 50. He finds himself in much the same plight as the elderly. He is dependent on social security benefits to support himself and his family. He is plagued by high medical expenses and poor insurance protection.

I recommend that Medicare be extended to the 1.5 million disabled Americans under 65 now covered by the Social Security and Railroad Retirement Systems.

Certain types of podiatry services are im-

portant to the health of the elderly. Yet, these services are excluded under present law. *I recommend that foot treatment, other than routine care, be covered under Medicare whether performed by podiatrists or physicians.*

Finally, Medicare does not cover prescription drugs for a patient outside the hospital. We recognize that many practical difficulties remain unresolved concerning the cost and quality of such drugs. This matter deserves our prompt attention. *I am directing the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to undertake immediately a comprehensive study of the problems of including the cost of prescription drugs under Medicare.*

NURSING AND HEALTH CARE

Medicare and the Medical Assistance program have removed major financial barriers to health services. Federally assisted programs are developing health facilities, manpower, and services—many targeted to the needs of older Americans.

We have made progress, but serious problems remain. Although the number of agencies that provide health services to individuals in their own homes has grown to more than 1,400 throughout the country, their services are often limited in scope and quality. Many communities still have no such services available.

The great majority of nursing homes are ill-equipped to provide services required for Medicare and Medical Assistance patients. Of the 20,000 nursing homes in the country, only 3,000 have qualified for Medicare. Of the 850,000 beds in nursing homes, less than half—415,000—meet Hill-Burton standards for long-term care. Many do not even meet minimum fire and safety standards.

Expenditures for nursing home care have increased by 400 per cent in the past decade. They now exceed \$1.2 billion annually. Federal, state and local governments pay more than a third of these costs—and the government share is rising rapidly.

We have learned that there is no single answer to the problem of providing the highest quality health care to the elderly. Just as their needs vary, so much the approach.

Some senior citizens can be treated in their homes, where they can be close to their families and friends. Others may need once-a-week care at a nearby out-patient clinic. When serious illness strikes, extended hospitalization may be required. When chronic disease is involved, care in a nursing home may be needed. And when post-operative care for short durations is necessary, specialized facilities may be essential.

Thus, we must pursue a wide range of community programs and services to meet the needs of the elderly—to allow them freedom to choose the right services at the right time and in the right place.

To move toward our health goal for the elderly, I propose to:

- Extend the Partnership for Health legislation to improve state and local health planning for the elderly;
- Launch special pilot projects to bring comprehensive medical and rehabilitation services to the aged;
- Begin an extensive research effort to develop the best means of organizing, delivering, and financing health services needed by the aged;
- Expand visiting nurses and other home health services.

I am requesting funds for more health facilities and better health care institutions for the aged, including:

- The full authorization of \$28 million for construction under the Hill-Burton program to provide new beds and to modernize existing facilities;
- Mortgage guarantees and loans to construct nursing homes for the aged;
- Infirmaries and nursing units in senior citizens' housing projects;
- Intensive research to find new approaches in design and operation of hospitals, nursing homes, extended care facilities and other health institutions.

JOB OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE OLDER AMERICAN

In our nation, there are thousands of retired teachers, lawyers, businessmen, social workers and recreation specialists, physicians, nurses, and others, who possess skills which the country badly needs.

Hundreds of thousands not yet old, not yet voluntarily retired, find themselves jobless because of arbitrary age discrimination. Despite our present low rate of unemployment, there has been a persistent average of 850,000 people age 45 and over who are unemployed.

Today, more than three-quarters of a billion dollars in unemployment insurance is paid each year to workers who are 45 or over. They comprise 27 per cent of all the unemployed—and 40 per cent of the long-term unemployed. In 1965, the Secretary of Labor reported to the Congress and the President that approximately half of all private job openings were barred to applicants over 55; a quarter were closed to applicants over 45.

In economic terms, this is a serious—and senseless—loss to a nation on the move. But the greater loss is the cruel sacrifice in happiness and well-being which joblessness imposes on these citizens and their families.

Opportunity must be opened to the many Americans over 45 who are qualified and willing to work. We must end arbitrary age limits on hiring. Though 23 states have already enacted laws to prohibit discriminatory practices, the problem is one of national concern and magnitude.

I recommend that:

- the Congress enact a law prohibiting arbitrary and unjust discrimination in employment because of a person's age.*
- the law cover workers 45 to 65 years old.*
- the law provide for conciliation and, if necessary, enforcement through cease and desist orders, with court review.*
- the law provide an exception for special situations where age is a reasonable occupational qualification, where an employee is discharged for good cause, or where the employee is separated under a regular retirement system.*
- educational and research programs on age discrimination be strengthened.*

Employment opportunities for older workers cannot be increased solely by measures eliminating discrimination. Today's high standards of education, training, and mobility often favor the younger worker. Many older men and women are unemployed because they are not fitted for the jobs of modern technology; because they live where there are no longer any jobs, or because they are seeking the jobs of a bygone era.

We have already expanded training and education for all Americans. But older workers have not been able to take full advantage of these programs. In many state employment offices, there is need for additional counselors, trained to deal with the special problems of older workers.

I am directing the Secretary of Labor to establish a more comprehensive program of

information, counseling and placement service for older workers through the Federal-State System of Employment Services.

ENRICHING THE LATER YEARS

Old age is too often a time of lonely sadness, when it should be a time for service and continued self-development. For many, later life can offer a second career. It can mean new opportunities for community service. It can be a time to develop new interests, acquire new knowledge, find new ways to use leisure hours.

Our goal is not merely to prolong our citizens' lives, but to enrich them.

Congress overwhelmingly endorsed this goal, when it passed the Older Americans Act. As a result, we have launched a new partnership at all levels of government, and among voluntary and private organizations.

We have established a new agency and a new impetus to promote this partnership.

Forty-one states, the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico—where more than 91% of our older persons live—are now engaged in providing special services for senior citizens. Two-hundred and seventy community programs have already been started. Several hundred more will begin in the next few months.

We are helping states and communities to:

- Establish central information and referral services so that our older citizens can learn about and receive all the benefits to which they are entitled;
- Begin or expand services in more than 65 more senior citizen centers;
- Increase volunteer-service opportunities for older people;
- Offer pre-retirement courses and infor-

mation about retirement;

- Support services which help older people remain in their homes and neighborhoods.

To carry forward this partnership, I recommend that:

- the Older Americans Act be extended and its funding levels be increased.*
- appropriations under the Neighborhood Facilities Program be increased to construct multipurpose centers to serve senior citizens with a wide range of educational, recreational and health services, and to provide information about housing and employment opportunities.*
- A pilot program be started to provide nutritional meals in senior citizen centers.*

Decent housing plays an important role in promoting self-respect and dignity in the later years. In the past three years, the total Federal investment in special housing programs for the elderly has doubled—to over \$2.5 billion.

Rental housing for the elderly is one of our most successful housing programs. We have made commitments for about 187,000 units to house more than 280,000 persons. Direct loan and grant programs assist many senior citizens to improve their homes in urban renewal areas, and in areas of concentrated code enforcement where blight is worst. The new rent supplement program, enacted in 1965, promises to help thousands of low income older citizens to have good housing at reasonable rents.

I recommend that these housing programs be continued and that the full amount authorized for the 1968 rent supplement program be provided. I am directing the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development to

make certain that the Model Cities Program gives special attention to the needs of older people in poor housing and decaying neighborhoods.

The talents of elderly Americans must not lie fallow. For most Americans, the most enriching moments of life are those spent helping their fellowman. I have asked the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity to initiate and expand programs to make a wider range of volunteer activities available to older citizens:

- to enlist them in searching out isolated and incapacitated older people.
- to build on the success of the Foster Grandparent and Medicare Alert programs by using public-spirited older Americans as tutors and classroom aides in Head Start and other programs.
- to organize older citizens as VISTA volunteers in a variety of community efforts.

OUR OBLIGATION

These are my major recommendations to the first session of the 90th Congress on behalf of older Americans. But this message does not end our quest, as a nation, for a better life for these citizens.

I believe that these new measures, together with programs already enacted, will bring us closer to fulfilling the goals set forth in our Bill of Rights for Older Americans.

We should look upon the growing number of older citizens not as a problem or a burden for our democracy, but as an opportunity to enrich their lives and, through them, the lives of all of us.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

The White House

January 23, 1967

NOTE: The Older Americans Act Amendments of 1967 were approved by the President on July 1, 1967 (see Item 299).

13 Annual Budget Message to the Congress, Fiscal Year 1968.

January 24, 1967

To the Congress of the United States:

A Federal budget lays out a two-part plan of action:

- It proposes *particular programs*, military and civilian, designed to promote national security, international cooperation, and domestic progress.
- It proposes *total expenditures and revenues* designed to help maintain stable economic prosperity and growth.

This budget for fiscal year 1968 reflects three basic considerations:

- In Vietnam, as throughout the world, we seek peace but will provide all the resources needed to combat aggression.

- In our urgent domestic programs we will continue to press ahead, at a controlled and reasoned pace.

- In our domestic economy we seek to achieve a 7th year of uninterrupted growth, adopting the fiscal measures needed to finance our expenditures responsibly, permit lower interest rates, and achieve a more balanced economy.

In recent years, the American economy has performed superbly. Since 1963, our Nation's output has risen at an average rate of 5.5% a year. 5.3 million more people are employed and 1.2 million fewer unemployed. Industrial capacity has grown by

18%, and far less of it is idle than was the case 3 years ago.

During this past calendar year alone:

- Our Nation's gross national product—apart from price changes—has grown by nearly 5.4%.
- The unemployment rate has remained at or below 4% for the first time in 13 years.
- More than 3 million additional jobs were found in nonagricultural employment, the largest yearly gain experienced since 1942.
- Corporate profits and personal income have each grown about 8% to record levels.

We have at the same time become engaged in a major effort to deter aggression in Southeast Asia. Some \$19.9 billion of the Nation's resources will go to support that effort in the current fiscal year and \$22.4 billion in 1968. This past year our economy met these requirements with minimum strain and disruption.

We have also embarked upon a series of new programs to lift the quality of American life in the fields of health, education, urban development, pollution control, and the war on poverty. Yet the productivity and vitality of our economy is such that the total Federal budget in 1968, including the full costs of the Vietnam conflict, the new programs, and all of the various Federal trust funds, will account for only 1½% more of our gross national product than it did 3 years ago. Since the gross national product rose sharply over these 3 years, we have been able to meet our increased commitments abroad, move forward with urgent social programs at home, and still provide a massive expansion in goods and services available for private consumption and investment.

During the year and a half since the de-

cision to send troops to Vietnam, consumer prices have risen 4.5% in spite of efforts to hold them down. We have, nevertheless, had considerably better success than in similar periods during World War II and the Korean conflict. Then, prices rose 13.5% and 11% respectively, even with the imposition of price and wage controls which we have avoided.

The economic performance of the past 3 years did not just happen. It grew out of the ingenuity, hard work, and imagination of all parts of American society. But the one element which provided a catalyst for all the rest was the imaginative and flexible use of Federal fiscal policy.

In 1964, and again in 1965, tax reductions were enacted which gave a strong stimulus to the economy. Idle capacity came into operation, new capacity was built, and both the numbers and productivity of the Nation's workforce rose sharply.

In late 1965 and early 1966, however, as the economy rapidly approached full capacity operation, inflationary pressures began to develop.

On two occasions, I proposed, and the Congress promptly enacted, tax changes aimed at dampening those pressures. At the same time I made every effort to postpone, stretch out, or eliminate all but the most essential Federal expenditures. Cutbacks totaling over \$5 billion in program levels and \$3 billion in expenditures are being undertaken by Federal agencies during the current year. These actions contributed to a welcome moderation of inflationary pressures in the latter part of 1966.

FISCAL PROGRAM FOR 1968

In the budget for 1968, I am again proposing a fiscal program tailored to meet responsibly the needs of an expanding economy.

This program will require a measure of sacrifice as well as continued work and resourcefulness.

In the year ahead, defense expenditures will continue to rise as we carry out our obligations in Vietnam. After a rigorous review of civilian programs and a sharp paring of spending requests, a modest increase in domestic expenditures will be required as we press forward to meet our obligations at home. Equity also demands that we increase substantially social security benefits for our older citizens so that they share in the Nation's growing income which their own past work and investment helped to bring about. And finally, during the coming year, we must take every reasonable step to permit a continuation of the move toward easier monetary conditions and lower interest rates which is now clearly under way.

Under these circumstances, I am proposing a temporary 6% surcharge on both corporate and individual income taxes. I also ask that individuals in the lower income brackets be exempt from the surcharge. The tax should remain in effect for two years, or for such period as may be warranted by our unusual expenditures in Vietnam. I will not hesitate to recommend an earlier expiration date, however, if the fiscal requirements of our commitments in Vietnam permit such action. In addition, I recommend legislation to provide a further acceleration of certain corporate tax payments.

With these new measures, and the expenditures I am proposing, the Federal budget deficit as measured in the national income accounts will be \$2.1 billion in fiscal year 1968, compared to \$3.8 billion in fiscal year 1967.

The national income accounts budget is the measure developed and used for over three decades by economists and fiscal experts to judge the impact of the Federal budget on

the flow of income and production in the economy. Its measures of total Federal receipts and expenditures are the same as those used in recording the receipts and expenditures of business firms and individuals. Together with data on business and individuals, the national income accounts budget is used to build up official statistics on gross national product and national income.

Unlike the more traditional administrative budget, the national income budget:

- *includes* the large expenditures and receipts of the Federal Government's trust funds, but
- *excludes* Federal loans and receipts from the sale of loans, since these are not recorded as income or expenditures in the accounts of business firms or individuals.

I am emphasizing the national income accounts as a measure of Federal fiscal activity because the traditional administrative budget is becoming an increasingly less complete and less reliable measure of the Government's activities and their economic impact. For example, trust fund-financed activities not reflected in the administrative budget now approximate one-third of that budget. More specifically, the fiscal year 1968 administrative budget excludes \$48.1 billion of trust fund receipts and \$44.5 billion of trust fund expenditures.

In addition, the treatment of lending as equivalent to spending in both the administrative and cash budgets is not suitable for an analysis of the budget's impact on the flow of national production and income.

To permit a *higher* 1968 budget deficit than the \$2.1 billion involved in my fiscal recommendations would, I believe, be unacceptable. We would run substantial risks of:

- choking off the much-desired move toward lower interest rates by placing too much of our stabilization effort on the

shoulders of monetary policy, and

- renewing inflationary pressures, particularly in the latter half of this year.

On the other hand, to seek a *lower* deficit or a surplus through a more restrictive fiscal program would be unwarranted and self-defeating under present economic conditions. Such a fiscal policy could depress economic activity, reduce the incomes of individuals and corporations, and thereby fail to secure the revenues it was designed to achieve.

The economy, the budget, and the aims of our society would be jeopardized by either

a larger tax increase or by large slashes in military or civilian programs. I have reviewed these programs carefully. Waste and nonessentials have been cut out. Reductions or postponements have been made wherever possible. The increases that are proposed have been carefully selected on the basis of urgent national requirements.

The Congress through the appropriations process, will, of course, subject these programs to a searching examination. I welcome that examination. But it is my judgment that major cuts cannot be made without serious impairment to vital national objec-

SUMMARY OF FEDERAL RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS

[Fiscal years. In billions]

<i>Description</i>	<i>1966 actual</i>	<i>1967 estimate</i>	<i>1968 estimate</i>
FEDERAL RECEIPTS			
National income accounts receipts—Federal sector.....	\$132.6	\$149.8	\$167.1
Deduct: Timing adjustment (cash vs. accrual).....	—1.2	—3.9	.4
Add: Loans repaid, differences in coverage, and other adjustments.....	.7	1.0	1.4
Total cash receipts from the public.....	134.5	154.7	168.1
Deduct: Trust fund receipts.....	34.9	44.9	48.1
Add: Intragovernmental transactions and other adjustments.....	5.1	7.2	7.0
Administrative budget receipts.....	104.7	117.0	126.9
FEDERAL PAYMENTS			
National income accounts expenditures—Federal sector.....	132.3	153.6	169.2
Deduct: Timing adjustment (cash vs. accrual).....	—3	.2	.4
Add: Loans, differences in coverage, and other adjustments.....	5.2	7.5	3.6
Total cash payments to the public.....	137.8	160.9	172.4
Deduct: Trust fund expenditures.....	34.9	40.9	44.5
Add: Intragovernmental transactions and other adjustments.....	4.0	6.8	7.1
Administrative budget expenditures.....	107.0	126.7	135.0
EXCESS OF RECEIPTS (+) OR PAYMENTS (—)			
National income accounts—Federal sector.....	+3	—3.8	—2.1
Receipts from and payments to the public.....	—3.3	—6.2	—4.3
Administrative budget.....	—2.3	—9.7	—8.1

tives—in defense, in education, in health, in the rebuilding of our cities, and in the attack on poverty.

This Nation is healthy and growing. It can—and, I believe, must—continue to move forward:

- in the defense of freedom against aggression;
- in the search for international peace and cooperation; and
- in the effort to improve the quality of American life.

At this juncture in our history we have two choices:

- to stand still and mark time; or
- to press ahead responsibly and confidently.

For my part, I have chosen the latter course. That choice is reflected in my budgetary and fiscal proposals.

BUDGET SUMMARY

Federal expenditures, as measured in the *national income accounts* will rise from \$153.6 billion in fiscal year 1967 to \$169.2 billion in 1968. That increase is composed of four major elements:

- \$5.8 billion for Vietnam and other national defense outlays;
- \$6.2 billion in benefits under the Federal Government's social security and other trust funds, two-thirds of which results from the new social security legislation I am proposing;
- \$1 billion for the cost of military and civilian pay increases, to keep abreast of rising salaries in private industry; and
- \$2.6 billion for all other programs of the Federal Government.

Federal revenues will increase more rapidly than expenditures, from \$149.8 billion in fiscal year 1967 to \$167.1 billion in 1968, reflecting both the growth in the econ-

omy and the effect of the tax legislation I am recommending. The Federal deficit, as measured in the national income accounts will, therefore, decline between 1967 and 1968 from \$3.8 billion to \$2.1 billion.

While the national income accounts budget is the most appropriate measure of the overall economic impact of the Federal budget, a discussion of *individual* Federal programs is best carried out in terms of the more conventional *administrative budget* and the various Federal *trust funds*.

Administrative budget expenditures will amount to \$126.7 billion in 1967 and \$135.0 billion in 1968. In these 2 years, revenues in the administrative budget are estimated to rise from \$117.0 billion to \$126.9 billion. As a result, the budget deficit will fall from \$9.7 billion in the current fiscal year to \$8.1 billion in 1968.

Administrative budget expenditures in fiscal year 1967 are \$13.9 billion higher than the expenditures I estimated in my budget message a year ago. \$9.6 billion of the increase is accounted for by the enlarged military program. Another \$3.0 billion results from the impact of tight money on the Federal budget, and \$1.3 billion from expenditure re-estimates, as workloads increased in such programs as public assistance, Medicare, and the postal service. Potential further expenditures of \$2.6 billion, from Congressional additions to my 1967 authorization and appropriation recommendations, were roughly offset by the budget reductions I instituted last fall. Of the \$3 billion expenditure reductions, \$2.6 billion will occur in administrative budget programs and about \$0.4 billion in the trust funds.

In 1968, defense outlays will account for \$75.5 billion, or 56%, of the total budget. Of the remaining expenditures, some \$29.4 billion, or 22%, are spent on programs under which payments are fixed by law or are

ADMINISTRATIVE BUDGET EXPENDITURES

[Fiscal years. In billions]

<i>Type of controllability</i>	<i>1966 actual</i>	<i>1967 estimate</i>	<i>1968 estimate</i>
National defense.....	\$57.7	\$70.2	\$75.5
Relatively uncontrollable civilian expenditures:			
Major programs.....	24.1	28.3	29.4
Interest.....	12.1	13.5	14.2
Veterans pensions, compensation, and insurance....	4.2	4.7	4.9
Public assistance grants.....	3.5	3.9	4.2
Farm price supports (Commodity Credit Corpora- tion).....	1.3	1.6	1.6
Postal public service costs and revenue deficit (exist- ing law).....	.8	1.1	1.1
Health insurance payments to trust fund.....	.....	1.0	.9
Legislative and judiciary.....	.3	.4	.4
Other.....	1.8	2.2	2.3
Payments on prior contracts and obligations.....	11.5	14.3	15.3
Relatively controllable civilian expenditures.....	13.6	13.9	14.9
Proposed pay increases.....	.....	.....	1.0
Sale of financial assets.....	-3.0	-3.9	-5.3
Other.....	16.6	17.8	19.2
Total administrative budget expenditures.....	107.0	126.7	135.0

otherwise uncontrollable—interest on the public debt, veterans compensation and pensions, public assistance, Federal general revenue contributions to Medicare, and the like. Another \$15.3 billion or 11% will be spent in 1968 to complete contracts or obligations entered into in prior years—the purchase of mortgages under earlier commitments, the completion of construction begun in 1966 or 1967, and so forth.

The remaining \$14.9 billion, or 11% of the budget, may be considered as “controllable” expenditures in 1968. And even these include such indispensable programs as law enforcement, the collection of taxes and customs, the upkeep of our national parks, and the operation of the Nation’s air navigation facilities.

In the 1968 budget I have sought to recommend increases only where these are vitally necessary to meet the needs of a growing society. I have given particular, but selective, attention to programs designed to bring into

the mainstream of American life those to whom opportunities are now denied.

At the same time, my 1968 budget incorporates substantial economies in operations. New projects under many Federal construction programs will be held to a modest level, well below the average of prior years and below the level to which they can rise when our fiscal problems are less urgent.

By 1966, Federal civilian agencies had achieved improvements in operations which netted a saving in that year of \$1.7 billion compared to their level of efficiency 2 years earlier. The Defense Department’s Cost Reduction Program begun in 1961 yielded savings of \$4.5 billion in 1966. Those efforts will continue in fiscal years 1967 and 1968.

The effect on the Federal budget of selective expansions in high priority programs combined with economies in operation are summarized in the accompanying table.

In the 1968 budget I am proposing to sell \$5 billion in participation certificates. These

CIVILIAN ADMINISTRATIVE BUDGET EXPENDITURES

[Fiscal years. In billions]

	<i>1966 actual</i>	<i>1967 estimate</i>	<i>1968 estimate</i>	<i>Change, 1967 to 1968</i>
Total civilian.....	\$49.3	\$56.5	\$59.5	+\$3.0
Major education programs.....	2.8	4.0	4.6	+ .6
Major health programs.....	2.5	4.3	4.8	+ .5
Other major social programs:				
Welfare, labor, and economic oppor- tunity programs.....	5.1	6.1	6.5	+ .4
Housing and community development, regional development, and pollution control.....	1.2	2.0	2.4	+ .4
Interest.....	12.1	13.5	14.2	+ .6
Proposed pay increases.....	.....	.....	1.0	+1.0
Sale of financial assets.....	-3.0	-3.9	-5.3	-1.4
All other civilian expenditures.....	28.4	30.5	31.3	+ .8

certificates are a means by which Federal credit programs can be financed, and point up the role of the Federal Government as an intermediary, assisting borrowers to find sources of credit. The sale of these certificates also has the advantage of making the cash and administrative budgets more closely akin to the national income accounts budget since, in effect, it removes the impact of new lending from the cash and administrative budget totals.

My detailed budget plans provide for the possible sale of \$5,750 million of these certificates. The overall budget totals, however, make an allowance for a possible shortfall of \$750 million in the actual sales of these certificates. While this tends to raise the reported deficit in the administrative budget, I have made such an allowance in order to present more conservative estimates to the Congress, taking into account the uncertainty of future conditions.

NEW OBLIGATIONAL AUTHORITY

New obligational authority recommended for fiscal year 1968 in the administrative budget totals \$144.0 billion. This is an in-

crease of \$4.4 billion over the current estimate for fiscal year 1967, of which \$2.5 billion is for the Department of Defense and the military assistance program combined.

Of the total new obligational authority estimated for 1968, the Congress will have to act this year on \$126.5 billion. The remaining \$17.5 billion will become available under "permanent" authorizations without further congressional action; interest on the public debt represents 80% of this amount. Most of the \$50.2 billion in new obligational authority estimated for 1968 for trust funds represents revenues from special taxes which are also appropriated automatically.

Apart from Defense and military assistance, the 1968 new obligational authority recommended for Congressional action in the administrative budget will amount to \$51.3 billion. The proposed amounts result from a thorough evaluation and review of program levels and needs and have been held to the minimum that will assure orderly progress in meeting national program objectives.

Major increases in new obligational authority, other than for the Department of Defense, include:

NEW OBLIGATIONAL AUTHORITY

[Fiscal years. In billions]

<i>Description</i>	<i>1966 actual</i>	<i>1967 estimate</i>	<i>1968 estimate</i>
Total authorizations requiring current action by Congress:			
Administrative budget funds.....	\$110.9	\$123.9	\$126.5
Trust funds.....	.5	5.1	1.7
Total authorizations not requiring current action by Congress:			
Administrative budget funds.....	15.5	15.7	17.5
Trust funds.....	36.2	45.8	48.6
Total new obligational authority:			
Administrative budget funds.....	126.4	139.6	144.0
Trust funds.....	36.7	50.8	50.2

- \$1.2 billion for the Department of Housing and Urban Development, including the newly-enacted model cities program.
- \$1.0 billion for proposed civilian and military pay increases.
- \$0.9 billion for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, mainly for public assistance, education, Medicaid, and various other health activities.
- \$0.6 billion for the permanent appropriation for interest on the public debt.

Major decreases include:

- \$1.8 billion for the Department of Agriculture, largely due to the reduced capital needs of the Commodity Credit Corporation and the proposal to establish revolving funds for the Rural Electrification Administration.
- \$1 billion for the Tennessee Valley Authority since its needs for bond-issuing authority for the next several years were met by an increase of this amount granted in fiscal year 1967.
- \$0.6 billion for the Post Office, reflecting proposed postal rate increases.

The 1967 estimate in the administrative budget includes \$14.3 billion in recommended supplemental appropriations which the Congress is being requested to enact this

year. Of this total, \$12.3 billion is for support of military operations in Southeast Asia. The remaining supplemental amounts are needed mainly (1) to provide adequate financing for certain relatively uncontrollable costs which are based on eligibility and demand for services under provisions of existing law—such as for public assistance grants, postal services, and veterans' compensation and pensions and (2) to cover part of the cost of military and civilian pay increases and new programs which were enacted last year but for which appropriations were not provided. The estimates presented in this budget reflect fully this additional new obligational authority for the current year and the related expenditures.

FEDERAL PROGRAMS AND EXPENDITURES

Military forces able to defend the cause of freedom in Vietnam and to counter other threats to national security require substantial resources.

Yet we cannot permit the defense of freedom abroad to sidetrack the struggle for individual growth and dignity at home. Under my budget proposals, we will move forward at a reasonable rate the programs to broaden opportunities for the poor or

disadvantaged and continue the steady advance in their effectiveness achieved in the last 3 years.

To assure that the budget fully covers all the costs which we might reasonably expect in the coming year, the total includes \$2.2

billion in special allowances to provide for (1) proposed increases in the pay of military and civilian personnel, including postal employees, (2) the possibility of some shortfall in planned sales of financial assets, and (3) unforeseen contingencies and the pos-

PAYMENTS TO THE PUBLIC

[Fiscal years. In billions]

<i>Function</i>	<i>1966 actual</i>	<i>1967 estimate</i>	<i>1968 estimate</i>
Administrative budget expenditures:			
National defense	\$57.7	\$70.2	\$75.5
<i>Excluding special Vietnam</i>	(51.9)	(50.8)	(53.6)
International affairs and finance	4.2	4.6	4.8
<i>Excluding special Vietnam</i>	(3.9)	(4.1)	(4.3)
Space research and technology	5.9	5.6	5.3
Agriculture and agricultural resources	3.3	3.0	3.2
Natural resources	3.1	3.2	3.5
Commerce and transportation	3.0	3.5	3.1
Housing and community development .....	.3	.9	1.0
Health, labor, and welfare	7.6	10.4	11.3
Education	2.8	3.3	2.8
Veterans benefits and services	5.0	6.4	6.1
Interest	12.1	13.5	14.2
General government	2.5	2.7	2.8
Allowances:			
Civilian and military pay increase			1.0
Possible shortfall in asset sales .....			.8
Contingencies .....		.1	.4
Interfund transactions (deduct) .....	.6	.8	.7
Total, administrative budget expenditures	107.0	126.7	135.0
Trust fund expenditures:			
Health, labor, and welfare	26.4	31.5	37.1
Commerce and transportation	3.8	3.7	3.7
National defense .....	.8	1.1	1.4
Agriculture and agricultural resources	1.2	1.4	1.2
Housing and community development	3.2	3.0	1.0
Veterans benefits and services .....	.6	.8	.6
All other	—2	.1	.3
Interfund transactions (deduct) .....	.8	.7	.7
Total trust fund expenditures	34.9	40.9	44.5
Intragovernmental transactions and other adjustments (deduct)	4.0	6.8	7.1
Total payments to the public	137.8	160.9	172.4

sible costs of programs on which definite decisions have not yet been made, such as the development of a prototype supersonic air transport and a nuclear space rocket.

The highlights of the proposed Government program for 1968 follow:

NATIONAL DEFENSE.—Today, our military requirements are dictated by two fundamental realities. We must continue to counter aggression in South Vietnam. We must also continue to enhance our ability to meet changing threats to our freedom and security elsewhere. The 1968 budget will insure that our forces remain equal to both these tasks.

Though small in relation to the Nation's total economic activity, the cost of honoring our commitment to South Vietnam is nevertheless substantial. Expenditures necessary to support military operations in Southeast Asia will total \$21.9 billion in 1968, about three-tenths of budget expenditures for national defense. A year ago we were in the midst of a rapid buildup of our forces in Vietnam. Rather than submit a budget to the Congress based on highly uncertain estimates, I requested funds sufficient to finance the conflict through fiscal year 1967. At the present time the situation is different. While unforeseen events can upset the most careful estimate, we are in a much better position to determine our future requirements in Vietnam. As a consequence, my 1968 budget provides for those requirements on a continuing basis, including the possibility of an extension of combat beyond the end of the fiscal year.

In 1968, we will:

- Continue intensive development of Nike-X but take no action now to deploy an anti-ballistic missile (ABM) defense; initiate discussions with the Soviet Union on the limitation of ABM deployments; in the event these discussions prove unsuccessful, we will

reconsider our deployment decision. To provide for actions that may be required at that time, approximately \$375 million has been included in the 1968 budget for the production of Nike-X for such purposes as defense of our offensive weapon systems.

- Maintain our decisive strategic superiority by initiating procurement of the advanced Poseidon submarine-launched missile, improving our present strategic missiles, and further safeguarding our capacity to direct our forces in the event of attack.
- Provide our forces in Vietnam with all the weapons and supplies they need and add to our war reserves at the same time.
- Add to the mobility and effectiveness of our general purpose forces by increasing the firepower of our ground forces, enlarging our helicopter strength, pursuing a vigorous shipbuilding and conversion program, and purchasing additional modern tactical aircraft.
- Increase our airlift and sealift capabilities by further procurement of the giant C-5A transport plane, and procurement of 5 fast-deployment logistics ships.
- Continue the vigorous research and development programs vital to maintaining the most modern, versatile, and potent forces in the world.

These sizable increases in our capabilities for nuclear, conventional, or countersubversive conflict are necessary and prudent. Nevertheless, security needs will continue to be met without waste or extravagance. Our defense programs must be conducted as efficiently and economically as possible. In 1968, the Defense Cost Reduction Program will continue to produce significant savings.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS AND FINANCE.—In

the long run, greater opportunities and security for our own citizens will be possible only if other peoples also share in progress toward a better and more secure life. To this end, our international programs in the coming year will emphasize helping the less developed nations to increase their food production, expand their educational opportunities, and improve the health of their citizens.

Based on a thorough review of our economic assistance objectives and programs, I will recommend new legislation and specific actions to:

- Require more effective self-help measures by recipient countries as a condition for U.S. aid;
- Increase the amount of assistance for the key sectors of agriculture, health, and education;
- Support regional arrangements and make greater use of multilateral channels through which other nations cooperatively share the costs of economic development;
- Encourage greater participation by private enterprise in the development process; and
- Concentrate our aid in those countries where successful development is most probable.

We are gratified by the achievements of the Alliance for Progress and shall continue to work closely with our hemispheric neighbors to help build schools and homes, create new jobs, and improve health and nutrition. But much remains to be done. I shall be meeting shortly with the chief executives of the other American governments to review the goals and progress of the Alliance. At that time we will consider new cooperative programs to accelerate growth in critical areas.

In South Vietnam, we will increase our

economic assistance for projects directly aiding people in the villages and hamlets. This stepped-up effort is urgently needed to help these people construct their farms and houses in safety and build the foundations for a better life in that strife-torn country.

To pursue the War on Hunger more effectively, our assistance to agriculture and our Food for Freedom shipments will encourage and support efforts by the developing nations to increase their own food production. In cooperation with other nations, we will also carry out a pioneer program to find ways to utilize the vast unexploited food resources of the sea.

The International Development Association, which is managed by the World Bank, has proven an effective means of international cooperation to promote economic development. Its current resources, however, will soon be exhausted. Following the successful conclusion of negotiations between the IDA and the developed nations of the world, I will request authorization for the United States to pledge its fair share towards an additional contribution to this organization in ways consistent with our balance of payments policy. I also intend to propose legislation which will permit us to join other members in a replenishment of the Inter-American Development Bank's Fund for Special Operations.

To enable the Export-Import Bank to fulfill its role of assisting our export trade, which is so vital to our balance of payments, I am recommending that its lending authority be increased and its life extended for another five years.

SPACE RESEARCH AND TECHNOLOGY.—In 1961, this Nation resolved to send a manned expedition to the moon in this decade. Much hard work remains and many obstacles must still be overcome before that goal is met. Yet, in the last few years we have progressed

far enough that we must now look beyond our original objective and set our course for the more distant future. Indeed, we have no alternative unless we wish to abandon the manned space capability we have created.

This budget provides for the initiation of an effective follow-on to the manned lunar landing. We will explore the moon. We will learn to live in space for months at a time. Our astronauts will conduct scientific and engineering experiments in space to enhance man's mastery of that environment.

The Surveyor and Orbiter projects, in photographing the moon, have demonstrated dramatically the value of unmanned spacecraft in investigating other objects in the solar system. Accordingly, we are proceeding with the development of the Voyager system for an unmanned landing on Mars in 1973. We will also continue other unmanned investigations nearer the earth.

In recent years the National Aeronautics and Space Administration and the Atomic Energy Commission have jointly undertaken the development of nuclear rocket propulsion technology. We are now considering whether that effort should be expanded to the development of the rocket itself. The overall budget totals allow for the possibility of proceeding if an affirmative decision is reached.

These new ventures are the result of careful planning and selectivity. We are not doing everything in space that we are technologically capable of doing. Rather, we are choosing those projects that give us the greatest return on our investment.

To support these new projects and to maintain our existing programs, an increase of \$82 million is requested in new obligatory authority for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration for 1968. Expenditures, however, will decline by \$300 million in the coming year, primarily because

of reduced requirements for the manned lunar landing program.

AGRICULTURE AND AGRICULTURAL RESOURCES.—Rising domestic and foreign demands have highlighted the importance of maintaining a healthy and productive agricultural economy. During the past year our surplus commodity stocks have been substantially reduced. As a result, restrictions on the production of wheat and feed grains have been eased in order to allow the Nation to maintain adequate reserves.

The increasing demand for agricultural commodities provides a favorable outlook for many of our commercial farmers. However, a large number of rural people cannot achieve an adequate income even with a prosperous agriculture. Labor requirements on the Nation's farms have declined drastically in the last quarter of a century. Unemployment and underemployment in rural areas have resulted. Consequently, rural communities are often unable to provide and maintain essential public services—good schools, modern hospitals, and other necessary community facilities—to meet today's needs.

I have directed the Secretary of Agriculture to take the lead in helping rural people achieve a quality of living comparable to other segments of our population. To this end, the Department of Agriculture will work with State and Federal agencies and with local groups to help rural communities make the best use of all existing governmental programs. In addition, legislation is needed to encourage establishment of pilot multi-county development districts.

To assure modern and efficient electric and telephone services for rural people, legislation should be enacted promptly to provide new sources of private financing for Rural Electrification Administration bor-

rowers, while minimizing Federal outlays.

NATURAL RESOURCES.—My recommendations in this budget for natural resource conservation and development will help meet the most urgent needs of our people and the requirements for economic growth.

Action must be taken now to:

- Reduce water pollution in our lakes, rivers, and estuaries.
- Insure an adequate supply of pure water.
- Preserve scenic areas of irreplaceable natural beauty—scenic rivers, the Redwoods, North Cascades in the State of Washington, and the historic Potomac Valley.
- Forestall the escalation of land prices in the acquisition of Federal lands for recreational use.

The continued pollution of our rivers, lakes, and estuaries is one of the major resource problems facing this Nation. The transfer last year of the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration to the Department of the Interior now permits a major attack on the problems of water pollution in entire river basins. In 1968, the Department will also give major emphasis to reviewing and approving State standards required by the Water Quality Act of 1965.

Many regions of the country are facing increasingly critical problems of adequate supply and efficient use of water. I urge prompt enactment of legislation to establish a National Water Commission to assess our major water problems and develop guidelines for the most effective use of available water resources.

I also recommend legislation to enable the Department of the Interior to participate with the Metropolitan Water District of Southern California and the Atomic Energy Commission in developing and constructing

a large prototype power and desalting plant. This will be a major step toward the development of economical projects for conversion of seawater to fresh water.

This budget provides for continued investment in the development and improvement of our vital water resources. Last fall, however, in order to help relieve inflationary pressures on the economy, I directed Federal agencies to slow down or defer construction projects wherever possible in fiscal year 1967. For 1968, I am recommending that a small number of new water resources projects be started. Advance planning will begin on a number of projects to be constructed in later years.

Authorized recreation areas must be acquired as promptly as possible to avoid speculative increases in land prices. Accordingly, I propose that an advance appropriation be made to the Land and Water Conservation Fund for this purpose.

A significant advance in research on the fundamental structure of matter will be made possible with the construction of a 200 billion electron volt accelerator by the Atomic Energy Commission. This research machine, to be located near Chicago, Illinois,¹ is expected to provide U.S. physicists with the world's highest energy proton beam. Design funds are provided in the 1968 budget.

COMMERCE AND TRANSPORTATION.—A strong and balanced national economy requires:

- Accurate and timely information;
- Efficient transportation facilities;
- Rapid communications; and
- Special aids to lagging regions and sectors of the Nation.

Accordingly, the Federal Government will

¹ Wheaton, Illinois.

augment significantly its investment in commerce and transportation programs in the year ahead. The 1968 budget provides funds to:

- Increase technical services and other aids to business;
- Undertake a special sample survey to pinpoint the social and economic needs of our people;
- Give added impetus to our efforts to encourage travel to the U.S. and our export promotion programs to improve our balance of payments;
- Support a World Weather Watch to improve long-range weather forecasting;
- Explore means for modifying the weather, and examine the implications of this new science;
- Strengthen our effort to encourage regional economic development; and
- Improve our transportation facilities and services under the leadership of the new Department of Transportation.

Our transportation programs in 1968 will include an all-out attack to reduce the alarming carnage on the Nation's highways, using the tools made available in the highway safety legislation enacted last year. We are currently considering the construction of a prototype civil supersonic transport. The allowance for contingencies is adequate to cover the possible costs of this effort, should an affirmative decision be made to proceed.

Special emphasis will be placed on improved management and acquisition of modern facilities and equipment to increase the efficiency of our postal system, one of the largest business operations in the world. To provide improved services, to cover proposed pay increases for postal workers and largely offset the remaining postal deficit, a postal rate increase is both necessary and desirable. As required by law, I am proposing such an increase. The budget reflects \$700 million in

postal revenues from this source.

HOUSING AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT.—The problems of the American city are great and vexing. They involve the entire physical and social fabric of deteriorating central cities and rapidly growing suburbs. Trapped in the declining centers of our cities are the poor and the victims of discrimination—who lack the resources to solve their problems without outside help.

This budget provides funds to help meet these needs. Outlays for grants and loans for programs directed specifically at community development will total an estimated \$1.3 billion in 1968, triple the level in 1963. Moreover, other programs providing aid to urban areas will make substantial additional amounts available.

I have directed that community development programs emphasize aids for the poor. The recently-enacted program of rent supplements is an essential element in helping the needy obtain adequate housing facilities and increasing their freedom of choice as to where they can live. To carry on this important program, I am requesting the full amount authorized for rent supplements for 1968, and urge the Congress to act favorably on this request.

To be effective, concerted attacks on city problems must be planned by the cities themselves. The new model cities program is now the primary incentive provided by the Federal Government to accomplish this objective. Special grants will be made to help transform entire blighted areas into attractive and useful neighborhoods. To receive these grants, cities must:

- Develop imaginative and comprehensive plans of action; and
- Enlist Federal, State, local, and private resources in a concerted effort to bring their plans to fruition.

Many cities are now planning their pro-

grams. It is essential that the funds I am requesting for these special grants be available in 1968 when these cities are ready to begin the task.

Under a new program enacted last year, further encouragement will be given to the planned development of entire metropolitan areas. Supplementary Federal grants will be made under 10 Federal aid programs in those metropolitan areas which demonstrate that they are carrying out through joint planning efforts all activities which affect metropolitan development. I urge enactment of the appropriations requested for this program.

One of the most serious difficulties in solving city problems is our inadequate knowledge about the roots and nature of these problems. I urge that sufficient funds be provided the Department of Housing and Urban Development to start a systematic research effort to acquire needed information on the causes and possible solutions for the housing and urban problems which we face today.

To be effective, our aids for community development must be put to use by competent, well-trained local employees. I am therefore requesting the appropriation of funds to initiate the authorized program for grants to States to help them provide training for State and local employees in community development programs.

The problems of the city are many; the resources, limited. More resources are essential if we are to build better cities for the future. We must start now to provide them.

HEALTH, LABOR, AND WELFARE.—The 89th Congress enacted a far-reaching series of programs to improve the health and well-being of American citizens—particularly the less fortunate.

In the year ahead we must proceed to carry out these programs effectively, and

seek the revisions and additions needed to maintain our progress. This budget so provides.

Health.—The specter of inadequate health care is being removed from the aged and needy as we move ahead with the new Medicare and Medicaid programs, and with other activities aimed at bringing comprehensive modern treatment to all. With expanded Federal aid, more medical resources will become available, including medical facilities and qualified health personnel. The Nation's system for providing health care—public and private—will be improved to make it more efficient and to insure use of the latest advances of medical science.

In 1968, we will:

- Strengthen our partnership with the States in health planning and in using broader and more flexible grants to fill gaps in health services.
- Begin operating the new regional medical programs which will narrow the gap between the advanced methods used at university hospitals and day-to-day medical practice in the community.
- Continue research and development to prevent or control diseases.
- Expand programs to increase efficiency in hospitals, clinics, nursing homes, and neighborhood health centers.

Additional measures are needed and will be proposed to:

- Extend Medicare to disabled workers.
- Expand child health services, including dental care.
- Reduce the menace of air pollution which is a threat to the health and safety of our citizens.

Labor and manpower.—My budget proposals provide increased opportunity for the disadvantaged to participate in and contribute productively to our expanding economy.

- I am recommending funds for 280,000

trainees under the Manpower Development and Training Act, an increase of 30,000 over the current year.

- Programs under that Act and those of the United States Employment Service will continue to emphasize serving the severely disadvantaged.

In addition, under programs financed by the Office of Economic Opportunity, 355,000 jobs and training will be made available for youths in the Neighborhood Youth Corps. An estimated \$328 million will be provided for expanded work-training programs, primarily for adults, with special emphasis on reaching the hard-core unemployed and underemployed in slum areas.

Economic opportunity programs.—Poverty remains an ugly scar on the Nation's conscience. The war against it will be long, difficult, and costly. But we are making headway.

The \$2.1 billion of new obligational authority included in the 1968 budget for the Office of Economic Opportunity will enable us to expand programs which help people rise out of poverty. The increase of \$448 million over the 1967 level will be used largely for community action programs, for training programs, and for new Head Start follow-up efforts.

In addition to those helped by the work-training programs described above, the budget will provide for:

- 737,000 children in Head Start.

- \$135 million for improving primary school services as a follow-up to Head Start.
- 38,000 enrollees in the Job Corps.
- 6.5 million persons to be served through other activities by 1,100 community action programs.

Benefits and services which aid the poor are being provided by a number of Federal agencies. In total, 10 agencies will devote \$25.6 billion in 1968 to help the more than 31 million poor people in our Nation. This represents an increase of \$3.6 billion or 16% from the current year, of which \$2.0 billion will be from trust funds.

Social security and public assistance programs.—More than a third of our citizens receiving social security exist on incomes below the poverty level. Cash assistance to welfare recipients generally fails to meet even State standards of need, which are often unrealistically low. And many of the poor are not even eligible for this meager assistance. As a step toward correcting these inequities, I will propose legislation to:

- Provide an overall 20% increase in Social Security benefits for retired workers and their survivors with a 59% increase at the bottom of the scale;
- Assure that the public assistance program provides incentives for work and training and more nearly meets economic need;
- Assure public assistance support and

FEDERAL AID TO THE POOR

[Fiscal years. In billions]

Category	1960 actual	1963 actual	1967 estimate	1968 estimate
Education and training.....	\$0.3	\$0.3	\$3.1	\$3.8
Health.....	.7	1.0	3.6	4.2
Cash benefit payments.....	8.3	10.4	12.8	14.6
Services, economic and community development and other.....	.7	1.2	2.5	3.1
Total funds.....	9.9	12.9	22.0	25.6

work training opportunities for unemployed fathers in impoverished families with dependent children.

EDUCATION.—Our Nation's greatness depends upon the full development of the talents and abilities of its citizens.

The 89th Congress wrote a memorable record in education legislation. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 and the Higher Education Act of 1965 marked a significant advance in Federal support to help improve and enlarge educational opportunities at all levels. Our task now is to use this authority in an imaginative, creative, and responsible way.

New obligational authority for education will total \$5.2 billion in 1968, \$622 million more than in 1967. These funds will be used to:

- *Assist the disadvantaged* by increasing grants to improve elementary and secondary education for about 8½ million less fortunate children from low-income families and by providing new grants for education of handicapped children;
- *Encourage creative change* through an increase of almost 80% in grants for supplementary centers and other special projects designed to introduce better teaching and innovation in our educational programs.
- *Widen higher educational opportunities* by providing more than \$1.1 billion in scholarships, loans, and part-time work for students, a 22% increase over 1967; and
- *Improve teacher training* through additional funding and amendments providing for a more flexible use of legislative authority.

I will propose legislation to:

- Extend and enlarge the Teacher Corps;
- Initiate experimental projects to improve vocational education, particularly

for the disadvantaged and those not planning to attend college;

- Extend and expand Federal support for educational television; and
- Strengthen education program planning and evaluation by State governments and localities.

VETERANS BENEFITS AND SERVICES.—This Nation continues to recognize a particular obligation to those who have served in the Armed Forces. Special programs have long been available to aid the veteran and his dependents in the event of disability, death, ill health, or old age.

More recently, following World War II and the Korean conflict, extensive programs were enacted to assist the veteran in his readjustment to civilian life. In the second session of the 89th Congress, this type of assistance was again provided, through enactment of the third major veterans readjustment benefit program or "GI bill." Upon leaving the Armed Forces, young men of recent military service will find their readjustment made easier through the availability of substantial education, training, medical, and home loan benefits.

In addition, the 1968 budget continues the improvements of the past few years in hospital staffing and the provision of new medical services and facilities. The objective is to provide both a higher quality of care and to reduce the duration of hospitalization, enabling the veteran to return sooner to his home and job.

Certain gaps currently exist in the benefits available to veterans of service in Vietnam relative to those for veterans of previous active military operations. I will propose legislation to fill these gaps so that fair and equitable treatment is provided for those who bear the brunt of the struggle in Southeast Asia. I will also submit proposals to the Congress to remove or modify certain long-

standing but outmoded or inequitable provisions of law governing veterans programs.

GENERAL GOVERNMENT.—This Administration is determined to help our States and cities reduce crime in America. Significant strides have already been taken. The Law Enforcement Act of 1965, the Bail Reform Act of 1966, and the Prisoner Rehabilitation Act of 1965 have helped to strengthen law enforcement agencies, establish more equitable bail procedures in Federal courts, and improve the effectiveness of prisoner rehabilitation programs.

However, still greater efforts must be made. In 1965, I appointed a Commission of prominent citizens to study law enforcement and the administration of justice. With the aid of its findings, I will propose legislation for a major new program to help strengthen State and local government law enforcement and criminal justice systems.

District of Columbia citizens should have a voice in their own affairs. Our commitment to democracy demands no less. I again urge the Congress to grant home rule to the Nation's capital.

PUBLIC DEBT

On the basis of the receipts and expenditures estimated in this budget, the public debt on June 30, 1967, will be \$327.3 billion, and will increase to \$335.4 billion on June 30, 1968.

The temporary limit of \$330 billion on the

public debt under present law will expire on June 30, 1967. If no action is taken, the limit will revert on that date to the permanent ceiling of \$285 billion.

The present temporary debt limit, enacted last June, was based on an estimated administrative budget deficit for fiscal year 1967 of \$1.8 billion. The request then made to the Congress was for a temporary debt limit of \$332 billion. In reducing this request by \$2 billion, the Congress indicated that if increased costs for Vietnam or other contingencies required reappraisal of this tight limit, the Congress would take whatever action is necessary.

The increase in the 1967 deficit, coupled with the tightness of the current limit on the outstanding debt, make an immediate increase imperative. Without such an increase, management of debt operations and other fiscal policies will be seriously hampered.

Later this year, when the fiscal requirements for 1968 are more precisely known, specific recommendations will be presented for modifications in the temporary limit for that year. The exact amounts of the revisions in the temporary limit will depend not only on the specific outlook for the fiscal year as a whole, but also on the time pattern of receipts and expenditures in prospect.

Both for 1967 and 1968 the debt limits requested will provide the margin of flexibility necessary to manage the debt most prudently—to permit the Treasury to take full advantage of the most favorable market

PUBLIC DEBT AT END OF YEAR

[Fiscal years. In billions]

<i>Description</i>	<i>1965 actual</i>	<i>1966 actual</i>	<i>1967 estimate</i>	<i>1968 estimate</i>
Owned by Federal agencies and trust funds.....	\$63.0	\$66.5	\$74.9	\$80.0
Owned privately and by Federal Reserve banks.....	254.8	253.8	252.4	255.4
Total.....	317.9	320.4	327.3	335.4

conditions and thus avoid unnecessary interest costs or adverse effects on the economy.

IMPROVING GOVERNMENT MANAGEMENT

In the past few years, the Federal Government has undertaken an unprecedented number of forward-looking programs which promise to enrich the quality, the justice, and the opportunity of American society to an extent no one would have dared hope only a few short years ago.

But our responsibilities to the American people are not discharged with the enactment of new programs which meet the needs of the Nation. There exist two other closely related obligations of equal gravity:

First, we are obligated to assure effective and economical management of governmental programs—both old and new. *Effective* management of government activities enhances the benefits of those programs. *Economical* management releases resources for the people's use.

Second, we are obligated to maintain close and harmonious working relationships with State, county, and local governments—our partners in a new and creative federalism.

GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION.—We have made significant strides in the last two years to improve Government organization—

- By creating the Departments of Transportation and of Housing and Urban Development.
- By transferring the Community Relations Service to the Department of Justice and the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration to the Department of the Interior.
- By reorganizing the Public Health Service of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the scientific programs of the Department of Commerce,

and the Bureau of Customs.

But additional action to improve the management of the Federal Government is necessary. One of the Government's major objectives is the promotion of a vigorous and growing economy. While there are many ways in which the Government pursues this objective, there are a number of highly inter-related activities now carried on separately by the Departments of Labor and Commerce and several other agencies:

- Planning and execution of manpower programs designed to increase the skills and productivity of the labor force;
- Promotion of the economic development of depressed areas and regions, to help them achieve balanced economic growth;
- Provision of technical and other services to business and labor;
- Collection, dissemination, and analysis of data about economic conditions of the Nation, its various industries, and its geographic areas;
- Advising the President and carrying out national policies for improved labor-management relations.

The Secretaries of Commerce and Labor have recommended to me, and I strongly agree, that the President, the Congress and the Nation will best be served by bringing together these closely related operations into one institution headed by a single responsible official of Cabinet rank. I will, therefore, propose legislation to merge the Departments of Labor and Commerce and the functions of several related agencies into a new Department of Business and Labor.

FEDERAL-STATE-LOCAL COOPERATION.—Our agenda must give high priority to a stronger and more effective federal system of government in the United States. To meet urgent and growing needs, the Federal Government is providing a wide range of programs to

assist State and local governments. Now the chief task is to manage these programs efficiently at every level of government to assure the most effective public services. This effort will require support and action by the Congress.

At the national level the Federal Government has a responsibility to examine and improve the grant-in-aid system, making it more flexible and responsive to State and local fiscal realities. Last year we began a new partnership in health program through which numerous separate grant programs are being brought together. The model cities legislation enacted last year will also help to integrate the wide range of Federal aids available to communities. In the coming year we will examine other areas of Federal aid to determine whether additional categorical grants can be combined to form a more effective tool for intergovernmental cooperation.

Another aspect of the problem of intergovernmental cooperation has been the process of consultation with elected officials of State and local governments on matters concerning the development and administration of Federal assistance programs. Governors and local chief executives are responsible for the management of their units of government. The Federal Government should take all practical steps to increase the role of these executives in the administration of federally aided programs. I recently instructed Federal officials to work directly with State and local chief executives to accomplish this objective.

The Federal Government has a vital stake in the workings of our federal system. Federalism is not a one-sided partnership, and the States and local governments do not exist simply to carry out programs on behalf of the National Government. When we lose sight of these facts the federal system suffers, governments work at cross purposes, and the

programs fail to achieve their objectives. Our task now is to improve Federal programs and administration, while we do more to help State and local governments strengthen their machinery for planning and management.

At the same time, State and local governments must help themselves. Serious problems of modernization in State and local government can be solved only by the people directly concerned. The Federal Government cannot and should not seek to remedy their internal deficiencies of organization or obsolete restraints on financing and executive direction. The Federal Government can, however, increase its technical assistance to general units of government. As one example, we can work with State and local executives to improve budgeting and management. In a similar way, the Federal Government stands ready to cooperate with the States in developing more adequate general systems of comparative statistics—an area where State governments have great needs.

Capable personnel are essential for effective service to the public at the State and local level no less than at the national level. I am recommending legislation to broaden educational and training opportunities for students planning careers in the public service and for public employees who desire to improve their skills. Provision will also be made for financial and technical assistance to strengthen State and local personnel management and to permit interchange of personnel between the Federal Government and State and local governments.

Some States have created special offices concerned with community development, which focus their organizational and financial resources on urban problems within their borders. The work of these offices can be made more effective, and other States can be encouraged to make similar efforts,

by the new program authorized last year for grants by the Department of Housing and Urban Development to States to support technical assistance and information services to their local communities. I urge the Congress to stimulate such improvements by providing the funds I am requesting for this new program.

BUDGETARY CONCEPTS.—As I have already made clear in this Message, some of our traditional budget concepts do not adequately portray the Federal Government's activities. The conventional administrative budget, for example, excludes the expenditures and receipts of the trust funds. Both the administrative and cash budgets treat repayable loans in the same way as nonrepayable grants or purchases. While the national income accounts budget has been carefully formulated to measure Federal activities in relation to the flow of income and production in the economy, it is not now well suited for an analysis of individual Federal programs.

For many years—under many Administrations—particular aspects of the overall budget presentation, or the treatment of individual accounts, have been questioned on one ground or another.

In the light of these facts, I believe a thorough and objective review of budgetary concepts is warranted. I therefore intend to seek advice on this subject from a bipartisan group of informed individuals with a background in budgetary matters. It is my hope that this group can undertake a thorough review of the budget and recommend an approach to budgetary presentation which will assist both public and congressional understanding of this vital document.

PLANNING-PROGRAMING-BUDGETING SYSTEM

Our most comprehensive effort to improve the effectiveness of Government pro-

grams is taking place through the Planning-Programing-Budgeting system. This system, which was initiated throughout the executive branch a little over a year ago, requires all agencies to:

- Make explicit the objectives of their programs and relate them carefully to national needs;
- Set out specific proposed plans of work to attain those objectives; and
- Analyze and compare the probable costs and benefits of these plans against those of alternative methods of accomplishing the same results.

This system is primarily a means of encouraging careful and explicit analysis of Federal programs. It will substantially improve our ability to decide among competing proposals for funds and to evaluate actual performance. The full effects of this effort will not be felt until next year and later, as the necessary data are gathered and analyses now in progress are completed.

A few examples of the kind of work which is in progress indicate the wide range of matters to which organized analysis and programing can be applied.

Disease control.—The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has completed an analysis of the relative cost and effectiveness of selected disease control programs. Cost per life saved and other criteria of relative effectiveness were developed. These programs are being reviewed and funding priorities are being re-examined in light of these findings.

Child health.—The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare completed an analysis of alternative programs aimed at reducing infant mortality and improving child health. This analysis led to the legislative program focused on early identification and treatment of needy handicapped children and experimental projects aimed at im-

proving delivery of medical care to children.

Urban planning.—Experimental projects in urban planning designed to link planning with budgeting are underway at the local level. These efforts should produce a more effective allocation not only of Federal outlays but also of local resources.

Agricultural research.—On the basis of a long-range study conducted by the Department of Agriculture and the land grant universities, a new set of priorities for agricultural research has been established. Increasing emphasis is being given to research on improvement of nutrition and health, efficient low-cost housing, improved community services, and other means which can help directly in raising the level of rural living.

Tax administration.—As a result of intensive analyses of the tax administration system, Internal Revenue Service programs have been steadily improved to produce higher tax collections per dollar of cost, while strengthening the emphasis on equity and voluntary compliance on which our tax administration is based.

With its emphasis on developing better methods of accomplishing program objectives, the new planning-programing-budgeting system is also helping our Government-wide cost reduction program. We will continue to offset a significant part of increased costs of important new programs by increasing efficiency throughout the Federal Government. Savings from this source have been substantial during the past year under our drive for cost reduction. I have made it clear to the heads of all Departments and agencies that they are to continue their emphasis on cost reduction in the coming year.

The careful research and analysis which

is required under the planning-programing-budgeting system does not just happen. It requires the efforts of intelligent and dedicated men and women. The number of analysts required is not large—but the need for them is great. I urge the Congress to improve the funds requested in the budgets of the various Federal agencies to make possible this improvement in the management of Federal resources.

CONCLUSION

Our Nation is stronger today than ever before. We need not, indeed we dare not, forsake our basic goals of peace, prosperity, and progress.

- The pursuit of peace is essential for the continued advancement of our Nation and all mankind.
- Prosperity and progress will lead us toward a society where all can share in the bounty of nature and the products of man's ingenuity and creativity.

At various times in the past, democracies have been criticized for their seeming inability to make hard choices—for seeking soft, easy answers to critical problems. This Nation has proven the doubters wrong time and again, and will not fall prey to such weakness now.

We can afford to achieve our goals. Let us not retreat from the task, no matter how demanding it may be.

This budget represents a careful balance of our abundant resources and our awesome responsibilities. As President, I have weighed the alternatives and made the hard choices as best I could. The responsibility for similar action now rests with the Congress. I urge your support for the goals and pro-

grams embodied in this budget for the coming fiscal year.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

January 24, 1967

NOTE: As printed above, illustrative diagrams and references to the budget document have been deleted.

14 Letter to the Speaker of the House Requesting Supplemental Appropriations in Support of Military Operations in Southeast Asia. *January 24, 1967*

Sir:

Herewith is submitted a supplemental request to the Congress for new obligational authority in the amount of \$12,275,870,000 for the support of military operations in Southeast Asia to help finance an increase of \$9.1 billion in fiscal 1967 expenditures over our earlier estimates.

These funds are needed to sustain our combat operations and to supply our field forces with the aircraft, weapons, ammunition, and equipment they must have to fight aggression in Vietnam.

The Congress will, I believe, want to act promptly to provide these funds.

One year ago, we were in the midst of the most rapid and efficient military response in our Nation's history. The uncertainties were such that it was impossible to forecast accurately our requirements for either men or material a full 18 months or more in advance. The Secretary of Defense fully informed the Congress of this fact and emphasized that a supplemental appropriation would be necessary unless the conflict ended by June 30, 1967.

Today, we are taking every initiative in our search for peace. But as yet, our offers to negotiate have not been accepted. We will persist in these efforts to bring an honorable peace to Vietnam.

At the same time, we must—and will—sustain our pressure on the battlefield until the enemy realizes that the war he started is costing him more than he can ever gain.

Thus, I know that you will want to continue your firm support of the nearly 500,000 American fighting men who are bravely defending the cause of freedom in Southeast Asia.

Never have we had more cause to be proud of our armed forces. When I visited Cam Ranh Bay last October, General William Westmoreland, the Commander of our forces in Vietnam, told me that our troops—in the air, on the sea, and on the land—were the finest the United States had ever fielded.

We should in the Congress and the Executive Branch match the magnificent morale of these men with the means they require to carry out their mission.

Last year, we pledged to the Nation that we would give our fighting men what they must have, every gun and every dollar and every decision, whatever the cost or whatever the challenge.

We must demonstrate our continuing support of these young Americans so that we may prove to them—half a world away—that our determination is no less than theirs.

The new obligational authority requested for fiscal 1967 will provide:

- \$6,841,000,000 to equip military units and to replace aircraft, ordnance, ammunition, and materiel lost or consumed in combat, with expenditures of \$850,000,000.
 - \$3,311,500,000 for operating costs to support additional military units and the intensified level of field operations, with expenditures of \$2,900,000,000.
 - \$1,363,870,000 for pay and allowances of additional military personnel and training additional Reserve enlistees, with expenditures of \$1,310,000,000.
 - \$624,500,000 for the construction or improvement of needed airfields, roads, troop housing and other facilities, with expenditures of \$110,000,000.
 - \$135,000,000 for research and development efforts related to Vietnam, with expenditures of \$20,000,000.
- These expenditures total \$5.2 billion.

When added to the \$3.9 billion in expenditures from funds previously made available, the total fiscal 1967 expenditure increase over the estimate published in January 1966 totals \$9.1 billion.

The Congress and the country will support our troops who bear the burden of combat by providing the funds they need to do the job.

Respectfully yours,

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

[The Speaker of the House of Representatives]

NOTE: A letter of the same date from the Director, Bureau of the Budget, in which the Director concurred in the supplemental appropriations request recommended by the Secretary of Defense, is published in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 3, p. 98).

On April 4, 1967, the President signed the Supplemental Defense Appropriation Act, 1967 (Public Law 90-8; 81 Stat. 8). See also Item 159 below.

15 Annual Message to the Congress on the District of Columbia Budget. *January 25, 1967*

To the Congress of the United States:

I present the budget for the District of Columbia for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1967.

Notwithstanding increased attention to the District of Columbia by the Federal Government in recent years, there is persuasive evidence that much remains to be done if the Nation's Capital is to be a capital in which all Americans can take pride. Problems of housing, education, employment, crime and a rapidly changing racial balance—the problems of most large American cities—are critical. Now, not later, is the time to attack them.

American citizens have a right to express themselves at the polls about the people to

run their governments. The citizens of the District must be given a voice in their own government through home rule. I believe that the last Congress should have granted home rule to the citizens of the District, and I urge the present Congress to give them home rule.

Two recent reports underscore the urgency of the District's needs. A 4-year study completed in August 1966 under a grant from the Department of Housing and Urban Development found a gradual worsening of the physical, social and economic conditions of the District. The report concluded that to do no more than just "hold the line" will require \$175 million in additional funds over the next 8 years. To make "substantial

inroads" on present conditions will require \$750 million over that same period, and a course of "total action toward solving the problems" would require additional expenditures of \$3 billion between now and 1975. This is a measure of the magnitude of what we are facing and of the inadequacy of our past efforts.

The other report, completed last month, is that of the President's Commission on Crime in the District of Columbia. The Commission recommends many changes in the agencies and programs directly concerned with crime, some of which are reflected in this budget. The Commission also expressed its concern at inadequacies in other District programs—in employment, housing, education, health, welfare and recreation. Significantly, it adds that if these deficiencies in community life "are allowed to continue or to worsen, it will be difficult to formulate solutions to our crime problems, no matter what action is taken in the police, court or correctional fields."

I shall shortly transmit to the Congress proposals to enable the District to come to grips with its needs. It must move forward, not stand still or fall back.

The budget which I am presenting reflects the needs of the present. However, the District must prepare for greater efforts in the years ahead and it must consider sources of new revenue. To do so successfully, it must have the best advice and assistance possible. I will therefore include in a 1967 supplemental budget for the District, which I will shortly transmit to the Congress, \$200 thousand for an independent study of the entire range of District revenue sources, actual and potential, to determine what changes should be made in its fiscal policies and tax structure. I would expect the study to be completed in time for consideration

with the District's budget for fiscal 1969.

The Federal Government, of course, must meet its own responsibilities to the District. It is our Capital City. The Federal Government depends for its own proper functioning on a healthy and stable District. Moreover, the District, as the heart of a rapidly expanding, prosperous metropolitan area, directly affects the character and livability of the entire region. Self-interest as well as proper pride in our Capital dictates that the Federal contribution to the city's revenues be completely adequate.

In my judgment, the Federal contribution is not yet at that level. Large but essential increases in District expenses have not been adequately matched by increases in the Federal payment. For that reason, I am again recommending to the Congress that the basis for determining the authorized Federal payment to the District be established as a percentage of basic local tax revenues.

This basis is not only more equitable for the present, but also will maintain an equitable balance into the future as changes occur in the tax burden of the District taxpayers. Revenues will be more predictable and forward planning of District programs will be more meaningful. In fiscal 1968, based on the current estimate of the specified tax revenues of \$282.3 million, this basis would fix the authorization at \$70.6 million—\$10.6 million above the present authorization of \$60 million. In fiscal 1967, this basis would have fixed the authorization at \$64 million. The change in a period of only 1 year illustrates the need for a basis which will continue to reflect a fair apportionment of the costs of general District government between District taxpayers and the Federal Government.

Another aspect of District finances is also vitally in need of revision. The District is

now compelled to borrow for its capital expenditures from the Treasury. The total of such borrowings for the general fund—which of course must in each instance be approved in the appropriation bills—cannot now exceed the fixed amount of \$290 million. Repayments by the District are not taken into account; once the authorized amount has been borrowed the District's authority is exhausted, even though its outstanding obligations may be less than the \$290 million authorized.

This type of authorization is both unnecessary and unfair. The District should not, of course, borrow beyond its needs, which the Congress evaluates in appropriation bills. Neither should it borrow beyond its capacity to repay; but that capacity, rather than an arbitrary dollar limit, should be the measure of its maximum permitted debt. I will, therefore, also propose legislation which will create a District debt ceiling related to the annual amount of general fund revenue, including the authorized Federal payment and using the same general fund tax revenue base proposed for the Federal payment authorization. A fair limitation—6%—of such revenues for debt service would permit a debt ceiling of \$335 million in fiscal 1968. This is \$45 million above the present authorization, and will, of course, permit the District to take advantage in the future of any portion of its present obligation which it has repaid.

These changes in the Federal payment authorization and in the District's borrowing authority are needed now. The Commissioners, on their part, intend to increase the real and personal property tax rates by 20 cents per \$100 of assessed valuation, to produce an estimated additional revenue of \$8 million. The District is also continuously seeking to reduce costs and improve management. For example, its cost reduction program has—

- Saved \$500 thousand in simplification of paperwork.
- Saved \$57 thousand annually and some 50,000 police man-hours, by use of special school crossing guards.
- Saved \$250 thousand during the past 2 years by disposal of obsolete records to release prime office space.
- Saved \$97 thousand annually in clerical time by simplifying police field reports.
- Reduced inventories by \$100 thousand by using computers for improving inventory management.

Efforts to eliminate unnecessary expense and improve management, and the added financial resources proposed, will permit an expenditure budget for fiscal 1968 which is appropriate to the District's requirements, both for operating expenses and for catching up on a major backlog of sorely needed capital projects. A table summarizing the District's budget and a description of significant budget proposals follow:

AUTHORIZATIONS AND FINANCING

[In thousands of dollars]

	1966 <i>actual</i>	1967 <i>estimate</i>	1968 <i>estimate</i>
Education:			
Operating expenses.....	75, 641	86, 529	101, 028
Capital outlay.....	17, 569	27, 213	63, 270
Welfare and health:			
Operating expenses.....	80, 958	90, 945	106, 809
Capital outlay.....	6, 014	2, 572	3, 889

AUTHORIZATIONS AND FINANCING—continued

	1966 <i>actual</i>	1967 <i>estimate</i>	1968 <i>estimate</i>
Highways and traffic:			
Operating expenses.....	14, 203	15, 350	16, 307
Capital outlay.....	9, 852	15, 455	18, 501
Public safety:			
Operating expenses.....	79, 957	91, 591	92, 295
Capital outlay.....	1, 687	1, 630	3, 773
Parks and recreation:			
Operating expenses.....	11, 052	13, 360	17, 619
Capital outlay.....	1, 035	1, 253	4, 105
General operating expenses:			
Operating expenses.....	20, 536	23, 507	27, 570
Capital outlay.....	2, 110	898	13, 705
Sanitary engineering:			
Operating expenses.....	23, 257	24, 708	26, 625
Capital outlay.....	12, 547	12, 747	17, 516
Repayment of loans and interest.....	5, 690	6, 077	7, 790
Payment of D.C. share of Federal capital outlays.....	987	1, 350	1, 247
Contribution to rail rapid transit system.....	2, 000	4, 527	.....
Judgments, refunds, and other expenses.....	3, 983	980	1, 851
Total new obligational authority.....	369, 078	420, 692	525, 900
Distribution of new obligational authority:			
General fund.....	(325, 984)	(367, 207)	(464, 687)
Highway, water and sewage works funds.....	(43, 094)	(53, 485)	(61, 213)
Proposed for later transmittal:			
Police pay increase—proposed legislation.....	.....	220	1, 327
Plans for new D.C. colleges—existing legislation.....	.....	.....	500
Reserves for indefinite appropriations.....	39	1, 040	940
Funds required in subsequent years to pay obligations for capital projects (net).....	-1, 750	-2, 851	-16, 964
Total financial requirements.....	367, 367	419, 101	511, 703
Revenues and balances:			
Taxes, fees, etc. ¹	293, 802	321, 562	353, 046
Federal payment:			
Existing legislation.....	44, 250	60, 000	60, 000
Proposed legislation.....	.....	.....	10, 600
Loans for capital outlay:			
Existing legislation.....	28, 312	37, 527	49, 600
Proposed legislation.....	.....	.....	34, 200
Funds released to surplus.....	2, 841	3, 618	4, 720
Beginning and end of year balances (net) ²	-1, 838	-3, 606	-463
Total revenues and balances.....	367, 367	419, 101	511, 703

¹ Includes increases in real estate taxes from \$2.70 to \$2.90 per \$100 assessed valuation and in personal property taxes from \$2.00 to \$2.20 per \$100 of assessed valuation in fiscal year 1968.

² Balances are in the highway, water and sewage funds. No general fund balance estimated in 1967 or 1968.

EDUCATION

Operating funds for the public school system in 1968 require \$101 million, an increase of \$14.5 million over 1967.

The urgent need further to improve District schools has been emphasized not only in a recent congressional investigation and report, but also in the report of the Commission on Crime in the District of Columbia. The deficiencies are substantial, and they are serious. Education for every child to the limits of his capacity is basic to all other efforts. To achieve this goal in the District, the quality of education must be improved, the needs of children from deprived and inadequate family backgrounds must be given more attention, and the physical plant must be expanded and modernized. The budget reflects the urgent need to accomplish each of these objectives as quickly as possible.

IMPROVING THE QUALITY OF EDUCATION

With the funds provided in the budget the quality of education will be improved by—

- More support, through additional teachers, for elementary school instruction in such fields as science, mathematics, music, art, physical education, and foreign languages.
- Added professional help for schools of all levels in such areas as reading, speech, curriculum, library science, guidance, history and business education.
- An internship program to assist teachers in their first year of teaching through in-service training.

- Attaining Board of Education standards for librarians and counselors: a librarian for each school where facilities are available, and a ratio of counselors to pupils of 1:750 in elementary schools and 1:400 in the secondary schools.
- Beginning a reduction in class sizes in schools where space is available. Regular academic pupil-teacher ratios in junior and senior high schools will be reduced from 25:1 to 21:1. Because of space limitations, the goal of a ratio of 24:1 in elementary schools must await the construction program.
- Additional assistant principals in elementary schools to improve school administration and instructional supervision.

MEETING THE NEEDS OF THE DISADVANTAGED

The funds provided in the budget will also help to meet the needs of children whose background and family resources are inadequate. Nearly half the pupils in the District's schools come from areas where the average family income is under \$5,000. Funds from Federal programs have helped to enrich the school experience of these children, but more is necessary. The budget will—

- Provide teachers who can give individualized instruction to pupils who can be helped by more teacher attention provided through team teaching, ungraded classrooms, smaller class arrangements, seminars, and tutorial assistance in after-school study.
- Initiate a pre-kindergarten program for 3,000 children, to convert the Head Start approach into a full-year program.

- Provide help to approximately 60,000 students in remedial reading.
- Double the present number of pupil personnel teams to provide help both to pupils and to teaching personnel in determining the abilities and emotional stability of children.
- Expand the school lunch program.
- Provide matching funds to qualify for teachers from the National Teacher Corps.

CONSTRUCTING AND EQUIPPING SCHOOLS

Funds in the amount of \$63.3 million are provided in the budget for various phases of school construction. This is a substantial increase over past levels, but it is a more current assessment of the need. There is no economy in delay. On the contrary, postponement of essential facilities condemns many students to educational handicaps that will endure throughout their lives. The budget is intended to reflect urgency.

It will provide funds for—

- Construction of 17 projects for which site and planning funds have already been appropriated including 2 new elementary schools, 2 elementary school replacements, additions to 12 other schools, and an addition to the school warehouse.
- Equipment for elementary and junior high construction projects already funded.
- Planning and construction funds for three elementary and one senior high school additions.
- Site and planning funds for 28 school projects.
- Seventy-five portable pre-kindergarten classrooms for the most seriously deprived areas of the District.
- An addition to Sharpe Health School,

and a new school for the severely mentally retarded.

Funds are provided for the construction of a new Shaw Junior High School, for which the Congress provided special legislation in 1966. Funds to enable the Board of Vocational Education and the Board of Higher Education to begin planning for the two new institutions authorized by Public Law 89-791 can be supplied from existing resources in 1967. Provision is made in the budget for financing the two Boards in 1968.

CRIME

The budget reflects my continuing concern that people who live, work and visit in the Nation's Capital must be safe in their persons and their property. The continuing increase in the District's rate of crime demonstrates that our efforts thus far have not been adequate. The President's Commission on Crime in the District of Columbia has now given us a measure of our needs and of the steps to be taken. Its recommendations are being carefully evaluated, and a great many of them are reflected in the budget. I will shortly be proposing legislation to carry out other recommendations which require legislative approval.

The attack on crime must be on a broad front. The Police Department must be provided with adequate resources. No less must be made available to the courts, the prosecutors, the Department of Corrections, and to all of the youth-serving agencies that seek to prevent delinquency, and to help young offenders become law-abiding citizens. The budget reflects much of this need.

STRENGTHENING THE POLICE DEPARTMENT

For the Police Department itself, the budget provides—

- Additional civilian positions and additional computer services to carry forward the planning and information activities of the Department. When these activities are fully staffed, they are estimated to achieve greater manpower utilization in the Department equivalent to 600 additional policemen.
- Additional civilians to relieve policemen from clerical duties, and to assist in improving the Department's community relations, training, recordkeeping, and criminal investigations.
- Additional sergeants—from a ratio of 1:20 patrolmen to 1:9—to improve the supervision of patrolmen.
- Increases in the Police Cadet program and in the number of school crossing guards.
- Increased police mobility through additional automobiles.

The 1967 supplemental budget for the District will provide an additional \$420,000 to expand and modernize the police communications system.

I shall also transmit to the Congress a bill to provide an increase in the salaries of the Police Department, to be applied principally in the lower ranks as an aid to recruitment of policemen of high quality. The 1967 supplemental budget will request funds to make this increase effective on May 1, 1967. This increase along with that already authorized by the 89th Congress and the District's more successful recent recruiting efforts should bring the Department very near its authorized strength in fiscal 1968. A direct result of this will be a saving of \$2 million in tactical force operations, since there will be a sharp decrease in the need to staff this force on an overtime basis by the use of patrolmen on their day off.

CRIME PREVENTION AND OTHER CRIMINAL JUSTICE PROGRAMS

These improvements in the Police Department will fail to realize their full potential, however, unless improvements are also made in other areas. The crime prevention budget, therefore, also includes funds for—

- A major increase in the staff of the Roving Leader program, which has had marked success in working with youth gangs and delinquency-prone young people.
- Stepping up sharply the transfer begun in fiscal 1967 of children from large institutions to group shelters, foster and pre-release homes. Funds are provided to add 20 group foster homes to the 6 funded in 1967 and to provide 8 youth group homes for delinquent children. The savings in cost to the District will be substantial because the present system of institutional care is expensive.
- Additional child support and probation workers for the Juvenile Court.
- A research unit to permit the Juvenile Court to determine how to improve its operations and procedures.
- Strengthened court services, including increased legal assistance to indigents in the Court of General Sessions.

NEW FACILITIES

The budget also reflects the urgent recommendation of the Crime Commission that if the war on crime is to be effective, major improvements are needed in the District's physical facilities. Funds are provided to construct, at Blue Plains, the new police training facility. Survey funds are included to make comprehensive studies for a mod-

ern detention and diagnostic facility to replace the D.C. jail, for new court facilities, and for a modern facility to replace the present Receiving Home. Funds are also provided for plans and specifications for an alcoholic treatment center at D.C. General Hospital, which will continue and improve the adjustments made necessary by the long overdue removal of the chronic alcoholic from the criminal process.

HEALTH

The budget provides a total of \$66.5 million for the operation of public health and vocational rehabilitation programs for 1968, an increase of \$8.2 million over 1967. These funds are needed to improve a variety of services, and to remedy some serious deficiencies.

The Department of Public Health has made impressive gains in recent years. Much more will be possible, with additional Federal assistance, when present laws are amended to permit the District to join the many other States which are receiving Federal assistance in local health activities under Title XIX of the Social Security Act. Under that program, not only will many more District residents receive needed medical attention, but increasing pressures upon both D.C. General Hospital and Children's Hospital will be eased. I urge the Congress to give prompt attention to the necessary legislation.

The budget will maintain the momentum of prior years, and make other essential improvements. It will—

- Increase the number of nurses, nurses' assistants, and the capacity of the nursing school at D.C. General Hospital. These increases, together with the im-

provement in the recruiting ability of the hospital which will result from the recently announced pay increases for nurses, should materially improve the quality of nursing care at the hospital. More funds are also provided to the hospital for supplies and equipment.

- Provide expanded services for the aged, through a Geriatrics Clinic at the Potomac Gardens public housing project for the aged, and through an increase in home health services.
- Permit payment to contract hospitals and Freedmen's Hospital of their reasonable costs for the services they provide the medically indigent residents of the District, in conformance with the criteria set forth in Public Law 89-97.
- Provide plans and specifications for the Northwest Community Health Center.

The average daily patient load of St. Elizabeths Hospital for which the District is responsible continues to decline. The per diem cost, however, continues to increase so that an additional \$3.6 million will be required in 1968.

WELFARE

The budget provides \$40.3 million for the Department of Welfare in 1968, an increase of \$7.7 million over 1967.

The operations of the Welfare Department continue to reflect efforts to rehabilitate individuals and families, increase their self-sufficiency, and in as many cases as possible assist them to become self-supporting. Funds are provided to maintain the present ratio of social workers to families with dependent children, to complete the basic staffing for two recently established Neighborhood Centers, and to meet additional staff needs for

the aged at D.C. Village. Funds are also provided to staff the new District facility which will replace the present National Training School for Boys.

Many special welfare programs have been established in recent years to meet the needs of the less advantaged. The budget will permit intensifying this effort by —

- Expanding the Crisis Assistance and Emergency Family Shelter programs.
- Continuing and improving the training and job placement assistance programs for unemployed parents of needy children. This effort will continue to be closely related to the work training program financed under Title V of the Economic Opportunity Act, and provides for the removal of limitations that now prevent Federal assistance under the Social Security Act.
- Paying the actual rental expenses of public-assistance recipients if their quarters meet building code requirements and a reasonable standard of maintenance.
- Further expanding the Day Care program.

PARKS AND RECREATION

The needs of those agencies concerned with parks and recreation will require \$17.6 million, an increase of \$4.3 million over 1967.

The additional funds will permit a substantial expansion of supervised recreational activity. The major portion, \$2.5 million, will provide a comprehensive summer program for youth, combining organized recreation with educational and pre-school training. These funds, together with \$500 thousand which will be included in the supplemental 1967 budget, are needed to continue and improve the District's summer programs for young people. During the past 2 years Dis-

trict programs have been among the most successful in the United States. Their value can no longer be doubted.

Funds are also provided for more adequate coverage of existing facilities, for more hours of operation of 90 playgrounds recently lighted for night use with the help of private contributions, for an extended summer season for swimming pools, for expanded recreation programs serving the physically handicapped and the mentally retarded, and for staffing the Buchanan playground which will also be improved by a grant from the Astor Foundation.

The capital budget reflects an urgent need to increase the recreation facilities available in the District. A total of \$4.1 million is proposed to provide, among other things—

- Acquisition of the old car barn on East Capitol Street for development into a Community and Recreation Center to serve an area badly in need of such a facility.
- Construction funds for two swimming pools, and plans for four more.
- Reconstruction of the Chevy Chase Community Center, for which Congress in fiscal 1967 provided funds to prepare plans and specifications.

The 1967 supplemental budget will provide funds to make available next summer 15 walk-to-learn-to-swim pools for younger children.

TRANSPORTATION

The budget reflects the substantial progress toward an ultimate solution of the transportation program that was made during the past year.

The mass transit program moved closer to the regional system which I recommended when the 89th Congress enacted for the District and granted Federal consent to the

compact creating the Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority, with power to plan, finance and operate a regional system. Maryland, Virginia, and the District have already provided funds for the operation of the Authority in 1967 and are budgeting funds for that purpose in 1968.

Funds are already available to permit continuation of preliminary engineering and construction work by the National Capital Transportation Agency on that part of the system authorized by the Congress in 1965. Funds for the District's share of the engineering and construction costs of the Authority are authorized. Although the Authority does not come into being officially until February 20, 1967, the provisional Board of Directors has been actively at work for several months.

Agreement reached during 1966 by the Policy Advisory Committee, and accepted by the District Commissioners and the National Capital Planning Commission regarding the location of interstate freeways within the District, together with the increased funds resulting from the additional borrowing authority made available to the highway fund, have made it possible to provide adequate funds so that the entire freeway program can go forward. In addition, the budget provides funds through the Council of Governments for the District's share of the expenses of the regional planning, including transportation planning, being undertaken jointly by the local governments in the National Capital Region.

OTHER

The major portion of the budget is related to the programs already mentioned. Other budget proposals of particular significance include—

- Funds for a major increase in sanitation

services, to permit more frequent street cleaning and more efficient refuse collection.

- Funds for the construction of the new central Public Library.
- Funds to enable the Public Library to send books to 16,000 kindergarten children, to enlarge their horizon through the world of books. Books for these children are even more important than the books already provided by the Library to children in the elementary schools and in many junior high schools.
- Funds to augment the staff of the Commissioners' Council on Human Relations. The services provided by the Council have been important, but much more can and should be done.
- Funds for a Civil Rights Division in the Corporation Counsel's office.
- Funds to prepare preliminary plans for two new buildings in the Municipal Center area. These buildings will not only provide the District with badly needed office space, but also help to carry out the long-range plans for Pennsylvania Avenue.
- Funds to conduct the 1968 Presidential election in the District.

CONCLUSION

This budget which I am recommending reflects the needs of local government in an increasingly urbanized society. The District is no less subject to these urgent needs than are other cities, and because in many ways it performs the function of a State as well, its responsibilities are even broader. To ignore the District's needs is to confess that the Capital City of this great Nation cannot cope with today's challenges. We must make no such confession. We must make the District of Columbia, rather, the proof that our

[15] Jan. 25

Public Papers of the Presidents

civilization continues to secure to every citizen "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

January 25, 1967

NOTE: Bills authorizing appropriations for the District of Columbia were approved by the President on November 3 and November 13, 1967 (Public Laws 90-120, 90-134; 81 Stat. 339, 435).

Early in the message the President referred to the following reports:

1. A report of the Commissioners' Committee on Community Development, prepared under a grant from the Department of Housing and Urban Development, dated August 24, 1966, and entitled

"Community Renewal in the District of Columbia: Three Alternative Courses of Action" (100 pp., processed).

2. The "Report of the President's Commission on Crime in the District of Columbia" (Government Printing Office, 1966). A statement by the President in response to this report was made public on December 31, 1966 (1966 volume, this series, Book II, Item 656).

On February 17, 1967, the White House Press Office made public a memorandum from Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall advising the President of grants totaling \$490,000 for use in developing neighborhood recreation centers in the District of Columbia. The complete text is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 3, p. 275).

16 Annual Message to the Congress: The Economic Report of the President. *January 26, 1967*

To the Congress of the United States:

A healthy and productive economy is a bulwark of freedom.

Around the world and here at home, our trials of strength, our works of peace, our quest for justice, our search for knowledge and understanding, our efforts to enrich our environment are buttressed by an amazing productive power.

Americans have confronted many challenges in this century. The ones we face in 1967 are as trying of men's spirits as any we have known. But the overwhelming majority of us face our challenges in comfort, if not affluence. The sacrifices required of most of today's generation are not of income or security; rather we are called on to renounce prejudice, impatience, apathy, weakness, and weariness.

In purely material terms, most Americans are better off than ever before. That fact expands our responsibilities, as it enlarges our resources to meet them.

RECENT ECONOMIC GAINS

An average of 74 million persons were at work in 1966—2 million more than in 1965. Nonfarm payrolls averaged 64 million, a gain of 3 million. On the whole, these jobs were better paying than ever, and more regular and more secure than most workers can remember.

The value of our total production of goods and services in 1966 was \$740 billion—\$58 billion, or 8½ percent, higher than in 1965. More of the increase than we wanted represented higher prices. Still, the gain was nearly 5½ percent *after* correction for price changes.

Labor, business, and the farmer all contributed to this major gain in production, and they rightly shared the benefits.

Aggregate compensation of employees rose 10.3 percent. Average compensation per man-hour in the private economy rose 6.5 percent, reflecting increased wages and

fringe benefits, more overtime, the shift to higher-paying jobs, and increased employer contributions to Social Security. Corporate profits after taxes advanced more than 8 percent; per dollar of sales they were roughly unchanged from the high rate of 1965. Net income per farm rose more than 10 percent.

The single most meaningful measure of economic well-being is real disposable income per person—the after-tax purchasing power in stable dollars, available on the average to every man, woman, and child. It rose 3½ percent or \$89 per person in 1966. Although this advance was somewhat smaller than in 1965, it was still three times as large as the average yearly gain in the 1950's.

February 1961 launched the strongest and most durable economic expansion in our economic annals, and it still continues.

- Almost 9 million jobs have been added in the last 6 years.
- The rate of unemployment has fallen from 7 percent in early 1961 to under 4 percent. The rate for white adult males fell from 5 percent to 2 percent; for Negro men, from nearly 12 percent to less than 5 percent.
- Early in 1961, more than two-thirds of our major labor markets were “areas of substantial unemployment”; today only 8 of the 150 are so classified, and 66 have unemployment below 3 percent.
- While total population rose 11 million between 1961 and 1965, the number of Americans in poverty declined 5½ million, and probably fell at least another 1¼ million in 1966. (The poverty definition is adjusted for the increase in living costs.)
- Our gross national product (GNP) has grown 50 percent in 6 years. In constant

prices, the gain has averaged 5½ percent a year. The physical output of our factories and mines is up over 50 percent.

- Private output per man-hour in 1966 was 19 percent higher than in 1961.
- The 6-year addition to our gross stock of private productive capital—machines, buildings, transportation equipment, land improvements, and inventories—is valued at \$220 billion.
- American families have added \$470 billion to their accumulated financial assets. They have added \$150 billion to their debts. So their net financial position is \$320 billion stronger than 6 years ago.

OUR ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

Prosperity is everywhere evident. But prosperity is never without problems, and—in 1966—some of them were serious.

SOME LEADING PROBLEMS

1. *Economic progress still left far too many behind.*

- Nearly 3 million workers were without jobs at the end of 1966. Perhaps two-thirds of them were “frictionally” unemployed: new entrants to the labor force in the process of locating a job; persons who quit one job to seek another; workers in the “off” months of seasonal industries; those temporarily laid off but with instructions to return. Their unemployment will be temporary; many were drawing unemployment insurance.
- But most of the remaining third will wait a long time for a steady job. They are the “hard-core” unemployed—lack-

ing the necessary skills to find other than intermittent work; the victims of past or present discrimination; those unable or unwilling to move from depressed areas and occupations; the physically or emotionally handicapped.

- Another half million to one million *potential* workers were not even counted as unemployed. Many had long ago abandoned any search for a job. Some had never tried.
- But even among those who worked year-round, some 2 million bread-winners—particularly the low-skilled with large families—earned incomes insufficient to support a minimum standard of decent subsistence.
- And 6½ million families were poor because the heads of their households were unable to work: either aged, severely handicapped, or a widowed or deserted mother with young children.

Those left behind used to be called the “invisible poor.” But an awakened public conscience has sharpened the vision of most Americans.

2. *Price increases—although less than in many comparable periods—still were greater than we wanted or should long tolerate.*

It is tempting to blame the creep of prices on the greed of producers—or the irresponsibility of labor—or Government policies—or bad weather—or economic disturbances abroad. Some of the price rise may have been due to each. But the main causes lay elsewhere:

- Some can be traced to imbalances created by the special pressures of Vietnam procurement and booming private investment.
- The spurt of demand—partly real, partly psychological—that followed the

step-up of our Vietnam effort in mid-1965 simply exceeded the speed limits on the economy’s ability to adjust. Our resources were sufficient for the task; but the sheer speed of the advance strained the ability of industrial management to mobilize resources at the required pace.

- Some price advance was the inevitable cost of the adjustments required in recovering from a decade of slack:
 - Wages had to be raised sharply in underpaid occupations, which previously held their labor only because the alternative was no job at all.
 - Producers in once stagnant, low-profit industries saw opportunities for expansion and found it possible to raise prices and earnings in order to attract needed capital.
 - Demand pressed harder on skilled occupations and professional services where we had trained too few persons to meet the needs of a high employment economy.

Some price increases would still have occurred had we moved at a steadier pace.

But these price increases could have come slowly enough and have been small enough not to threaten a chain reaction of wages chasing other wages—wages chasing prices—prices chasing wages—and prices chasing other prices.

It is this spiral we must and can avoid. But it will require responsible action on the part of all.

3. *Achieving equilibrium in our balance of payments remained a problem, in spite of strong new measures.*

The costs of Vietnam required us to spend many more hundreds of millions of dollars beyond our shores. At the same time, the

spurt of demand caused our imports—especially of capital goods—to soar.

We are determined to continue our progress toward equilibrium.

4. *Tight money and high interest rates concentrated the burden of restraint on housing.*

Interest rates in 1966 were as high as at any time in 40 years. They were pushed there by an insatiable demand for credit, straining against a deliberately restricted supply. Monetary policy in 1966—like tax policy—was properly aimed at slowing down an economy expanding too fast.

The brakes applied last year worked. But tight money worked painfully and inequitably. It cut construction by more than \$8 billion during 1966. Its impact was equivalent to a heavy across-the-board tax increase, but with most of its effect concentrated on a single industry.

FINDING SOLUTIONS

We will move this year toward solutions for these problems and others. But they cannot all be completely solved in 1967.

Lifting the burden on housing.—Now that the economy's advance is again more moderate, the burden of tight money is being lifted. Interest rates are still extremely high—but they are moving down from their peaks. Credit is still not readily available to all who can make sound and productive use of it—but it is becoming easier to get. More savings are flowing into our thrift institutions and are beginning to be available to builders and homebuyers.

The steps we took last year and those I am now proposing, the steps the Federal Reserve has recently taken and is continuing to take

to increase credit availability and lower interest rates, should have our housing industry moving smartly forward by the end of 1967, and ready for one of its best years in 1968.

Restoring price stability.—The advance of prices has already begun to slow. Wholesale prices in December were below their levels of August.

The more moderate pace of economic advance now underway, which the policies I am recommending are designed to maintain, should further diminish inflationary pressures.

We cannot rescind all of last year's increases in cost, some of which are still spreading through our structure of prices. Price stability cannot be restored overnight. But we will be making good progress toward price stability this year.

Improving our international payments.—We have recently announced stronger voluntary balance of payments programs for 1967. Our policies to constrain economic expansion to a sustainable pace should permit an improved export surplus.

I am now recommending further steps to strengthen our external payments. Yet so long as we remain heavily engaged in Southeast Asia, we will have a balance of payments problem.

Combating poverty.—We will continue to attack poverty and deprivation through such weapons as

- Community Action and Head Start;
- rent supplements and child nutrition;
- aid to elementary and secondary education in poverty areas and the Teacher Corps;
- the Manpower Development and Training Act, the Job Corps, the Neighbor-

- hood Youth Corps;
- Medicare, Medicaid, and neighborhood health centers;
- measures to end discrimination in jobs, education, and public facilities;
- the expanded coverage enacted last year for a higher minimum wage.

I am proposing that our attack be reinforced with new weapons in 1967.

Yet, with old weapons and new, the war on poverty will not be won in 1967—or 1968. There is no wonder drug which can suddenly conquer this ancient scourge of man. It will be a long and continuing struggle, which will challenge our imagination, our patience, our knowledge, and our resources for years to come. Our capacity to stay with the task will be a test of our maturity as a people.

USING THE GAINS OF GROWTH

From early 1961 to the end of 1966, our GNP rose an average of \$44 billion a year. About \$9 billion a year was price increase. Of the balance

- An average real gain of \$10 billion a year (in 1966 prices) came from putting idle men and machines back to work.
- An average real gain of \$25 billion a year (in 1966 prices) came from the growth of our resources: a larger work force, more and better capital and management, higher productivity.

Further gains from putting idle resources to work will now be harder to achieve.

But our annual dividend from growth has meanwhile become more generous. In 1967 it will add \$30 billion at today's prices to our potential output.

Our economic policies must assure that we realize this potential dividend—and use it wisely.

REALIZING THE GROWTH DIVIDEND

To ensure our full dividend from economic growth requires that markets for goods and services expand steadily and adequately—but not excessively. In recent years, we have tested and refined the power of fiscal and monetary policy to stimulate or moderate the expansion of total demand.

During 1966, Federal expenditures were expanding rapidly. But tax policy worked to counter their impact.

Federal expenditures in our national income accounts grew \$19 billion in calendar year 1966, reflecting the step-up in national defense; in Social Security, Medicare, and related payments; and in grants to State and local governments. They added strongly to private purchasing power. They would have added more but for the substantial expenditure cutbacks put into effect during the year.

On the other side, taxes restrained demand. Higher payroll taxes, the restoration of some excise taxes, the institution of graduated withholding, and the suspension of tax incentives to investment all represented new measures that were draining off more than \$9 billion of spendable incomes by year-end. In combination, and for the full year, these measures and an expanding economy produced \$18 billion more in revenues than in 1965. Prompt action by Congress in response to my tax proposals of January and September made tax policy an important force for economic restraint.

Taking the two sides together, our national income accounts budget was in surplus in the first half and in balance for 1966 as a whole.

But as private investment threatened to outrun private saving, sharp monetary

restraint was also applied. In response to both fiscal and monetary restraints, the economy shifted gears from excessive speed to a moderate advance.

FISCAL POLICY FOR 1967

In the year ahead we are determined to maintain that moderate advance; we need no further slowdown; we can tolerate no new spurt of demand. After midyear, the tax increase I have proposed and a more moderate growth of Federal spending will increase the freedom of monetary policy to support expansion. I am confident that the opportunity will be used.

The specific fiscal program I am recommending includes

- a surcharge of 6 percent on the tax liabilities of individuals, exempting persons in the lowest income brackets;
- the same 6 percent surcharge on the tax liabilities of corporations.

Here are some examples of the effect of this proposal, as applied to a married couple with two dependents, using typical deductions:

- With \$5,000 income, their tax will be unchanged—still \$130 lower than they would have paid in 1963.
- With \$10,000 income, their tax in 1968 will rise \$67, or \$1.30 a week. Their annual tax will still be \$190 less than they would have paid in 1963.
- With \$20,000 income, their tax in 1968 will rise \$190, or \$3.65 a week. But their annual tax will still be \$450 less than they would have paid in 1963.

A corporation with profits before tax of \$100,000 will pay an extra \$2,490. It will still pay \$2,510 less than it would have paid in 1963.

One with profits of \$1,000,000 will pay an

extra \$28,410, still \$12,590 less than it would have paid in 1963.

The surcharge will provide for \$5.1 billion of extra revenues in fiscal year 1968 on a national income accounts basis, substantially offsetting the expansion of \$5.8 billion in defense purchases.

The national income accounts budget will also be affected by my proposals for Social Security benefits and taxes.

After allowance for these changes, the national income accounts deficit for fiscal year 1968 is now estimated at \$2.1 billion, compared with \$3.8 billion in fiscal year 1967.

I am also recommending two further accelerations of corporate tax payments, to begin in 1968:

- requiring quarterly payment of estimated tax on the basis of 80 percent rather than 70 percent of liability;
- requiring, over a 5-year period, that small corporations, as well as large, become current in their tax payments, in the same way as individual proprietors.

We have fashioned a fiscal program for sustainable expansion. With that program, we now see a rise of about \$47 billion in our GNP in 1967—a growth dividend close to 4 percent in real terms.

USING THE GROWTH DIVIDEND

The first priority for the use of our growth dividend must, as always, be the defense of freedom. But it will take only a small part of our \$47 billion of added production.

These will be the public claims on our growth dividend:

- \$10 billion more of our output in 1967 will go for the support of our men in Vietnam and other urgent needs of defense.
- \$1½ billion will go for the expansion of

other Federal purchases, including adjustments in Federal civilian and military pay.

- State and local governments will use about \$8 billion more of the Nation's resources in 1967. In this, they will be aided by Federal grants totaling nearly \$15 billion.

The remaining \$27½ billion of our GNP gain in 1967—nearly 60 percent of it—will be used in the private sector. And the flow of goods and services to consumers will expand this year by even more than that.

- In the past several years, an unusually large part of our output growth has gone to expand the productive capacity of business and to build up inventories to support high and growing production and sales. On balance, a slightly smaller portion of our resources will be used for these purposes in 1967 than in 1966.
- For the year as a whole, slightly less of our resources than last year will be used to build new homes, although a sharp recovery in residential construction from its current deep recession is expected during the course of the year.

As the flow of goods and services to consumers expands, the ability of our elderly citizens to share in these gains will be supported by a rise of more than \$6 billion in Social Security and Medicare payments.

In 1967, we will have no bonus dividend from using previously idle resources. But the dividend from growth alone is a big one. We must be sure we get it; and we must use it wisely.

RESTORING PRICE STABILITY

From the beginning of 1961 until 1965, the United States enjoyed both price stability and a strongly expanding economy. The average of wholesale prices hardly moved, and con-

sumer prices rose only a little more than 1 percent a year. Last year, that record was blemished. Consumer prices rose 2.9 percent between 1965 and 1966, wholesale prices 3.2 percent.

When we were involved in Korea, consumer prices rose 8.0 percent between 1950 and 1951, wholesale prices 11.4 percent. And we had price controls during most of 1951.

Even when we were not at war, consumer prices rose 3.5 percent between 1956 and 1957, wholesale prices 2.9 percent.

Nevertheless, we are not satisfied with our record on prices. And we expect to improve on it this year.

There are many reasons why we refuse to tolerate rapidly rising prices:

- They injure those with fixed incomes, especially older people.
- They can lead to speculation and economic distortions which could undermine prosperity.
- They weaken our competitive position in world markets.
- As they persist, they become harder to stop without throwing the economy into reverse.

Restoring price stability is one of our major tasks. It will not be accomplished all at once, or all in 1967. That could be done—if at all—only at the cost of mass unemployment, idle machines, and intolerable economic waste. But a gradual return to stability can go hand in hand with steady economic advance.

Such an improvement will require

- prudent fiscal and monetary policies;
- Government efforts to help relieve the key points of pressure on prices;
- the responsible conduct of those in business and labor who have the power to make price and wage decisions.

With steady, sustainable, and balanced growth, we can look forward to

- relief of pressures on capacity in such strained areas as machinery and metals;
- adjustments of raw materials supplies to demand;
- the end of labor shortages in key areas.

Other efforts of the Federal Government can help to relieve particular pressures on prices and wages. We will continue

- to develop manpower training programs to meet skill shortages;
- to increase the efficiency of the employment services in matching jobs and men;
- to handle Government procurement so as to minimize its pressure on prices;
- to dispose of surplus Government stockpiles to alleviate shortages of raw materials;
- to manage farm programs to assure adequate supplies as well as equitable returns.

But efforts of the Government alone will not be enough. The cooperation of business and labor is essential for success.

In the past year, most businessmen who had a choice in setting prices and most trade unions that negotiated wage contracts acted responsibly. They did so because they took account of the national interest and saw that it was also their own.

If business and labor were to consider only their own short-run interests

- each union might seek a wage increase which exceeds the most recent settlement by some other union;
- each business might strive to achieve a new profit record by translating strong demand into higher prices, whether or not costs have increased.

But when business and labor consider the national interest—and their own longer-run interests—they realize that such actions would have only one result: a wage-price spiral which is in the interest of neither.

- If unions now attempt to recoup in wages all of past or anticipated advance in the cost of living—in addition to the productivity trend;
- If businesses now seek to pass along rising costs when it would be possible to absorb them or do not reduce prices when costs fall;

then the result will be just such a spiral—damaging to business, damaging to labor, and disastrous to the Nation.

Once again, I appeal to business and labor—in their own interest and that of the Nation—for the utmost restraint and responsibility in wage and price decisions.

INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC POLICIES

The current year is a critical one for our international economic policies and for the economic progress of the world community.

As the largest single market and source of capital, the United States carries special responsibilities.

TRADE

This Administration is committed to reducing barriers to international trade, as demonstrated by my recent action terminating the 1954 escape clause action on watches, and rolling back the special tariff on imports of glass.

The Kennedy Round of trade negotiations is now entering its final and most critical phase. I emphasize once more how important this great attempt to liberalize world trade is for all the developed and developing nations of the free world.

After more than 4 years of discussion, it is essential that the participants now resolve the many complex problems that still remain. It would indeed be a tragedy if the wide authority granted to the President by

the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 were allowed to lapse unused. Never before has there been such a splendid opportunity to increase world trade. It must not be lost.

But the Kennedy Round is not the end of the road. We must look beyond the negotiations in Geneva to further progress in the years ahead. We must begin to shape a trade policy for the next decade that is responsive to the needs of both the less developed and the advanced countries.

We should seize every opportunity to build and enlarge bridges of peaceful exchange with the countries of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. We should have the ability to adapt our policies to whatever political circumstances or commercial opportunities may present themselves. I again urge the Congress to provide authority to expand our trade relations with Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

AID

Although 1966 was a relatively good year for world economic growth, average output in developing countries rose by less than \$3 a person.

There were, however, encouraging signs of progress. Developing nations demonstrated a willingness to take difficult but necessary steps to help themselves. India, for example, revised her foreign exchange and agricultural policies to promote more rapid growth.

Among the wealthier nations, stronger efforts were made to assist the development of the poorer countries. Canada and Japan increased their assistance programs. Major free world aid donors joined in new groups to coordinate their flow of aid.

The United States will continue to respond constructively to the aspirations of the

developing nations. We will give first priority to fighting the evils of hunger, disease, and ignorance in those free world countries which are resolutely committed to helping themselves.

There should, however, be increasing efforts to make both the receiving and giving of aid a matter for creative international partnership. We shall therefore

- continue to support enthusiastically, in a manner consistent with our balance of payments position, such promising cooperative regional efforts as the Alliance for Progress, the Inter-American, the Asian, and the African Development Banks, and the Mekong Development Fund of the United Nations;

- further encourage the coordinated extension and expansion of aid by the major donor countries in ways that result in an equitable sharing of the burden;

- seek the cooperation of other major donor countries this year in replenishing the resources of the International Development Association.

BALANCE OF PAYMENTS

We can take some satisfaction in the fact that our balance of payments in 1966 may prove to have been in surplus on official reserve settlements. Despite the added costs of the war in Vietnam and the rapid growth of imports, our deficit on a liquidity basis increased only slightly in 1966.

But we cannot relax our efforts to seek further improvement.

Our goal in the coming year is to continue to move toward balance of payments equilibrium as rapidly as the foreign exchange costs of the Vietnam conflict may permit. This goal will be supported through meas-

ures and policies consistent with healthy growth at home and our responsibilities abroad.

We already have extended and reinforced the voluntary restraint programs for corporate investment abroad and for foreign lending by financial institutions. I am counting on the continued full cooperation of businesses and banks with these programs in 1967. And I have instructed all agencies of the Government to intensify their efforts to limit the dollar drain resulting from their activities.

But more is needed. I now recommend the following steps:

1. The Congress should extend the Interest Equalization Tax, in strengthened form, to July 31, 1969. This tax has proved extremely useful in limiting the borrowing of developed countries in our capital markets and in reinforcing the Federal Reserve voluntary program. As we move toward easier money in the United States, foreign borrowing in our financial markets may tend to increase. I am therefore requesting authority to adjust the rates of the Interest Equalization Tax as monetary conditions warrant, so that the effective impact on interest costs can be varied between zero and 2 percent. This would replace the present flat 1-percent impact.

Moreover, to ensure against possible anticipatory increases in foreign borrowing, I am also requesting that the tax be imposed at rates which provide an impact of 2 percent on interest costs while the legislation is under consideration by Congress.

2. The most satisfactory way to arrest the increasing gap between American travel abroad and foreign travel here is not to limit the former but to stimulate

and encourage the latter. I shall appoint in the near future a special industry-Government task force to make specific recommendations by May 1, 1967, on how the Federal Government can best stimulate foreign travel to the United States.¹ After a careful review of their advice, I shall ask the U.S. Travel Service and other appropriate agencies to take the steps that seem most promising.

3. As part of our long-run balance of payments program, I shall also
 - request continuation and expansion by \$4.5 billion of the lending authority of the Export-Import Bank in order to support the expansion of exports;
 - continue to urge other countries to participate in the development of better means both of sharing the resource burdens and of neutralizing the balance of payments effect arising from the common defense and foreign assistance efforts.
4. For the longer run strength of our payments balance, we should intensify efforts to
 - stimulate exporters' interest in supplying foreign markets;
 - enlist the support of the financial community to attract additional foreign investment in the United States;
 - encourage further development of foreign capital markets.

¹ On November 16, 1967, the White House Press Office announced the appointment of an Industry-Government Special Task Force on Travel to make recommendations as to how the Federal Government could increase travel to the United States and thereby improve the U.S. balance of payments. The announcement, including a list of industry and Government members of the task force, is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 3, p. 1580).

IMPROVING THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY SYSTEM

In 1966, significant progress was made toward a better international monetary system. Through close consultation and cooperation among the financial authorities of major countries, temporary strains were met promptly and effectively.

Two large forward steps were taken on the road to international monetary reform: wide consensus was reached on basic principles for the deliberate creation of additional reserve assets; and the negotiations advanced to a second stage in which all members of the International Monetary Fund are participating.

An even greater effort must be made in the coming year to improve our monetary system. In particular, I urge that

- all countries participate in the continuing task of strengthening the basic monetary arrangements that have served the world so well;
- both surplus and deficit countries assume their full responsibility for proper adjustment of international payments imbalances, and cooperate in efforts to lower world interest rates;
- full agreement be reached on a constructive contingency plan for the adequate and orderly growth of world monetary reserves.

HELPING THE DISADVANTAGED

The United States is the first large nation in the history of the world wealthy enough to end poverty within its borders. There are many fronts in the War on Poverty. We are moving forward on them all.

- There must be full employment so that those qualified and able to work can find jobs. . . . The unemployment rate

last year was the lowest in 13 years.

- Those not now fully qualified must be given the education and training, the health and guidance services which will enable them to make their full contribution to society. . . . We have greatly increased our aid to education and enlarged our training programs, and we will expand them further.
- For those who will be unable to earn adequate incomes, there must be help—most of all for the benefit of children, whose misfortune to be born poor must not deprive them of future opportunity. . . . We have increased our income support, and we will increase it further.
- Wherever the poor and disadvantaged are concentrated, intensive and coordinated programs to break the cycle of deprivation and dependency must continue and be reinforced. . . . We have instituted these programs in hundreds of cities and rural areas; we are expanding them and designing others.

INCOME GUARANTEES

Completely new proposals for guaranteeing minimum incomes are now under discussion. They range from a “negative income tax” to a complete restructuring of Public Assistance to a program of residual public employment for all who lack private jobs. Their advocates include some of the sturdiest defenders of free enterprise. These plans may or may not prove to be practicable at any time. And they are almost surely beyond our means at this time. But we must examine any plan, however unconventional, which could promise a major advance. I intend to establish a commission of leading Americans to examine the many proposals

that have been put forward, reviewing their merits and disadvantages, and reporting in 2 years to me and the American people.

PUBLIC ASSISTANCE

Our system of public assistance is now 30 years old and has obvious faults. The standards of need set by many States are unrealistically low; benefits are further restricted by excessively stringent eligibility conditions. In some respects the system perpetuates dependency.

1. State standards of need are miserably low. In 18 States a family of 4 is presumed able to manage for a month on \$45 a person—or less. And in many States, actual payments average far below their own standards of need.

It is time to raise payments toward more acceptable levels.

As a first step, I ask the Congress to require that each State's payments at least meet its own definition of need; and that its definition should be kept up to date annually as conditions change.

2. With minor exceptions, payments under public assistance are reduced dollar for dollar of earnings by the recipient, removing any incentive to accept part-time work. We should encourage self-help, not penalize it.

It is time to put an end to this 100 percent tax on the earnings of those on public assistance.

I shall therefore ask Congress to enact payment formulas which will permit those on assistance to keep some part of what they may earn, without loss of payments.

3. Many recipients of public assistance are capable of receiving training which would ultimately make them self-supporting.

I therefore urge the Congress to make permanent the Unemployed Parent and Community Work and Training programs associated with Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), and to require all States receiving Federal support under AFDC to cooperate in making Community Work and Training available for the unemployed parents of dependent children.

TRAINING AND EMPLOYMENT

The coexistence of job vacancies and idle workers unable to fill them represents a bitter human tragedy and an inexcusable economic waste. One of society's most creative acts is the training of the unemployed, the underemployed, or the formerly unemployable to fill those vacancies.

A dynamic economy demands new and changing skills. By enabling workers to acquire those skills, we open opportunities for individual development and self-fulfillment. And we make possible higher production without inflationary pressures.

I shall ask the Congress for funds to support a new and special effort to train and find jobs for the disadvantaged who live in urban ghettos.

I shall also propose legislation to improve the effectiveness of the Federal-State employment service.

SOCIAL SECURITY

Millions of aged still live in poverty. Millions of younger Americans are willing to pay for more adequate retirement benefits in the future.

I ask the Congress to approve an over-all 20 percent increase in our Social Security program. We can increase benefits for all Social Security beneficiaries by at least 15

percent, raise the minimum benefit by 59 percent to \$70 a month, assure workers with 25 years of coverage at least \$100 a month, extend Medical Insurance to disabled beneficiaries, and allow larger earnings without loss of benefits.

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE

Our system of unemployment insurance was created in a world of massive unemployment. The needs of a high employment economy are different. Today, when jobs are available, the jobless who exhaust their benefits typically need training, guidance, or other supportive services.

Therefore, I am asking the Congress to consider legislation to provide such services in conjunction with extended benefits to the long-term unemployed, to extend the protection of the system to additional workers, to establish more uniformly adequate benefits, and to correct abuses.

CITIES AND HOUSING

The American city is not obsolete; it is still a great engine for economic and social progress. But cities are in trouble, threatened by congestion, pollution, crime, poverty, racial tension, slums, and blight.

Yesterday's rural poor have been moving to the city just as many of the jobs they seek and need have been moving to the suburbs. Inadequate transportation and discrimination in housing make it difficult for them to follow the jobs; and deficiencies of education, health, and skills compound their disadvantages.

Most cities cannot afford the massive expenditures necessary to solve these problems. The flight of higher income families and businesses to the suburbs erodes sources of

revenue for the cities, even as expenditure demands escalate. Inflexible city limits have created a hodgepodge of local taxing jurisdictions, often dividing the tax base from the need. The cities cannot collect for the many benefits they supply to residents of the suburbs.

The problems of the cities flow across irrelevant boundaries established by historical accident. So solutions must draw on the resources and imagination of a larger area. Our efforts have been aimed to encourage a metropolitan approach to metropolitan problems.

We must also find ways to enlist more fully the resources and imagination of private enterprise in the great task of restoring our cities.

I have just appointed a Commission, under the chairmanship of Senator Paul H. Douglas, to work with the Department of Housing and Urban Development to examine problems of codes, zoning, taxation, and development standards and to recommend ways to increase the supply of low-cost housing. I am convinced that this study can make a major contribution to the solution of urban problems.

Last year, the Congress enacted the path-breaking Model Cities legislation. The Federal Government will help cities to focus all available programs on their needs—eventually to overwhelm the problems that have heretofore overwhelmed the cities.

More than 70 cities will have completed their plans and be eligible to start receiving assistance in 1968. Federal aid for water and sewer projects, open land conservation, and urban mass transportation is encouraging a more coordinated approach to metropolitan problems. I seek increased appropriations for all of these programs. And I shall seek authorization and resources for a greatly ex-

panded program of research on urban problems.

Growth in the number and incomes of American families will require us to build about 2 million new houses a year for the next decade, most of them in and around cities. Last year, housing bore a disproportionate part of the burden of needed restraint. But we are now moving into a period of renewed homebuilding. I look for construction to rise briskly during 1967.

Federal programs for fiscal 1968 will assist in construction or renovation of 165,000 housing units for the urban poor, the elderly, and the handicapped. The Rent Supplement program will contribute to this goal.

This year will be a brightening one for the housing industry; it can also be a landmark year in the progress and evolution of our cities.

EDUCATION AND HEALTH

Individually and collectively, Americans have insatiable appetites for more education and better health. Education and health contribute both to individual well-being and to the Nation's productivity. But far too many of our urban and rural poor are denied adequate access to either. The efficiency of our methods of education and of providing medical care can and should be strengthened.

History will record these years as the time when this Nation awoke to its needs—and its limitations—in education and health. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Head Start, the Teacher Corps, Medicare, Medicaid, and the Partnership in Health will be landmarks in our social and economic development.

I shall propose

—an expanded Head Start program; a Follow-Through program in the early

years of school; and the opening of other new educational opportunities for children;

—both legislative and administrative changes to accelerate research and development on more efficient and effective ways of providing health resources; —an expanded child health program, including early diagnosis and treatment, a pilot program of dental care, and the training of additional health personnel to provide services to children.

ABATING POLLUTION

A polluted environment erodes our health and well-being. It diminishes individual vitality; it is costly to industry and agriculture; it has debilitating effects on urban and regional development; it takes some of the joy out of life.

The 89th Congress enacted important legislation to improve the quality of our environment. All 50 States have now signified their intention to establish water quality standards for their interstate and coastal waters. The Federal Government is assisting State and local governments through comprehensive water basin planning, and is providing financial help to States for the administration of water pollution control and to local areas for the construction of sewage treatment facilities. In addition, we are studying appropriate methods to encourage industry to control its discharge of pollutants.

The foundation for abating air pollution was laid in the Clean Air Act of 1965. But the air over every city proves that further steps are necessary.

I propose that we get on with the jobs of preserving and restoring our environment. I will present detailed proposals on control of air pollution in another message.

IMPROVING OUR TAX SYSTEM

Our tax system is one in which we can take pride. In terms of fairness, revenue productivity, and balanced economic impact, it is unsurpassed by any other tax system in the world today.

Nevertheless, it can be improved. As they now stand, our tax laws impose undue burdens on some and grant unfair benefits to others.

A system as complex as ours cannot be perfected in a single bill. Rather, the process of tax reform must be continuous, with every provision of the law subject to constant examination and adjustment where needed. Moreover, this work of basic reform should proceed independently of the requirements for raising taxes or the opportunities for tax reduction.

I therefore plan to submit proposals to the Congress to improve the equity of our tax system and reduce economic distortions. These proposals will be designed to avoid significant budgetary effects.

As one specific reform, I will urge changes to deal with abuses by tax-exempt private foundations.

IMPROVING GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION

Separate Departments of Labor and Commerce perpetuate the obsolete notion that there is fundamental conflict between the interests of business and labor, or between the interests of either and that of the Nation.

A single department of labor and business can more effectively carry out those national programs which affect the private productive sector as a whole. The two departments share many common objectives; their interests and activities coincide or overlap in

—fostering economic and regional development;

- matching the skills of labor with the needs of employers;
- providing more jobs at better wages;
- avoiding labor disputes;
- maintaining a fair distribution of private incomes without inflation;
- providing stability of production and jobs;
- providing basic economic and social information and technical services needed by both private and public sectors;
- supporting expansion of international trade and considering its impact on the domestic economy.

By combining these activities, we can greatly improve efficiency, reduce costs, simplify the reporting burden on business, provide better and more uniform statistics, and assure that the views and the problems of the private sector enter more effectively into decisions on general economic policy.

I urge the Congress to support my recommendation for a new department of labor and business.

OTHER ECONOMIC POLICIES

1. I renew four recommendations made in my Economic Report of 1966 and not acted upon by the 89th Congress:

- a fair system of charges for users of highways, aviation facilities, and inland waterways, to improve efficiency in the use of transportation resources, and to reimburse the Federal Government for a part of its expenditures on facilities which directly benefit those who use them;
- truth-in-lending legislation, to provide consumers with a full and clear statement of the true cost of credit;
- stronger regulation of savings and loan holding companies;
- provision of Federal charters for mutual

savings banks, to enlarge and strengthen our system of thrift institutions.

2. To aid the advance of technology on which economic progress depends, I now urge Congressional support for

—a long-overdue modernization of our patent system;

—a large-scale program of research in transportation.

3. Total holdings in the Nation's stockpile of strategic and critical materials now stand at \$6.5 billion. Of this amount, \$3.4 billion are excess to our defense needs as presently determined.

During the last fiscal year, the Administrator of General Services disposed of excess stockpile materials valued at slightly more than \$1 billion without disruption of the domestic economy or the normal channels of trade.

The last session of the Congress authorized disposal of excess stockpile material valued at \$782 million. I will ask the Congress for authority to dispose of additional stockpile excesses, bringing to about \$2 billion the present value of excess stockpile material available for disposal.

I believe that we should relieve taxpayers of the burden of carrying unneeded surplus stocks, and provide businesses and workers with the materials necessary to assure continued high levels of production.

4. The responsibility which we share with the States to ensure that our banks and thrift institutions are honest, competent, and competitive is a continuing function demanding constant attention. We must continue to encourage the orderly and progressive development of a financial system adequate to meet the needs of a growing and dynamic economy.

I urge the Federal Reserve Board, the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, the Comptroller of the Currency, and the Fed-

eral Home Loan Bank Board to continue and to intensify their efforts to coordinate their regulatory policies and procedures, and to improve their examination methods.

AFTER VIETNAM

Despite all our efforts for an honorable peace in Vietnam, the war continues. I cannot predict when it will end. Thus our plans must assume its long duration.

But peace will return—and it *could* return sooner than we dare expect.

When hostilities do end, we will be faced with a great opportunity, and a challenge how best to use that opportunity. The resources now being claimed by the war can be diverted to peaceful uses both at home and abroad, and can hasten the attainment of the great goals upon which we have set our sights.

If we keep our eyes firmly fixed on those goals—and if we plan wisely—we need have no fear that the bridge from war to peace will exact a wasteful toll of idle resources, human or material.

But when that welcome day of peace arrives, we will need quick adjustments in our economic policies. We must be prepared for those adjustments, ready to act rapidly—both to avoid interruption to our prosperity and to take full and immediate advantage of our opportunities.

Planning for peace has been an important activity in many executive agencies. But the effort needs to be stepped up and integrated.

Accordingly, I am instructing the heads of the relevant agencies in the Executive Branch, under the leadership of the Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, to begin at once a major and coordinated effort to review our readiness. I have asked them—to consider possibilities and priorities for tax reduction;

- to prepare, with the Federal Reserve Board, plans for quick adjustments of monetary and financial policies;
- to determine which high priority programs can be quickly expanded;
- to determine priorities for the longer range expansion of programs to meet the needs of the American people, both through new and existing programs;
- to study and evaluate the future direction of Federal financial support to our States and local governments;
- to examine ways in which the transition to peace can be smoothed for the workers, companies, and communities now engaged in supplying our defense needs, and the men released from our armed forces.

I have directed that initial reports be prepared on all of these and related problems, and that thereafter they be kept continuously up to date.

CONCLUSION

Our task for 1967 is to sustain further sound and rewarding economic progress while we move toward solutions for the problems we met in 1966. It will require a flexible and delicate balance of economic policies.

Above all, we must guard against any interruption of our prosperity. The steady advance of jobs and incomes is our most powerful weapon in the battle against poverty and discrimination at home. And it undergirds our policy around the world.

Yet we must be equally alert to the dangers of inflation.

In his Economic Report of January 1956, President Eisenhower wrote:

The continuance of general prosperity

cannot be taken for granted. In a high-level economy like ours, neither the threat of inflation nor the threat of recession can ever be very distant. . . . The only rigid rule we can afford to admit to our minds is the principle that the best way to fight a recession is to try to prevent it from occurring.

Only 18 months later, the sharpest recession of the entire postwar period began—which also led to the largest peacetime budget deficit in our history. Over the same 18 months, both consumer prices and wholesale prices advanced 5½ percent—considerably faster than in the 18 months since June 1965.

That history does not invalidate but rather reinforces President Eisenhower's proposition. Neither the threat of inflation nor of recession is ever distant in a high level economy.

How can we steer between these dangers, and—at the same time—supply the needs of national defense, strengthen our overseas payments, relieve the inequities of tight money and high interest rates, maintain the momentum of social progress, and provide the growth of incomes which lets each of us move toward fulfilling his private aspirations?

I am confident that we can find such a course. We will continue to coordinate the tools of monetary and fiscal policy to the common goal—the sound, balanced, and non-inflationary advance of production and incomes. We are steering toward lower interest rates, a better balance in our economy, a budget and a Social Security program that reflect national priorities.

There will be surprises in store along the way. We must be prepared to meet them swiftly and flexibly. And I think we are. The

tools of economic policy are not perfect; but they are far better understood and accepted—in the Government and in the private community—than ever before.

We have surely proved over recent years that economic progress does not need to be interrupted by frequent recessions. And, although prices have risen faster in the past year and a half than we expected or wished, we have done better than in most similar periods of our economic history. And we have done it without burdensome controls on prices or wages.

The Federal Government cannot do the whole job—or even very much of it. Production and incomes arise from the strength and skill of workers, the ingenuity of managements, the willingness of savers to risk their capital, the genius of inventors and engineers, the patience of teachers, the devotion of local public servants—the contributions of all who participate in our economy.

Yet the Federal Government has a role of leadership and a responsibility for coordination.

The Congress defined that role in the Employment Act of 1946:

. . . it is the continuing policy and responsibility of the Federal Government . . .
. . . with the assistance and cooperation of industry, agriculture, labor, and State and local governments,
to coordinate and utilize all its plans, functions, and resources for the purpose of creating and maintaining,
in a manner calculated to foster and promote free competitive enterprise and the general welfare, . . .
. . . useful employment opportunities . . .
for those able, willing and seeking to work,
and to promote maximum employment, production, and purchasing power.

Our economic policies for 1967 respond to that mandate.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

January 26, 1967

NOTE: The President's message together with the Annual Report of the Council of Economic Advisers is printed in "Economic Report of the President, Transmitted to the Congress January 1967" (Government Printing Office, 1967, 314 pp.).

17 Toasts of the President and President-elect Costa e Silva of Brazil. *January 26, 1967*

President-elect Costa e Silva, Madame Costa e Silva, Excellencies, distinguished guests:

It is a good day for us when one of our fellow Americans comes to visit us in this house. It inspires us to feel again how very much we have in common in this hemisphere—how interdependent we really are—and how very closely our destinies are woven together.

We even try to bring the weather into line—so that a Washington winter day will

not be many degrees removed from a Brazilian summer.

Very soon, now, sir, you and I will have even more to share.

I mean, what our President Thomas Jefferson said, "the splendid misery" of national leadership.

After March 15, that mixture of splendor and misery will be your daily fare, as it is mine.

You will know splendor, as you work for

a more abundant life for your people.

And you will certainly know misery, as you try hard to discover not only how to do what is right but to discover what is really right. The only certainty, Mr. President-elect, is that you will have to act.

Fortunately for you and me, our countries are blessed with great natural wealth. They are blessed with confident and vigorous people. We are big. We are still growing. We can still experiment. We can still make mistakes and still survive.

The assurance that our people seek is not that we make no mistakes, but that we shall really never tire of seeking education for our children, better health for all of our families, better housing for all of our people, and equal justice for every man. They can tolerate honest error, but they cannot abide indifference.

Mr. President-elect, I know the goals that you seek for the good people of Brazil.

For our part, we here in America shall do all that we can do to try to help you attain those goals. The United States, today as in the past, has much at stake in Brazil.

You were our comrades in the Second War. I shall not forget that you were the first to join us in helping the Dominican people resist totalitarian rule—in making it possible for them to freely choose their own destiny instead of having it imposed upon them. That, sir, was an act of responsible statesmanship for which every free nation of America should be grateful.

Sir, we welcome you to this Capital and to this house. Know that as geography has made us neighbors, history and hope have made us friends.

Our good and delightful friends, who have honored us with your presence today, I should like to ask all of you to join with me

in a toast to His Excellency, President-elect Costa e Silva and to the great nation of Brazil.

NOTE: The President proposed the toast at 2:25 p.m. at a luncheon in the State Dining Room at the White House. President-elect Arthur da Costa e Silva responded as follows:

Mr. President, I would like to confess that as a military man I may not be endowed with your rhetorical skill and the practice that has just been displayed by the illustrious man whom now I might call my friend, the President of the United States.

Starting with the weather, we found out today that here is a man who really rules over the heavens. In my country when we say that a man rules over the heavens, that means that he is, indeed, a powerful man.

That expression applies very well to what has happened here today as we are greeted with an ideal spring day.

Therefore, I am indeed very grateful. I must say that I am convinced, however, that the magnificent day that we are enjoying today is, indeed, the work of a Supreme Being that reigns above all of us, be it nature, or in my own belief it is the work of the Lord.

I want to say that throughout my trip all over the world we have been blessed with a great deal of luck and good fortune. I consider that this fortune is really a harbinger of better things to come. I envisage them in a most favorable manner and I envisage them in a climate of very good fortune in my forthcoming administration in the government which I am about to assume.

I consider myself very fortunate to have had this interval which was, perhaps, a matter of controversy. I mean this interval between my election and my forthcoming inauguration. This interval, this break, gave me an unequalled opportunity to study, to look into, and to endeavor to know the problems not only of my country but also of the world.

Just a few moments ago I received from a really true statesman a magnificent lesson in what lies ahead for me. Now I feel more able to endure with equanimity and fortitude that "splendid misery" to which you just made a reference, Mr. President, and of which I already have had a foretaste in the 3 years that have followed our revolution.

I am, therefore, most grateful to you, Mr. President, because I have just heard a voice of a man who carries on his shoulders a tremendous responsibility, not only before this greatest country of all, but before the entire world. I have received and heard your suggestions and your voice and I consider them a most valuable contribution to my government task that lies ahead.

I am convinced that I am going to endure some suffering and some difficulties, as I have already endured, but I am going to continue to do everything in my power to maintain in the people of my nation a certain state of mind with regard to the United States, so that together our two nations may form and build a true barrier against those who are trying to violate and subvert justice, press, and freedom.

In my closing words, I want to say that this luncheon and this meeting which were of such an intimate and congenial nature were also highlighted by your attitude of a few moments ago, Mr. President, when you greeted, one by one, the journalists of the Brazilian press. I can assure you that through that gesture you have endeared yourself to the very heart of the Brazilian people. I can also assure you that in our press you are going to feel very shortly that genuine warmth that you radiated, the warmth of a kind man, a man who has a genuine human feeling and a feeling which is very close to ours.

Both of us have said, and we mean it, that we want

to give to our peoples better conditions of life, more abundant food, more adequate housing. Those are, as a matter of fact, the main programs of the platform which I presented to the party that elected me. The main goal in my party, in my platform, was men.

I mean by that a three-pronged attack and a series of achievements in the fields of education, health, better food, housing, and social well-being. What you have said, Mr. President, was a very vital lesson to me. I am very grateful and very pleased to say that our views coincide on such important issues.

Once more I thank you very much for your very inspiring and kind words.

Let us toast the personal health of the President and Mrs. Johnson, and particularly a toast to the greatness of the United States, this country which is the foremost defender of human freedom.

[As printed above, this item follows the text released by the White House Press Office.]

18 Remarks at the Signing of the Treaty on Outer Space.

January 27, 1967

Secretary Rusk, Mr. Vice President, Mr. Chief Justice, Your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen:

This is an inspiring moment in the history of the human race.

We are taking the first firm step toward keeping outer space free forever from the implements of war.

It was more than 400 years ago when Martin Luther said:

"Cannons and firearms are cruel and damnable machines. I believe them to have been the direct suggestion of the devil. If Adam had seen in a vision the horrible instruments that his children were to invent, he would have died of grief."

Well, I wonder what he would have thought of the far more terrible weapons that we have today.

We have never succeeded in freeing our planet from the implements of war. But if we cannot yet achieve this goal here on

earth, we can at least keep the virus from spreading.

We can keep the ugly and wasteful weapons of mass destruction from contaminating space. And that is exactly what this treaty does.

This treaty means that the moon and our sister planets will serve only the purposes of peace and not of war.

It means that orbiting man-made satellites will remain free of nuclear weapons.

It means that astronaut and cosmonaut will meet someday on the surface of the moon as brothers and not as warriors for competing nationalities or ideologies.

It holds promise that the same wisdom and good will which gave us this space treaty will continue to guide us as we seek solutions to the many problems that we have here on this earth.

It is a hopeful and a very promising sign.

We are so pleased that we could be joined

here today by the representatives of so many of the other nations of the world.

I now take great pleasure in presenting to you our distinguished Secretary of State—Mr. Dean Rusk.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:15 p.m. in the East Room at the White House. In his opening words he referred to Secretary of State Dean Rusk, Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey, and Chief Justice Earl Warren.

In his remarks following the President's, Secretary Rusk reviewed the major steps taken since the Soviet Union launched its first Sputnik in 1957 in the quest for peace and security. "There is great satisfaction," he noted, "in being able to present this treaty within 10 years after the launching of that Sputnik."

Arthur J. Goldberg, U.S. Representative to the United Nations, then spoke briefly. He commended the members of the United Nations Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space and expressed his appreciation to the President "for initiating this effort on behalf of our country."

Ambassador Goldberg also read a message from United Nations Secretary General U Thant. The Secretary General described the outer space treaty, together with the Antarctic treaty of 1959 and the nuclear test ban treaty of 1963 as "true landmarks in man's march towards international peace and security. I fervently hope," he said in conclusion, "that these achievements will shortly be followed

by similar agreements on nonproliferation of nuclear weapons and other steps towards international peace and security."

The British Ambassador, Sir Patrick Dean, and the Ambassador from the Soviet Union, Anatoly F. Dobrynin, also spoke briefly. Stating that the treaty was an important step toward the creation of a world free from the fear of war, Sir Patrick added that its signature by the United States and the Soviet Union would "give fresh encouragement and new hope to the world."

In signing the treaty on behalf of the Soviet Union Mr. Dobrynin stated: "We believe that the treaty . . . will be an important step in further development of cooperation and understanding among states and peoples, and will contribute to the settlement of other major international problems facing humanity here on this planet."

The full text of the various remarks at the signing ceremony is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 3, p. 127). After signatures by Secretary Rusk and Ambassador Goldberg for the United States, Ambassador Dean for the United Kingdom, and Ambassador Dobrynin for the Soviet Union, the treaty was signed by the representatives of 57 other nations. Signing ceremonies were also held in London and Moscow.

On February 7, 1967, the President transmitted the treaty to the Senate (see Item 38). It was favorably considered by the Senate on April 25, 1967. The text of the treaty is printed in Senate Executive D (90th Cong., 1st sess.).

19 Statement by the President on the Death of Astronauts Virgil I. Grissom, Edward H. White 2d, and Roger B. Chaffee.

January 27, 1967

THREE valiant young men have given their lives in the Nation's service. We mourn this great loss. Our hearts go out to their families.

NOTE: The three astronauts were killed on January 27 by a fire in an Apollo spacecraft mounted on a Saturn rocket at Cape Kennedy. The accident occurred in the course of a test in preparation for a flight scheduled for February 21.

A press release issued by the Manned Spacecraft

Center at Houston, Texas, gave biographical sketches of the three astronauts and details concerning their burial. On January 31 the President attended the funeral of Lt. Colonel Grissom and Lt. Commander Chaffee at Arlington National Cemetery. On the same day Mrs. Johnson was present at the interment of Lt. Colonel White at the U.S. Military Academy at West Point.

The statement was made available to the press through the White House Press Office.

20 Special Message to the Congress: Protecting Our Natural Heritage.
January 30, 1967

To the Congress of the United States:

I.

THE POLLUTION OF OUR AIR

THE PROBLEM

Two months ago, a mass of heavily polluted air—filled with poisons from incinerators, industrial furnaces, power plants, car, bus and truck engines—settled down upon the sixteen million people of Greater New York.

For four days, anyone going out on the streets inhaled chemical compounds that threatened his health. Those who remained inside had little protection from the noxious gases that passed freely through cooling and heating systems.

An estimated eighty persons died. Thousands of men and women already suffering from respiratory diseases lived out the four days in fear and pain.

Finally, the winds came, freeing the mass of air from the weather-trap that had held it so dangerously. The immediate crisis was ended. New Yorkers began to breathe "ordinary" air again.

"Ordinary" air in New York, as in most large cities, is filled with tons of pollutants: carbon monoxide from gasoline, diesel and jet engines, sulphur oxides from factories, apartment houses, and power plants; nitrogen oxides, hydrocarbons and a broad variety of other compounds. These poisons are not so dramatically dangerous most days of the year, as they were last Thanksgiving in New York. But steadily, insidiously, they damage virtually everything that exists.

They aggravate respiratory problems in man—asthma, bronchitis, lung cancer, and emphysema. Emphysema, a lung disease, is one of the fastest growing causes of death in the United States today. And it forces more than a thousand workers into early retirement every month.

Polluted air corrodes machinery. It defaces buildings. It may shorten the life of whatever it touches—and it touches everything.

This is not a problem of our largest cities alone. Weirton, West Virginia, and Gary, Indiana, are two among many communities that suffer days when the sun seems a pale orange ball hidden in a noxious cloud. Small towns, farmlands, forests—men, animals and plants—are all affected by the waste we release into the air.

The economic loss from pollution amounts to several billions each year. But the cost in human suffering and pain is incalculable.

This situation does not exist because it was inevitable, nor because it cannot be controlled. Air pollution is the inevitable consequence of neglect. It can be controlled when that neglect is no longer tolerated.

It will be controlled when the people of America, through their elected representatives, demand the right to air that they and their children can breathe without fear.

WHAT WE ARE DOING NOW

We have proposed and the Congress has enacted three laws since 1963, each representing some forward movement toward cleaner air.

Under these laws, we are spending more than \$25 million this year in matching grants

to cities and states, and in research and other efforts:

- We have helped to create 80 local air pollution programs, and to strengthen 40 others.
- We are working in nine areas of the United States—including the New York-New Jersey area—to abate pollution that passes across state lines and is beyond the reach of any single state or city.
- We have established a system of national standards for motor vehicles, that will become effective with the 1968 models. These will require sharp reductions in pollution from automobile exhausts.
- We have begun by Executive Order to control the sources of air pollution on Federal installations throughout the country. The experience we gain in carrying out this order will help us develop more effective ways of controlling pollution elsewhere.
- We have intensified our research work on sulphur oxide pollution from coal and oil burning, and on pollution from motor vehicles.

WHAT WE MUST DO NEXT

Yet the pollution problem is getting worse. We are not even controlling today's level of pollution. Ten years from now, when industrial production and waste disposal have increased and the number of automobiles on our streets and highways exceeds 110 million, we shall have lost the battle for clean air—unless we strengthen our regulatory and research efforts now.

Federal action alone cannot master pollution. The states, the cities and private industry must commit themselves more fully, more effectively, and with a new sense of urgency, to America's struggle against

poisoned air. Several steps are needed now.

To move forward in our attack against air pollution, I recommend the Air Quality Act of 1967.

First, emission control levels should be set for those industries that contribute heavily to air pollution.

Today, no such levels exist. Industries do not know to what extent they should control their sources of pollution or what will be required of them in the future. Strong State and local standards—essential to pollution control—cannot be effective if neighboring states and cities do not have strong standards of their own. Nor can such local standards gain the support of industry and the public, unless they know that plants in adjoining communities must also meet standards at least as strict.

We need the means to insure comparable emission levels for a given industrial source of pollution throughout the country.

I recommend that the Air Quality Act of 1967 authorize the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to:

- Designate those industries in interstate commerce that are nationally significant sources of air pollution.
- Develop and publish industry-wide emission levels in consultation with the industry concerned.
- Provide each state the opportunity to adopt equivalent levels—or stricter ones.
- Apply the Federal levels in those states which do not adopt their own.

The levels will establish pollution limits that a given industrial plant may not exceed—no matter where it is located. Our aim is to provide uniformity and stability in pollution control levels in cooperation with industry and local governments.

Second, Regional Air Quality Commissions should be established, to enforce pollution control measures in "regional airsheds"

which cut across state and local boundaries.

Winds carrying waste gases have no respect for man-made political boundaries. The question we must answer is: shall we, the victims of pollution, hinder our fight against it by concerning ourselves more with artificial boundaries than with our people's health?

Today, although many of our severest pollution problems involve more than one state jurisdiction, there is not a single effective interstate program in the Nation. Efforts to achieve uniform control activities among neighboring states and communities have failed, despite added Federal financial incentives.

Under the Clean Air Act of 1963, we have attempted to encourage States to develop effective regional control programs. The Act offered three Federal dollars for every local dollar spent to develop and support regional interstate air pollution control programs. Despite this incentive, no effective regional programs have been developed under the Act.

Men and women in one community, where there are relatively strict control standards, must suffer each time the winds bring in the aerial refuse of another community, where the standards are weak or nonexistent.

This is neither fair to the community that is willing to adopt strong controls, nor responsible to the citizens of the entire region.

We must develop the means to deal with sources of pollution that affect more than one political jurisdiction. We must have laws that do more than set in motion cumbersome legal processes requiring years to effect results.

I recommend that the Air Quality Act of 1967 authorize the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to:

—Designate those interstate areas where effective regional airshed pollution pro-

grams are needed, but do not exist.

—Establish, in consultation with the states and local communities affected, a Regional Air Quality Commission in each such area. Each Regional Air Quality Commission would include two persons from each state involved, and one Federal official appointed by the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare.

The Commissions would establish regional air quality levels which would build upon the nationwide levels for major sources of air pollution, including industrial sources. The levels would encompass the entire pollution problem in a regional airshed—from waste burning and motor vehicle engines, as well as from industry. In every case, the Commissions will give due regard for the economic and technical feasibility of achieving adequate pollution control.

Each Regional Air Quality Commission would:

—Determine, in consultation with the industries and local communities involved, air quality levels to protect the public health and welfare in the region;

—Set emission levels to assure that the air quality levels will be met. These emission levels would be no less stringent than any applicable levels published by the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare;

—Achieve compliance with those emission levels through enforcement proceedings initiated by the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare.

Third, vehicle pollution control devices, required on 1968 model cars and in years to come, should be inspected on a regular basis by the states, with Federal assistance to initiate state inspection systems.

This Fall, new cars must be certified as meeting Federal exhaust emission standards when they are delivered to the retail show-

room. But the best mechanical devices can fail through damage, the passage of time, or neglect. Many states have long recognized that the safety of our people requires periodic inspection of automobiles, to determine whether critical components are still in sound working order.

If a car's brakes—and its steering wheel, horn, turn signals, and lights—should be inspected periodically to protect against bodily injury, then surely its exhaust control device should be examined as well. In 1965, the Congress made the determination that such devices were required to protect the public health. The time has come to take the next step. We should insure that these anti-pollution devices continue to function properly during the useful life of the car.

I recommend that the Air Quality Act of 1967 authorize the Secretary of Transportation to provide matching grants to help the states establish inspection programs for motor vehicle pollution control. The Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare would establish criteria for these grants.

Fourth, we must take steps to improve our enforcement procedures.

The Federal enforcement procedures established under the Clean Air Act of 1963 involve long delays between hearings, findings, and the completion of enforcement proceedings. Many state and local communities encounter similar difficulties with their own enforcement procedures. The problems are intricate and complex, but we must find ways to improve the enforcement process, while at the same time assuring that the rights of all of the parties are fully protected.

I am directing the Acting Attorney General and the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, in consultation with state and local officials, to find ways to speed and improve the enforcement of clean air laws at all levels of government.

Fifth, research in fuel additives must be accelerated.

The use of fuel additives is growing, as demands for heat and energy grow. The extra power that additives give to diesel fuels, for example, is an important factor in the economics of trucking.

Yet, when exhaust fumes are sufficiently concentrated, some fuel additives are known to be detrimental to health. Other additives and the compounds that derive from them may pose similar hazards. We simply do not know what public health price we are paying for the economic benefits we gain from fuel additives.

I am directing the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare to begin a new research program on the health effects of fuel additives and on their contribution to air pollution. As an essential part of this program, *I recommend that the Congress require that all fuel additives be registered with the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare.*

Sixth, our efforts to understand and control air pollution must be intensified and broadened.

Many sources of air pollution cannot be economically or effectively controlled by our present technology. The sheer number of motor vehicles may, within a decade or two, defy the best pollution control methods we can develop. If this proves true, surely we cannot continue to use the type of internal combustion engine now in service. New types of internal combustion engines—or indeed new propulsion systems—may be required. Aircraft engine exhausts are also becoming significant pollution problems. Sulfur compounds—created wherever coal or oil is burned—threaten the environment of almost every city and town in America.

We must recognize that in dealing with fuels for industry and motor vehicles, we are

dealing with matters of enormous importance to every section of the Nation and to many economic interests. America's technology and natural resources development are intimately involved in any program that affects fuels and their uses. Great investments have been made on given assumptions about those fuels and uses.

These considerations require that we approach the pollution problem with respect for its complexity and its economic implications.

But the health of our people, and indeed the health of the whole urban and rural environment, also require us to approach the pollution problem with urgency and tenacity.

The Clean Air Act of 1963 provided new authority to make grants for research and training, planning, and development of local control programs. Since then, we have invested \$16.9 million in research grants, \$5 million in training and \$4.6 million for surveys and pilot projects. This work has moved us along in our search for new solutions to the difficult technical and social problems associated with air pollution.

We are now ready to launch a wide-ranging research effort, involving government, private industry, universities, and independent research groups.

Our immediate research targets must include:

- motor vehicle emissions;
- smoke and odors from diesel engines;
- alternative means of motor vehicle propulsion;
- sulfur dioxide emissions;
- low sulfur, or sulfur-free fuels.

I recommend an increase of 50 per cent in funds to expand our research efforts.

I am asking the Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisors and the Secretary of Health, Education and Wel-

fare to explore appropriate measures to encourage industry and local governments to abate pollution. I have asked them to meet with business and local government leaders, and to present their recommendations to me.

It is in private laboratories, and in private boardrooms, that the crucial decisions on new fuels, new control technology, and new means of developing power and locomotion will be made. We should support private efforts now to expand the range of their alternatives and make wiser choices possible.

The government's relationship with private industry in this field should not be one merely of regulator and regulated. Pollution affects the lungs and eyes of worker, manager, owner, and government servant alike. The air cannot be divided into convenient shares. It is indivisible—and either clear and beneficial—or fouled and dangerous for all of us. Out of personal interest, as out of public duty, industry has a stake in making the air fit to breathe. An enlightened government will not only encourage private work toward that goal, but join and assist where it can.

America's air pollution problem emerges from our success as a modern nation. Sources of pollution may be environmental villains—but they are also social and economic necessities. Our task is to determine how to abate the poison they pour upon the air, without seriously diminishing the benefits they provide. Surely this is not beyond the capacity of a great nation's productive and scientific genius. Clearly, it is an absolute necessity for the health of the American people.

II.

HIGHWAY SAFETY AND BEAUTY

The automobile is a central feature of American life. It is a principal instrument

of transportation and daily activity. In this mobile society, the safety and beauty of our highways are of direct concern to all of us.

In 1966, I proposed and you in the Congress approved the first comprehensive traffic safety program in the nation's history. This measure was a forceful recognition of the fact that we can no longer tolerate the mounting toll of death and destruction on our highways. Under these programs, we are already:

- Working with State and local governments in a broad attack on all aspects of the highway safety problem.
- Launching a comprehensive research program to probe into the “whys” and “hows” of traffic accidents.
- Preparing to issue the first standards to make our automobiles safer.

In 1965, I proposed and you in the Congress approved legislation to preserve and restore natural beauty along our highways and to ensure effective control over billboards and junkyards.

Under the Law, over 2,200 projects have been developed by states under the Highway Beautification Program.

Unsightly junkyards are being removed and screened. Roadside rest areas are being built and improved. Scenic strips along our highways are being acquired. In consultation with the States, the Secretary of Transportation is preparing a program of effective billboard regulation.

With the cooperation of all levels of government, we are moving toward our objective to make beauty part of the daily life of every American.

These vital programs have started well. Now, we must provide for their continued financing. We must do this so that our children, and their children can enjoy the benefits of a vast highway network that we cared enough about to improve and

protect and make safe and scenic.

To provide a sound financing plan, I recommend the creation of a special Highway Safety and Beauty Trust Fund to be financed with the receipts from two percentage points of the excise tax on new automobiles.

III.

DEVELOPING OUR RESOURCES

This continent is an abundance, continually being discovered and developed—sometimes wastefully, more commonly now with prudent foresight.

Much of its richness still lies hidden or unused. Untouched mineral resources lie beneath the American topsoil. Food, minerals, and fresh water lie untapped within and beneath the oceans off our shores. The economic use of subsurface space is still beyond our powers.

The time has come to:

- Encourage the development of power from geothermal steam springs on Federal lands;
- Increase our scientific knowledge of the sea's resources;
- Develop rapid excavation techniques, to reduce the cost of underground construction;
- Examine our non-fuel minerals needs;
- Strengthen our ability to answer broad energy policy questions.

GEOTHERMAL STEAM

This untapped source of power—exemplified by the “Old Faithful” geyser—lies within several western states on lands under Federal control. It holds vast potential as a source of power for our cities and our industries. Legislation must be passed before leases can be granted to develop these geo-

thermal steam resources. Congress last year passed such legislation, but it was deficient in several critical aspects, and, in my judgment, and the judgment of my principal advisers in this field, insufficiently protected the public interest.

I have directed the Secretary of the Interior to:

- Submit a bill that will avoid the defects of the vetoed measure, contain additional safeguards to protect the public interest, and encourage the development of geothermal steam.
- Withdraw all lands potentially valuable for geothermal resource development from sale, entry, settlement or location pending enactment of such a bill.

THE RESOURCES OF THE SEAS

The ocean floor is an immense storehouse of mineral wealth. Intense research will shortly begin to identify those minerals.

The new National Council for Marine Resources and Engineering Development, chaired by the Vice President, will review our oceanographic program and recommend new directions for research. The new ship, *Oceanographer*, the best equipped instrument of research on the seas, will shortly begin a round-the-world voyage. Geological mapping is being conducted now on the West Coast, and will begin in the Gulf of Mexico in 1968.

Long-range, we know that we must turn out enough competent scientists, engineers, and technicians to conduct the ocean research and development of tomorrow. Congress last year devised and passed the Sea-Grant College program, in which students will work and enlarge their talents and our knowledge in many of the Marine Sciences. The Director of the National Science Foundation is organizing that program now.

The sea is the source, not only minerals, but of vast food reserves. Animal protein—desperately needed by hundreds of millions of ill-fed human beings—abounds in the sea. With the strong support of the Congress, we are trying to develop economic and acceptable methods of converting fish protein into a usable source of food. I have directed the Secretary of Interior to proceed with this effort on an urgent basis.

ADVANCING EXCAVATION TECHNOLOGY

The clutter of our land not only offends our sense of beauty, but also limits our capacity to live fully and work effectively. Living space itself is a valuable resource. Webs of wire, carrying power and communications services, mar the landscape. Congestion has reached serious proportions in many of our metropolitan centers.

A promising alternative to this clutter—the earth's depths beneath us—has received only passing attention. But it can provide a location for the arteries a modern city must have—the wires, pipes, tubes, passageways and parking spaces.

Subsurface excavation today is difficult, slow and expensive. One hundred miles of subway, to be built in major urban areas during the next 10 years, will cost more than \$1 billion for excavation alone. Obviously, we must develop cheaper and better methods. *I recommend a program for research to develop rapid and low-cost excavation technology.*

The beauty of cities and rural areas can be protected and enhanced by placing utility transmission lines underground. Many technical problems remain unsolved, however, especially those involving high-voltage power lines.

I have directed the Secretary of the Interior to initiate a cooperative research pro-

gram with industry, to find solutions to these technical problems, and to seek ways to reduce the cost of placing utility lines underground.

to coordinate energy policy on a government-wide basis.

IV.

NON-FUEL MINERALS

Sharply rising world demands threaten to exhaust the best and most accessible deposits of minerals. Rapidly changing demands for materials are bringing changes in our mineral needs. We must understand the technological and economic changes taking place. The last comprehensive study of these problems was completed by the President's Materials Policy Commission in 1952. Much has happened in the past decade and a half. A new examination is needed.

I am requesting from the Congress the necessary funds for the Secretary of the Interior to sponsor a comprehensive study of the problems involved in maintaining adequate and low-cost supplies of non-fuel minerals.

ENERGY POLICY

The number and complexity of Federal decisions on energy issues have been increasing, as demand grows and competitive situations change. Often decisions in one agency and under one set of laws—whether they be regulatory standards, tax rules or other provisions—have implications for other agencies and other laws, and for the total energy industry. We must better understand our future energy needs and resources. We must make certain our policies are directed towards achieving these needs and developing those resources.

I am directing the President's Science Adviser and his office of Science and Technology to sponsor a thorough study of energy resources and to engage the necessary staff

WATER—ABUNDANT AND PURE

As our population increases, our cities grow, and our industry expands, water becomes an increasingly precious resource. Many regions of the country are facing critical problems of water supply. We must thoroughly explore every means for assuring an adequate supply of pure water to arid areas like the Southwest.

I am renewing my recommendation for the enactment of legislation to establish a National Water Commission. Working with the Water Resources Council and with Federal, State and private agencies, the Commission will examine our major water problems and develop recommendations, guidelines, and long-range plans for the most effective use of available water resources.

Adding to our pure water supply is not enough. The steady encroachment of pollution continues, throughout America's rivers, lakes, and coastal waters. During the last year-and-a-half, we have acquired important means for resisting its progress. Ultimately, we shall use those means to turn it back decisively:

- The Water Quality Act of 1965 requires that water quality standards be set on all interstate and coastal waters, and calls for plans to achieve those standards.
- The transfer of the water pollution program to the Department of the Interior permits the comprehensive management and development of the nation's water resources.
- The Clean Water Restoration Act of 1966 creates new incentives for states and cities, in partnership with industry

and the Federal Government, to develop basin-wide plans for pollution control.

These actions recognize that polluted waters are not a problem of individual cities, or counties, or States. Each water pollution problem is as broad and as long as the watersheds it affects. To win the battle against pollution, we must concentrate our effort on entire river basins.

In 1967, the Secretary of Interior will:

- Review and approve effective State water quality standards which will serve as a guide for our clean-up effort.
- Encourage effective and economical river basin plans for pollution control.
- Support work on advanced treatment methods, to allow the re-use of waste water at reasonable costs.
- Explore with the Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisors appropriate measures to encourage industry and local governments to abate water pollution.

v.

THE ENDOWMENT OF NATURE

We must not only resist the spread of pollution in our environment—but we must also preserve what remains of the natural beauty and tranquility that was here long before man came. We must create new occasions for people to encounter that beauty, and to experience the re-creation of the heart that occurs in the natural universe.

PARKS FOR AMERICA

In recent years, we have added considerably to our national recreational estate. Last year, I recommended, and the Congress au-

thorized the Cape Lookout National Seashore off North Carolina, Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore near Chicago, Pictured Rocks National Lakeshore on Lake Superior, Bighorn National Recreation Area in Wyoming and Montana, and Guadalupe Mountains National Park in Texas.

But the need for more protected areas is still great. We must make significant additions to our present domain of land and water merely to keep pace with the need.

Therefore, in addition to the National Parks and Recreation Areas I have previously proposed, I recommend that the 90th Congress:

- Establish a Redwoods National Park in Northern California.* We must preserve a significant acreage of these primeval redwoods as a National Park. This is a "last chance" conservation opportunity. If we do not act promptly, we may lose for all time the magnificent redwoods of Northern California.
- Establish a National Park in the North Cascades area in the State of Washington,* provided that the wilderness and recreation areas are protected. This spectacular area of unparalleled mountain masses, glaciers, meadows, and timbered valleys is close to major metropolitan areas, and lies entirely within National Forests.
- Establish Potomac Valley Park in Maryland, Virginia and West Virginia.* This park, creating green and open spaces along the reaches of the Potomac would help make the Potomac Valley a model scenic and recreation area for the Nation.
- Establish the Apostle Islands National Lakeshore in Wisconsin,* to add a superb string of islands to our national seashore system.

WILDERNESS AREAS

In 1964, the Congress authorized a Wilderness System, to preserve for future generations of Americans large areas of undeveloped lands in their natural state. The enabling legislation called upon the President to make recommendations for the inclusion of certain additional areas within the System.

In accord with that law, I recommend legislation to authorize the first addition to the Wilderness System since its establishment—an area to be known as the San Rafael Wilderness, Los Padres National Forest, California. We will submit recommendations for other additions to the Wilderness System in the coming months.

SCENIC RIVERS AND TRAILS

I renew my recommendation—overwhelmingly approved by the Senate during the 89th Congress—to establish a National Scenic Rivers System to maintain and restore segments of selected rivers in their natural state. This Scenic Rivers System will enable future generations of all Americans to know and experience this significant part of their natural heritage.

I again urge the Congress to establish a nationwide system of Trails. We should begin with authorization on the Appalachian Trail from Maine to Georgia. The system should include similar status for the Pacific Crest and Continental Divide Trails from the Canadian border almost to Mexico, and for the Potomac Heritage Trail along that great river from Tidewater to its source. Our

proposal will call for expansion of metropolitan, State, and Federal trails where our people can hike and bicycle and ride horseback—near the cities in which they increasingly live.

TIMELY ACQUISITION OF RECREATION AREAS

We are seriously hampered by rapidly rising land costs when we seek new areas for recreation. Average land prices are increasing at a rate of almost 10 percent a year. The cost of land for recreation is spiraling at a considerably higher rate. This diminishes the effectiveness of our program of State grants and Federal purchases of land for parks and recreation areas. We must act promptly to assure that we can acquire needed recreation lands before the price becomes prohibitive. The most effective means of controlling the increase in the price of land is to acquire the lands quickly after authorization by the Congress.

To speed up the acquisition of recreation lands, I recommend a \$142 million appropriation to the Land and Water Conservation Fund for fiscal 1968. This is nearly a third higher than the amount appropriated in 1967. For the first time, it includes a \$32 million advance appropriation from general funds to accelerate the purchase of lands for parks and other recreational purposes.

VI.

PROTECTING OUR NATURAL HERITAGE

There is much to be done. And we are losing ground. The air and water grow

heavier with the debris of our spectacular civilization. The domain of nature shrinks before the demands of commerce.

We can build, for a time, a rich nation surrounded and permeated by poisoned elements. By ignoring the poisons, or by treating them in a casual, piecemeal way, we can endure in their midst for decades.

But here in America, we started out to do more than simply endure. We intended to live as men should live, working hard, raising families, learning, building—and

breathing clean air, swimming in clear streams, finding a part of the forest or the shore where nobody else was.

If we are to have that America, we shall have to master the consequences of our own prosperity—and the time to begin is now.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

The White House

January 30, 1967

NOTE: For statements or remarks upon signing related legislation, see Items 284, 503, 507.

21 The President's Remarks Upon Being Advised That He Would Receive the Franklin D. Roosevelt Birthday Memorial Award.

January 30, 1967

MR. O'Connor and Governor Harriman do me a great honor by bringing the decision of the committee to me this morning.

Mrs. Johnson has just been here. We have looked over a portrait that is being presented to the White House collection of President Roosevelt. It will be officially presented tomorrow afternoon. We hope it will ultimately hang over the center of the fireplace.

This award is greatly appreciated by me. President Roosevelt was one of the great leaders of our country and one of my great leaders.

As a young man he stimulated my great interest in economic and political matters. I remember the first time I called on him in this room when I was a young secretary just becoming the NYA Administrator.

From that day until this moment, I have been a student of his thoughts, his hopes, his achievements, and have tried to in some small degree follow them and be guided by them.

He had no two greater friends in this world than Mr. O'Connor and Governor Harriman. I think it particularly appropriate that they should come on behalf of the committee to make this award.

I shall maintain an interest in the work of the committee as the years come and go. I want to express a deep gratitude for your thoughtfulness.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:30 a.m. in his office at the White House. His opening words referred to Basil O'Connor, president of the National Foundation-March of Dimes, and Ambassador at Large W. Averell Harriman. Mr. O'Connor and Ambassador Harriman, as chairman and honorary chairman of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Birthday Memorial Award Committee, informed the President of his selection as the first recipient of the award, which is to be presented annually to the person who "most exemplifies the ideals of Franklin D. Roosevelt." The announcement, made on the 85th anniversary of the birth of Franklin D. Roosevelt, noted that formal presentation of the award would take place at the New York Hilton Hotel on March 23.

See also Item 28.

22 Memorandum Urging Support of the Red Cross by Federal Employees and Members of the Armed Forces.

January 30, 1967

Memorandum for the Heads of Executive Departments and Agencies:

The American Red Cross has important responsibilities. The greatest of these is to express in practical terms our concern for our neighbors when they are beset by the upheavals of war and disaster. This is the mission assigned to the Red Cross in its Congressional Charter. This is the mission it has accomplished superbly for more than 85 years at home and abroad. The organization has earned our admiration and appreciation the hard way—through hard work.

Today men and women of the Red Cross are serving with our men in Viet-Nam, in the jungles, in the hamlets, in the military hospitals, and in recreation units behind the lines. Other staff members and thousands of volunteers are helping with the problems and emergencies of American servicemen and their families in this country and at many overseas military installations.

Each year the Red Cross mobilizes its resources to extend emergency relief and recovery aid to the victims of some 300 major disasters, while through the Red Cross chapters assistance is given to those who suffer in thousands of smaller catastrophes. The

unusually serious disasters of the past two years, the increasing requirements of the essential Blood Program and the continuing need of Americans for first aid and water safety training—all add up to a difficult and costly job for the Red Cross.

Overseas and within the Federal establishment in this country the Red Cross participates in the Combined Federal Campaign but about half of the 3350 Red Cross chapters conduct independent March Campaigns. All Chapters use the month of March for educational campaigns to inform the public and to recruit blood donors and volunteers.

Therefore, March will, as always, be Red Cross Month.

As President of the United States and Honorary Chairman of the American National Red Cross, I urge all civilian employees of the Federal Government and members of the Armed Forces to support the Red Cross to the fullest extent possible consistent with the local situation.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

NOTE: On the same day the President signed Proclamation 3765 "Red Cross Month, 1967" (3 Weekly Comp. Pres. Docs., p. 143; 32 F.R. 1167; 3 CFR, 1967 Comp., p. 25).

23 Remarks to the Members of the United States Jaycees Governmental Affairs Seminar. *January 31, 1967*

President Bill Suttle and distinguished young guests:

It is a great pleasure for me to welcome you—even though tardily—to the White House.

I am quite interested in your dedication to public service. I am especially interested that

you chose for your seminar this year the subject of the city and your future.

I don't think there is a subject in America that is more appropriate or more important at this time. So your decision has been a good one.

What do we have to do about it? What are

we going to do about it? Is it another resolution? Is it another designation?

I hope not. Our principal responsibility now is to catch up and to make up for years of urban neglect in this country. We have tolerated and endured slums and unlivable conditions in our cities that must now be eliminated. Urban blight must be corrected.

As I said yesterday in my message to the Congress and to the country—I would hope that some of you might have a chance to read it and digest it—we have to end pollution. And, as I will say before many weeks go by, we must try to do everything we can to arrest crime in this country and to stop violence in our streets.

We all know—and no one knows more than the President—that these things cannot be done by the Federal Government alone. Sometimes even when we attempt to enlist assistance, we irritate those whom we want to enlist.

We know that you young people, who have come here on your own volition today, are among the natural leaders of the United States of America and among our most important, because the majority of our population is going to be in your age group.

We know that you have great influence, if you want to use it, on your local government, as well as your National Government. That is one reason why I am so happy that you would manifest an interest in urban problems.

Many of our legislative actions of the last few years have had too little local interest. We have been searching, ever since I have been President, to find some way to provide incentives, to stimulate interest, and do something about our housing problem in our cities, and we are experimenting.

But in our rent supplement legislation, the Government got off to a very poor start, because the general theme was that “you

think the Government ought to pay your rent for you.”

That wasn't it at all, but instead of Government going out and building public housing, that they already had limitations on, what new plan could we work out where a head of a large family could take what he was supposed to put for rent. Most of them think 20 percent is enough. We say 25 percent. This is where you pay a fourth of what you make for rent and then if your rent is much more than that, how can you make up the difference to take care of eight or ten children and let them live in a place where the rats won't bite on their ears at night.

And how can you get private industry to build these places? Well, we pulled them all together under rent supplement. We are trying to see if that won't work. If it doesn't, it will only involve a few million dollars, \$15, \$20, \$30, \$50 million. If it does work, it will be one of the solutions to one of the biggest problems we have of housing of our people in the urban centers of America.

The same thing is true with our model cities program. We submitted a \$5 billion program over a few years, but Congress cut it to \$2 billion. We had only a few million dollars for our planning. But in the budget this year, we have \$400 million. Admittedly, you have to learn to crawl before you walk, and walk before you can run.

There are people who think we could spend \$500 billion to remake our cities. We could and someday we should. We can't do it all at once. What we are trying to do is ask for \$400 million.

We have a budget that is far above \$100 billion. It is \$135 billion and we are spending \$400 million.

That program only carried by four or five votes—before the election. That is why it is important. If you are interested in urban

problems and if you want to do something about them, if you could visualize the day when you and your children may be growing up in a rat-infested tenement and you want to do some planning, renovating, cleaning up, and have some model cities—now is the time to do it.

These are very small steps. You are still crawling. But if you will, you can crawl right up to that Capitol and help us pass that appropriation bill this year. There are a lot of people who would like to kill it. That means we stay right where we are for a while longer.

I hope you will go back home and give serious thought to how we can get more effective business involvement in such activities as the war on slums and the war on poverty that is trying so much to rid us of our poor.

We have made progress. We are going to take several million out of the poverty level with our social security bill this year, our older American legislation this year, our help for veterans—the message I sent up today.

But it is going to take years to ever have the kind of a society that we want. I would ask you to set up your study teams in your local chapters, analyze what is being done, and then tell us how it can be done better. With your help I think we can do this job. I think we can do it more easily. I think we can do it cheaper. I think we can do it more quickly.

Our needs are very great, but look at our resources. We are the richest nation in the

world. We have more people employed at better wages. We are doing better than we ever were. If we can't face up to these kinds of problems in this kind of prosperity, it is unthinkable to think what would happen if we went back to the early thirties.

The real problem is to bring the leadership of this Nation together. I think the experience and talent to do that exists right here in this room. So keep your hand at a business whose profits are measured in human health, human happiness, and human dignity.

I have just been talking to a Senator about the 500,000 men in the submarines, in the air, in the marshes, in the rice paddies of Southeast Asia, in the Navy ships and carriers. Every one of those men are willing to give an arm or a leg or their life for you and your freedom.

While they are doing it out there, what are you going to do here at home? You can feel sorry for yourself. You can think you are mistreated. You can become worried and frustrated and cry about conditions, or you can do the job for them here that they are doing for you there.

I don't know a greater group in America to do it than the young members of the Junior Chamber of Commerce. So get with it. You are a go-go outfit.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:38 a.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House. His opening words referred to William W. Suttle, president, and to the 140 members of the United States Jaycees meeting in Washington for their sixth annual Governmental Affairs Seminar.

As printed above, the President's remarks follow the text released by the White House Press Office.

24 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report on U.S.
Aeronautics and Space Activities. *January 31, 1967*

To the Congress of the United States:

America's space and aeronautics programs made brilliant progress in 1966. We developed our equipment and refined our knowledge to bring travel and exploration beyond earth's atmosphere measurably closer. And we played a major part in preparing for the peaceful use of outer space.

In December the United Nations, following this country's lead, reached agreement on the Outer Space Treaty. At that time I said it had "historical significance for the new age of space exploration." It bars weapons of mass destruction from space. It restricts military activities on celestial bodies. It guarantees access to all areas by all nations.

GEMINI manned missions were completed with a final record of constructive and dramatic achievement. Our astronauts spent more than 1,900 pilot hours in orbit. They performed pioneering rendezvous and docking experiments. They "walked" in space outside their vehicles for about 12 hours.

We orbited a total of 95 spacecraft around the earth and sent five others on escape flights, a record number of successful launches for the period. We launched weather satellites, communications satellites, and orbiting observatories. We performed solar experiments and took hundreds of pictures of the moon from LUNAR ORBITERS. SURVEYOR 1 landed gently on the moon and

then returned over 11,000 pictures of its surroundings for scientific examination.

Major progress was made during the year on the APOLLO-SATURN moon program and the MANNED ORBITING LABORATORY.

These accomplishments—and the promise of more to come—are the fruits of the greatest concerted effort ever undertaken by any nation to advance human knowledge and activity. Space, so recently a mystery, now affects and benefits the lives of all Americans.

Our national investment in space has stimulated the invention and manufacture of a flood of new products. Our new knowledge has made us more secure as a Nation and more effective as leaders in the search for peace. This knowledge is hastening the ultimate solution of social and economic problems that combined to obstruct peace.

It is with pride and pleasure that I transmit this record of achievement to you the members of Congress. Without your support, no achievement would be possible.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

The White House

January 31, 1967

NOTE: The report is entitled "Report to the Congress from the President of the United States, United States Aeronautics and Space Activities, 1966" (171 pp., processed). A brief summary of the report is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 3, p. 149).

25 Special Message to the Congress: America's Servicemen and Veterans. *January 31, 1967*

To the Congress of the United States:

On July 28, 1943, in a fireside chat on the progress of the war and plans for peace, President Franklin D. Roosevelt told the nation:

"... the members of the armed forces have been compelled to make greater sacrifices than the rest of us ... they are entitled to definite action to take care of their special problems."

America has taken that "definite action." It has responded to the needs of the men and women who have carried the banner of liberty in time of danger.

We have not forgotten the veterans of past wars. At Belleau Wood and Chateau Thierry, at Normandy and Midway and at Heartbreak Ridge, these brave men earned an honored place in history. Their sacrifices have brought greater justice and decency to the world.

Today, the members of our Armed Forces are again fighting and giving their lives in the defense of freedom. It is essential that we convey to them—and to all Americans—our full recognition and gratitude for their service in Vietnam and in other troubled areas of the world.

Never have we had more cause to be proud of our Armed Forces. When I visited Cam Ranh Bay last October, I could see that the morale of our men was high for they are determined to succeed. General William Westmoreland, their commander, told me that our troops were the finest the United States had ever placed in the field. We must take "definite action" for them.

Many civilian employees of the Federal Government are also working in the villages

of South Vietnam, providing the help that a young nation must have to grow and become strong. These employees are exposed to the hazards and dangers of a war which has no front line. We must also extend special benefits to them.

I.

SERVICEMEN AND VETERANS

In the past two years, you in the Congress have enacted and I have signed a series of measures to help honor our commitment to Americans now serving or recently separated from the Armed Forces:

- Two military pay raises since August 1965, an average increase of 13.6 per cent.
- A new cold war "G.I. Bill" to speed the readjustment of returning servicemen through new education, training, medical and home loan benefits.
- An increase in hostile fire pay.
- A comprehensive "military medicare" program.
- A \$10,000 servicemen's group life insurance program.
- A 10% average increase in disability compensation and enlarged benefits for surviving children and dependent parents of those who died as a result of a service-connected injury.

We must now take additional steps to fulfill our obligations to those who have borne the cost of conflict in the cause of liberty.

I propose the Vietnam Conflict Servicemen and Veterans Act of 1967. This important legislation has six major objectives:

First, to remove the inequities in the treatment of veterans of the present conflict in Vietnam.

Second, to enlarge the opportunities for educationally disadvantaged veterans.

Third, to expand educational allowances under the G.I. Bill.

Fourth, to increase the amount of Servicemen's Group Life Insurance.

Fifth, to increase the pensions now received by 1.4 million disabled veterans, widows and dependents.

Sixth, to make certain that no veteran's pension will be reduced as a result of increases in Federal retirement benefits, such as social security.

EQUAL BENEFITS FOR VIETNAM VETERANS

Veterans of the Vietnam conflict should receive benefits comparable to those granted to their comrades of World War I, II, and Korea. Prior legislation has equalized many of the benefits. But, because of certain gaps in the law, today's veteran, his family and his children are ineligible for a number of benefits other war veterans receive.

It is only right that these loopholes be closed. It is a matter of simple fairness that the veteran of the Mekong Delta and Chu Lai be placed on a par with the veteran of Pork Chop Hill and Iwo Jima. The Senate passed—and my Administration supported—such a measure last year.

I recommend that the following benefits be extended to veterans who have served on or after August 5, 1964:

- Disability compensation at full wartime rates for all veterans.*
- Disability pensions for veterans and death pensions for widows and children.*

—*Special medical care benefits, including medicines and drugs for severely disabled veterans on the pension rolls.*

—*\$1600 toward the purchase of an automobile by veterans with special disabilities.*

EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE VETERAN

Since last June, when the new G.I. Bill went into effect, more than 500,000 veterans have applied for education and training benefits. Thousands more are signing up each week. Today, over one quarter of a million returning servicemen and women are preparing for the future and learning new skills in universities, colleges, and technical and vocational schools across the Nation. By the end of Fiscal 1968, this number will increase to more than 500,000.

While the new G.I. Bill is less than a year old—and an outstanding success—we can still work to extend and improve it.

Even today, some 20 per cent of those separated from the Armed Forces each year—about 100,000 young men—have not completed high school. Many of these young veterans have the ability and desire to better themselves. All too often, they lack the financial means to complete their high school education and enter college.

As a nation, we cannot afford to neglect this valuable manpower resource.

The present G.I. Bill makes *no special provision* for a returning serviceman who needs to finish high school or take a "refresher course" before he can enter college. In fact, it works in just the opposite way. For each month the veteran pursues a high school education under the G.I. Bill, he loses a month of eligibility for college benefits under the law.

This situation must be changed. *I recom-*

mend legislation to provide full G.I. Bill payments to educationally disadvantaged veterans so that they can complete high school without losing their eligibility for follow-on college benefits.

We are taking a further step. In recent months, thousands of men who would have been rejected for military service because of insufficient educational achievement are being accepted. 40,000 men will enter the service in the first year of this new program, and 100,000 each year thereafter. Its purpose is to provide the intensive training needed to make these young men good soldiers. Upon the completion of their military service, they will be better educated and equipped to play productive and useful roles as citizens.

I am directing the Secretary of Defense to find new ways to improve this program.

The time has also come to increase the educational assistance allowance under the G.I. Bill. A single veteran pursuing a full-time course receives \$100 a month to help him finance his education. This amount is less than the \$130 a month paid to the child of a deceased or disabled veteran who may be taking the same courses at the same school.

The veteran going to school is usually older and may bear heavier responsibilities. *I recommend an increase in the monthly educational assistance allowance under the G.I. Bill from \$100 monthly to \$130 for a veteran.*

In accord with the present scale of benefits, a married veteran with children receives \$150 monthly under the G.I. Bill, regardless of the number of children he has. To help veterans with families who wish to continue a full-time educational program, *I recommend that the monthly payment be increased*

by \$10 a month for the second child and \$10 a month for each additional child.

These increases in the educational assistance allowance will benefit the more than 250,000 veterans now enrolled in schools under the G.I. Bill.

LIFE INSURANCE

There can never be adequate compensation for those who suffer the loss of a loved one on the field of battle. We can, however, help ease their financial burden in time of sorrow. Through a combination of Social Security, dependency and indemnity compensation, and other benefits they are being relieved of much of the economic hardship.

In addition, the 89th Congress enacted a Group Life Insurance Program for servicemen. Under this law, a member of the Armed Forces may purchase up to \$10,000 in life insurance. The government pays a large part of the cost.

With the outstanding cooperation of the Nation's insurance firms, this program has worked smoothly and effectively.

We should now raise the limits of coverage. This will provide a further career incentive for the men and women of the Armed Forces as well as added protection for their loved ones.

I recommend an increase in the amount of available Serviceman's Group Life Insurance, from a maximum of \$10,000 to a minimum of \$12,000—with higher amounts scaled to the pay of the serviceman—up to a maximum of \$30,000.

This proposal would carry out a recommendation of the Cabinet Committee on Federal Retirement Systems. It is in line with the general principle that the amount of Group Life Insurance should be geared

to the amount of salary earned. It will provide a substantial amount of insurance for all members of the Armed Forces. And it will permit servicemen returning to civilian life to continue the insurance at prevailing commercial rates, without regard to their physical condition.

VETERANS OF PAST WARS

The legislation I have proposed above primarily reflects the public concern for the welfare of veterans of the Vietnam conflict. But this Administration has not forgotten the veterans, dependents, and survivors of earlier wars.

Today, there are about 94 million Americans who fall into this category—almost one out of every two persons in the Nation.

The last several years have witnessed dramatic improvements in the range and quality of services and benefits available to our veterans and their families.

I have asked for and Congress has approved veterans' appropriation *increases* of \$300 million each year for the past three years. Except for the two years immediately after World War II, my veterans budget for fiscal 1968 of \$6.7 billion is the highest in history.

Those programs for veterans and their families which have been expanded include:

- a 10% increase in pensions
- a 30% increase in subsistence allowance for veterans receiving vocational rehabilitation training.

We are also providing the best medical care a grateful and compassionate nation can offer.

Last year more than 740,000 sick and disabled veterans were patients at VA hospitals. Four new hospitals have been opened in the

past two years. Five more are scheduled to be completed within the next eight months. With the modernization of six additional hospitals, over 15,000 new beds will be added for disabled veterans during the coming year.

Special medical research is also being pursued in pioneering areas such as organ transplant, chronic lung disease and dramatically new methods of fitting artificial limbs. This year I have asked for over \$46 million to support this vital work.

Nor have we forgotten the veteran who because of disability and age may be in needy circumstances.

We are helping to meet their needs through wide-ranging improvements in the Social Security, Senior Citizens, Education, Health, and Children's Programs. I have already submitted a number of those recommendations to the 90th Congress. I will submit others shortly.

Although many of these new proposals will have an important relationship to programs for veterans and their survivors it is important that we do more.

To help meet today's cost of living, we should raise the standard of living for disabled veterans, and the widows and other dependents of deceased veterans receiving pensions.

I propose, effective July 1, 1967, a 5.4 per cent increase in the pensions of 1.4 million veterans, widows and dependents.

Last week I proposed to Congress a 20 percent overall increase in social security payments—representing the greatest increase in benefits since the Act was passed in 1935. Although these increases will benefit millions of older Americans, we must make certain they do not adversely affect the pensions paid to those veterans and dependents who

are eligible for both benefits.

Accordingly, *I propose that the Congress enact the necessary safeguards to assure that no veteran will have his pension reduced as a result of increases in Federal retirement benefits, such as social security.*

A COMPREHENSIVE STUDY OF COMPENSATION,
PENSION AND OTHER VETERANS BENEFITS

The proposals I have outlined will, I believe, strengthen our veteran's programs. But we must assure the continuing soundness of these programs.

I am directing the Administrator of Veterans Affairs, in consultation with leading veterans groups, to conduct a comprehensive study of the pension, compensation and benefits system for veterans, their families and their survivors. I have asked him to recommend to me by January 1968 proposals to assure that our tax dollars are being utilized most wisely and that our Government is meeting fully its responsibilities to all those to whom we owe so much.

II.

CIVILIANS SERVING IN VIETNAM

Among those engaged in the effort to preserve freedom in Southeast Asia are civilian employees of agencies such as the Department of Defense, Department of State, Agency for International Development and United States Information Agency.

There are no front lines in Vietnam. These employees are frequently exposed to hazardous conditions. They have suffered terrorist attacks in hamlets, villages, and even in the larger cities. Despite their status as civilians, many have been killed, seriously wounded, or reported missing.

The laws now governing Federal civilian employment in overseas areas have not kept pace with the times. Civilians who risk their lives in the service of their country are entitled to special benefits.

I recommend that the Congress enact legislation to:

- Increase the salary differential for service at hazardous duty posts.*
- Allow medical benefits to continue beyond the date of his separation for an employee who has been injured or become ill while serving in a hostile area.*
- Extend similar medical benefits to the employee's family after his separation or death.*
- Allow special travel expenses for employees after long service in hazardous areas, so they can be reunited with their families.*
- Authorize up to one year's absence without charge to leave as a result of injury or illness due to hostile action.*

I have outlined a program shaped to meet the needs of America's servicemen and veterans.

No act of Government, and no legislative proposal can ever repay the Nation's debt to these brave men.

They are away from their families and loved ones, serving the cause of liberty. They serve us all silently and well. And this grateful nation is in their hands. Whether in a patrol along the wall in Berlin, or walking the 38th parallel, or in the air on a SAC alert, or in a nuclear submarine beneath the sea or on a sweep through a rice paddy in South Vietnam, their mission is freedom and their cause is just.

The measures I propose in some small way

serve notice to these Americans—in and out of uniform—that we will never let them down. The Congress, the Executive Branch and the American people have accepted that obligation of honor to those who have fought and continue to fight in the defense of freedom.

The Congress, I believe, will want to consider and promptly enact this legislation.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

The White House

January 31, 1967

NOTE: For statements or remarks upon signing related legislation, see Items 374, 568.

26 Statement by the President on the Message on America's Servicemen and Veterans. *January 31, 1967*

I HAVE today submitted to the Congress six major proposals to meet the special needs of America's servicemen and veterans.

I have proposed:

First, to remove the inequities in the treatment of our Vietnam veterans.

Second, to enlarge the opportunities for educationally disadvantaged veterans—in order to allow them to complete high school without using up their credits under the GI bill.

Third, to raise minimum educational allowances under the GI bill from \$100 a month to \$130 a month.

Fourth, to increase the maximum amount of Servicemen's Group Life Insurance from \$10,000 to \$30,000 maximum.

Fifth, to increase by 5.4 percent the pensions that are now received by 1.4 million disabled veterans, widows, and dependents.

Sixth, to make certain that those who receive veteran's pensions will benefit from increases in Federal retirement benefits, such as I have proposed in the social security message, earlier this year.

We know that no act of Government can ever repay our debt to the men and the women who have served their Nation in an hour of need.

But with these benefits that I have recommended, we can assure them that we do not intend to ever let them down in their hour of need.

NOTE: The President recorded the statement for radio and television broadcast.

27 Letter on Law Enforcement in the District of Columbia. *January 31, 1967*

Dear Mr. Baker:

The letter from the Washington Clearing House Association is a welcome indication that responsible groups in the community share my concern about the crime situation in the District of Columbia.

As I said in my message to Congress on January 25, transmitting the budget for the District, it is apparent that the efforts we

have taken up to now to deal with this problem are not adequate. That is not to say that they are not considerable and have not been useful. The increase in police salaries has materially reduced the resignations of experienced officers and helped with the recruitment of new ones. Grants to the Police Department under the Law Enforcement Assistance Act have provided the police with

more mobility, better communications and a variety of other technical aids. Creation of the Roving Tactical Force has helped to hold down street crimes. Concentrated efforts, assisted by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and the Office of Economic Opportunity, have succeeded in reducing the number of juvenile crimes for the year ending last July 1 below the previous year for the first time in many years. Finally, the Commission on Crime in the District of Columbia which I appointed has provided a program for the coordinated attack on crime that we so badly needed.

Nevertheless, we must do more. As you correctly point out, it will be expensive, both for the short-range measures and for the longer-range progress on which our ultimate success depends. My budget message to the Congress of January 25 indicates the magnitude of those costs, and includes my recommendations for an increase in the Federal payment, as you suggest.

As soon as funds are available, some things can be done. For example, I propose a further increase in police salaries to expedite the efforts of the police to secure their full quota of men, and to get even better men in the process. We can provide additional civilians to man new police facilities and to relieve police from clerical and other civilian-type duties. We can complete the program of expansion and modernization of the police communication system. We can further increase police mobility with additional automobiles.

In addition, my budget message proposes major increases in funds for other programs, both in areas such as education where improvements are essential to any ultimate success, and in projects that have an immediate impact. The message recommends an increase in the number of Roving Lead-

ers to work with youth gangs and delinquency-prone juveniles. It proposes additional staff for the Juvenile Court, and general strengthening of court services. The budget also includes funds to provide the physical facilities that the District police and correctional agencies so badly need. Planning funds are included for a modern detention and diagnostic facilities to replace the antiquated D.C. Jail and the inadequate and overcrowded Receiving Home. Construction funds are included to build a new police training facility at Blue Plains.

In some areas, legislation is necessary. I am preparing and will shortly transmit to the Congress my recommendations for a number of changes in criminal law and criminal procedure that will strengthen both the police and the general administration of criminal justice in the District. I am also expecting to have recommendations from the District Judicial Council on the needs of the courts, which are critical. They will be the basis for further legislative proposals in that area.

Those improvements that can be made without either appropriations or legislation are being made. Immediately following the first series of recommendations by the D.C. Crime Commission regarding the Police Department, the Commissioners and the Department took action. I have made it clear that I expect action on these recommendations, and on similar recommendations now available from the Commission regarding other parts of the District government, to be a matter of the highest priority.

One essential element cannot be supplied by government—the cooperation of the community, with the police and in support of the appropriations and other measures which are necessary for an effective anti-crime program. I shall be counting on the support

of the Clearing House Association, and I hope that your example will rally others to the same position you have taken.

Sincerely,

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

[Mr. Robert C. Baker, Chairman, The Washington, D.C., Clearing House Association, 613 15th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005]

NOTE: A full page advertisement, containing a facsimile reproduction of the letter to the President

from the Washington Clearing House Association, dated January 25, 1967, was published in Washington newspapers on January 31.

For the President's message to Congress on January 25 transmitting the District of Columbia budget, see Item 15.

For a statement by the President in response to the report of the President's Commission on Crime in the District of Columbia, see 1966 volume, this series, Book II, Item 656.

The President's special message on crime was transmitted to Congress on February 6, 1967 (see Items 35, 36).

28 Remarks Upon Accepting a Portrait of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. *January 31, 1967*

Mrs. James Halsted, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., John Roosevelt, Madame Shoumatoff, members of the Roosevelt family, and friends of President Roosevelt:

The Presidency is a hazardous duty job—and I have learned recently that danger can lurk in unsuspected places: portrait-unveilings, for example.

But I am glad to join all of you for this one. Because it gives me an opportunity to speak not as a judge of painting, but as a judge of men.

I was a proud friend and follower of President Franklin Roosevelt.

For me, and for millions of others, any likeness of this man is an inspiration.

His face and his voice became symbols, in that other time of testing, of man's power to overcome.

President Roosevelt overcame a sheltered and privileged background to become a friend of the simple and the poor and the forgotten.

He overcame great personal tragedy and great pain—which was with him all the time—to become a living example of zest, courage, bravery, and vitality.

And he was even much more than all of these. President Roosevelt was a political

leader of the first rank, whose political skill led his countrymen to recovery from depression and to victory in war.

As Mrs. Johnson was speaking, I was looking over this group. I saw a distinguished and colorful face of a man who is now a Member of the House of Representatives, who was formerly on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

At one period, in the darkest days just prior to World War II, I think his was the only voice on that committee that spoke the thoughts of President Roosevelt. But he spoke them eloquently and he spoke them courageously, even though alone. His name wasn't called, but I want him to stand, too—Claude Pepper of Florida.

I was a new congressional secretary in March 1933 when President Roosevelt mounted the platform and that day quoted from Proverbs: "Where there is no vision, the people perish."

The people he spoke to then believed that their nation had come to a dead end. One out of every four Americans in that period was without work, with no job. A few months before, the bonus marchers had been chased away from Pennsylvania Avenue to the Anacostia flats.

President Roosevelt gave them hope—and he also gave them progress.

He knew that leadership requires not only vision but the skill to move men and to build institutions. And like every one of our great Presidents, President Roosevelt was a great politician. He proved again and again that politics—scorned by so many—is an honorable calling.

For his efforts, he won the admiration of most men. But he suffered the abuse of many. Ever since his day, his successors have found encouragement in remembering how many doubters plagued “that man in the White House.” He endured them cheerfully for more years than any other President has ever spent in this house.

“One day,” President Roosevelt said, “a generation may possess this land, blessed beyond anything we now know; blessed with those things, material and spiritual, that make a man’s life more abundant.”

Well, we are richer in those things now

than we were in his day. But we have not stopped working.

This painting will—as long as I am President—hang in my office where I can see it and where I need it. I hope that all who view it there will see in it eternal evidence that times of trial can bring out the best in men—and can bring out the best in nations.

This is somewhat of a homecoming for me. If I may, I am going to take off early this afternoon and visit with all of you, too many names to call, but all to whom President Roosevelt meant as much as he did to us.

Mrs. Johnson and I are so glad that you could come and be here with us on this occasion. We do so much thank you, Madame, because this is a portrait that I like.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:50 p.m. in the East Room at the White House. In his opening words he referred to Anna Roosevelt Halsted, daughter of the late President, to his sons Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr. and John A. Roosevelt, and to Madame Elizabeth Shoumatoff, the artist who painted the portrait.

See also Item 21.

29 Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker Proposing To Add the San Rafael Wilderness, California, to the National Wilderness Preservation System. *February 1, 1967*

Dear Mr. President: (Dear Mr. Speaker:)

On September 3, 1964, I signed a milestone bill in the history of conservation: the Wilderness Act. This Act incorporated 54 National Forest areas into the new National Wilderness Preservation System. It preserved for all time more than nine million acres in their original and unspoiled beauty.

That legislation also called upon the President to make recommendations for the inclusion of certain additional areas within the Wilderness System in the future. Today, I am pleased to recommend the first such addition—the San Rafael Wilderness, Los

Padres National Forest, in California.

In my special message earlier this week on Protecting our Natural Heritage, I said that, as a Nation, we must “preserve what remains of the natural beauty and tranquility that was here long before man came. We must create new occasions for people to encounter that beauty, and to experience the re-creation of the heart that occurs in the natural universe.”

The bill I am transmitting today is designed to meet this test. The proposed San Rafael Wilderness is highly suitable for inclusion in the Wilderness System. It con-

tains significant wilderness resources which will become increasingly valuable with each passing year.

But, more important, it is a wooded and mountainous area of nearly 143,000 acres near Santa Barbara, California—located within a two-hour drive of six million people—which offers a wide variety of recreation: camping, riding, hiking, and fishing, among others. If we preserve it now, it will be a source of pleasure and relaxation for millions of Americans yet unborn.

In support of this bill, I am also transmitting a letter and report from Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman recommending the establishment of this Wilderness area.

This is only a beginning. We must—and will—do more. We must continue to move forward toward seeing to it that every city dweller—especially those imprisoned by the bleakness and blight of the slums—has ready access to parks, playgrounds, and the untarnished beauty of nature's landscape. Un-

limited horizons, green trees, blue lakes, fresh streams and cool forests—what could be more important to the heart and spirit of the American people, their children and their children's children?

In the coming months, I will make more recommendations to the Congress for the inclusion of additional areas in the Wilderness system.

I urge that the Congress give early and favorable approval to this important conservation measure.

Sincerely,

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

NOTE: This is the text of identical letters addressed to the Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey, President of the Senate, and to the Honorable John W. McCormack, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

The letter and report from Secretary Freeman, to which the President referred, are printed in House Document 50 (90th Cong., 1st sess.).

For remarks of the President upon signing the Wilderness Act, see 1963-64 volume, this series, Book II, Item 554. The bill adding the San Rafael Wilderness to the National Wilderness Preservation System was not enacted during the first session of the 90th Congress.

30 Remarks at a Ceremony Marking the Effective Date of the Increase in Minimum Wages. *February 1, 1967*

Mr. Keenan, Secretary Wirtz, General O'Brien, the distinguished Chairman and Members of the House committee who worked so long and effectively to bring about passage of these amendments, my friend Senator Yarborough, members of the AFL-CIO, ladies and gentlemen:

To me this is another D-day in our fight to help those that are in need.

Twenty-eight years ago, as a young congressman, I worked to get the first minimum wage law passed. I was brought into that effort by Mr. David Dubinsky, who is represented here today, and by other members of the AFL-CIO.

The thing that I particularly want to mention is then, as now, most of the enlightened members of organized labor have never been personally affected by the minimum wage laws. As a result of their bargaining, they have all, generally speaking, been above the minimum levels. But union after union and leader after leader in the workers' movement in this country have spent time to see that their colleagues and their fellow workers had the benefits of this legislation.

It is my humble pride as President to see that this declaration of decency has been made real in millions of lives and homes—for as we meet here this afternoon, a new

minimum wage has become effective in this country. It will mean a great deal to a great many people—none of whom are here. It will help them to carry on.

Eight million workers, as Mr. Keenan has told you, have new benefits this afternoon—for the first time since the act was passed 28 years ago.

One million more workers are going to get benefits next year.

The minimum rate for most workers—those 30 million previously covered—becomes, today, \$1.40 an hour. This still means less, for a year's work, than what we count as a poverty wage. But this brings minimum wages closer in line with minimum decencies than they have ever been before.

An additional billion dollars will go, this year, into those pay envelopes where it is needed most—and this will be for services rendered, for work performed.

If this means very small increases in prices—that we have heard a good deal about—and in costs—and I believe it does mean increases in both—the American people will accept this as a better answer than denying human beings a decent wage.

These are the workers that you rarely see, the workers that we all too often forget to acknowledge. They are the workers that make life a little more complete for everyone of us, every day. They are the charwomen who clean our rooms after we are gone in the evening, through the night. They are the people who make our beds after we leave in the morning. They are the waitresses who get up early to give us coffee before we go to work, the hotel and the motel employees, the hospital service employees, the laundry workers that clean our clothes, the workers in the apparel trades that try to make us look presentable. And, for the first time, the farmworkers—several

hundred thousand of them.

They are not here in the White House this afternoon, but those who have worked for them and fought for them are—the Members of Congress who could hear their voices and heeded their plea, the leaders of the workers in this country who had done much to help the people of their own union, but decided to do something to help all people.

This is a great day for America. America is entitled to the feeling that it has done something very right and something very good.

I shall never forget a breakfast I had at a very dark period in the life of this bill over in the Mansion several months ago when Mr. George Meany and Mr. David Dubinsky and several of us were talking about the problems we faced.

Well, those hurdles have been overcome. What was a hope yesterday is now today a reality—and some 9 million will benefit from it. Just knowing that gives you a great deal of satisfaction that can never come to you from any paycheck.

So to you leaders of labor, particularly Secretary Wirtz who testified so long and so eloquently and so effectively, to you Members who heard him, all of you, in behalf of these workers, I say thank you for your efforts.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3 p.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House. In his opening words he referred to Joseph D. Keenan, international secretary, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary of Labor, Lawrence F. O'Brien, Postmaster General, Representative Carl D. Perkins of Kentucky, Chairman of the House Committee on Education and Labor, and Senator Ralph Yarborough of Texas. Later he referred to George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, and David Dubinsky, president emeritus of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, both members of the Executive Council, AFL-CIO.

31 Letter to the Secretary of Commerce Concerning a Report on the Environmental Science Services Administration. *February 1, 1967*

[Released February 1, 1967. Dated January 31, 1967]

Dear Mr. Secretary:

I have reviewed your report on the fine progress that has been made in implementing Reorganization Plan No. 2 of 1965, which created the Environmental Science Services Administration in the Department of Commerce.

In forwarding that Reorganization Plan to the Congress, I stated that the reorganization would permit us to provide better environmental information to vital segments of the nation's economy and enhance our capability to identify and solve problems associated with the physical environment. ESSA's accomplishments are bearing out these predictions.

Your report indicates that the reorganization has resulted in specific economies, improved management of programs, and better services to the public. This combination of achievements is basic to this Administration's concepts of how the public's business can and must be conducted. You stated in your letter that there is further progress to be made in the future. I am confident that this progress will be made.

I want to commend you, ESSA management, and all ESSA employees for the efficiency and sensitivity which have contributed to carrying out this reorganization. These

accomplishments will benefit substantially the public and other agencies of the Government.

Sincerely,

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

[Honorable John T. Connor, Secretary of Commerce, Washington, D.C. 20230]

NOTE: Secretary Connor's report, transmitted January 27, 1967, is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 3, p. 160). The report listed six major improvements in ESSA programs:

1. Development of a National Disaster Warning System to give rapid advance notice of tornadoes, hurricanes, blizzards, floods, seismic sea waves, and storm surges;

2. Establishment of the National Earthquake Information Center for prompt distribution of precise information on location, time, size, and effects of earthquakes;

3. Coordinated study of problems related to supersonic transport development, such as hazardous radiation and the need for more critical weather information;

4. Institutes for Environmental Research to coordinate programs of the Weather Bureau, the Coast and Geodetic Survey, and the Central Radio Propagation Laboratory of the National Bureau of Standards;

5. Development by the National Environmental Satellite Center of a program to utilize improved satellite sensors to gather data on snow cover, for sea and lake ice reconnaissance and for identification of flood areas;

6. Integration of data collection and dissemination by the Environmental Data Service of ESSA.

32 Remarks at the Presidential Prayer Breakfast.

February 2, 1967

Senator Carlson, Mr. Vice President, our beloved Speaker of the House, Members of the Congress, Members of the Cabinet, distinguished Governors, reverend clergy, my very dear friends:

Once again we come together to affirm our faith in a Divine Being.

We—the heirs and trustees of a great civilization, richer and more powerful by far than any that has gone before us, cherishing

freedom and the majesty of the human spirit—ask God's mercy and blessing on us now, and in all that we shall do in the years ahead.

We all know that great civilizations have risen before us, and then have crumbled into dust. We all know that rich and powerful peoples have passed into the night of history, driven by pride and vain pretensions. We know that the defense of freedom and the nourishment of the human spirit have ever been very costly enterprises. We know that at the hour of decision in public and private life, faced with the tormenting choices that are always a part of man's destiny, none of us can ever be certain that we are right.

We know, as Abraham Lincoln said in the midst of war, that "the Almighty has his own purposes"; but that men must be firm in the right, as God gives them to see the right. How we shall be judged, we may never know. Yet we believe, as a great theologian wrote, that the whole drama of human history is under the scrutiny of a divine judge who laughs at human pretensions, without being hostile to human aspirations.

That is the mercy of God—that, and the spirit that moves men to compassion and courage, that calls forth the best within them in the darkest hours.

I shall close, this morning, with a prayer that I heard in northern Australia in the town of Townsville on a Sunday morning during my trip to Asia and the Pacific last fall. And because I was then going to a council of nations meeting in Manila, and on to visit our brave and selfless men in Vietnam, to deal with the gravest questions of war and peace, this prayer had a very special and a very profound significance to me. Since I have returned home, it has not lost its power to speak to me, and to speak for me.

"O God, Who has bound us together in this bundle of life, give us grace to understand how our lives depend upon the courage, the industry, the honesty, and the integrity of our fellow men, that we may be mindful of their needs, grateful for their faithfulness, and faithful in our responsibilities to them, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

[The President spoke first to the gentlemen in the hotel's Regency Room and then to the ladies in the Blue Room.]

Ladies of the Presidential Prayer Breakfast:

A few moments ago, in my remarks to the gentlemen, I spoke of the opportunities and the obligations that God has given to all of us as American citizens.

I reminded them then, as I remind you now, of the responsibilities that accompany God's mercy and God's generosity. Courage is one of those responsibilities. Compassion is another of those responsibilities.

These need always be present in our hearts. And they must burn brightest during our darkest hours.

Our Government has great power and influence. Yet we all finally depend upon the will and the energy of our individual citizens.

So, if our neighborhoods are to be rebuilt, if our schools are to be renewed, if our people are to be healthy and responsible citizens—the achievement will not be just the work of men here in the Federal Government in Washington, but it will be the work of thousands of citizens, men and women, in private life, throughout the 50 States.

We gather here this morning for prayer—as citizens of "one nation, under God, indivisible."

But guaranteeing that our Nation will be one, and will deserve the favor of providence, will take much more than prayers and pledges: It will require action.

I have come here to ask for your prayers and to plead for your action.

For I remember the old rhyme that I learned at my mother's knees:

"In back of every noble enterprise,
The shadow of a noble woman lies."

NOTE: The prayer breakfast of International Christian Leadership, Inc., a nondenominational group of lay-

men, was held at the Shoreham Hotel in Washington. The President spoke at 9:10 a.m. In his opening words he referred to Senator Frank Carlson of Kansas, chairman of the board, International Council for Christian Leadership, Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey, and Representative John W. McCormack of Massachusetts, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

33 Special Message to the Congress on Food for India and on Other Steps To Be Taken in an International War on Hunger.

February 2, 1967

To the Congress of the United States:

1.

Last February I proposed that all mankind join in a war against man's oldest enemy: hunger.

Last March I proposed that the United States take part in an urgent international effort to help the Government of India stave off the threat of famine.

I address you today to report progress in organizing the war against hunger and to seek your counsel on steps still to be taken. For again this year, drought in India—as in other nations—underlines the cruel mathematics of hunger and calls for action.

The problem is immense. It cannot be solved unless each country reaches a considered judgment on the course to be pursued. The greatest power on earth is the will of free peoples, expressed through the deliberative processes of their national assemblies. I ask you today to take the lead in a vital act of democratic affirmation.

India is not alone in facing the specter of near famine. One-half of the world's people confront this same problem.

India's plight reminds us that our gen-

eration can no longer evade the growing imbalance between food production and population growth. India's experience teaches that something more must be done about it.

From our own experience and that of other countries, we know that something can be done. We know that an agricultural revolution is within the capacity of modern science.

We know that land can be made to produce much more food—enough food for the world's population, if reasonable population policies are pursued. Without some type of voluntary population program, however, the nations of the world—no matter how generous—will not be able to keep up with the food problem.

We know, too, that failure to act—and to act now—will multiply the human suffering and political unrest, not only in our generation but in that of our children and their children.

The aim of the war against hunger is to help developing nations meet this challenge. It is the indispensable first step on the road to progress.

If we are to succeed, all nations—rich and poor alike—must join together and press the agricultural revolution with the same spirit,

the same energy, and the same sense of urgency that they apply to their own national defense. Nothing less is consistent with the human values at stake.

Last year, many responded to India's emergency. Canada was particularly generous in sending food aid. Each member of the India Aid Consortium made a special effort to meet India's need. Non-members, Australia among others, also helped. The private contributions of the Italian and Dutch people were especially heartwarming. But the bleak facts require a sustained international effort on a greater scale. Today I propose that all nations make the new Indian emergency the occasion to start a continuing worldwide campaign against hunger.

II.

The first obligation of the community of man is to provide food for all of its members. This obligation overrides political differences and differences in social systems.

No single nation or people can fulfill this common obligation. No nation should be expected to do so. Every country must participate to insure the future of all. Every country that makes a determined effort to achieve sufficiency in food will find our government, our technical experts and our people its enthusiastic partners. The United States is prepared to do its share.

In pursuing the War on Hunger, the world must face up to stark new facts about food in our times.

- Food is scarce.* Nowhere is there a real surplus. Food aid must be allocated according to the same priorities that govern other development assistance.
- Per capita food production in many parts of the less-developed world is not increasing.* In some cases, it is even declining. This grim fact reflects both a

rising curve of population and a lagging curve of agricultural production.

- There is no substitute for self-help.* The first responsibility of each nation is to supply the food its people needs. The war against hunger can only be won by the efforts of the developing nations themselves.
- Food aid is a stop-gap, not a permanent cure.* It must be viewed as part of a nation's effort to achieve sufficiency in food, not as a substitute for it.
- Agriculture must receive a much higher priority in development plans and programs.* The developing nations can no longer take food supplies for granted, while they concentrate on industrial development alone, or spend vitally needed resources on unnecessary military equipment.
- Agricultural development must be planned as part of a nation's overall economic and social program.* Achieving a balance between population and resources is as important as achieving a balance between industrial and agricultural growth.
- Fertilizer, seed, and pesticides must be provided in much greater quantities than ever before.* Their use increases food production and permanently changes the productive capability of farmers. A ton of fertilizer properly used this year can mean several tons of grain next year.
- All advanced nations—including those which import food—must share the burden of feeding the hungry and building their capacity to feed themselves.*
- The War on Hunger is too big for governments alone.* Victory cannot come unless businessmen, universities, foundations, voluntary agencies and cooperatives join the battle.

—Developing nations with food deficits must put more of their resources into voluntary family planning programs.

These are the facts your Government has been stressing throughout the world. Many of them are unpleasant. But our lives are pledged to the conviction that free people meet their responsibilities when they face the truth.

These facts draw into bold relief the two main thrusts in the offensive against hunger:

First, the hungry nations of the world must be helped to achieve the capacity to grow the food their people need or to buy what they cannot grow.

Second, until they can achieve this goal, the developed nations must help meet their needs by food shipments on generous terms.

The level of food aid will decline as self-help measures take hold. Until that point is reached, food aid is an inescapable duty of the world community.

III.

During the past year, the advanced nations have made progress in preparing the ground for the international War on Hunger.

First, the pattern of international cooperation has steadily improved.

Last July we were pleased to act as host to a high-level meeting of the Development Assistance Committee of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development which focused primarily on the world food problem.

We encouraged greater contributions to the World Food Program by increasing our pledge to that program and by offering to match with commodities contributions in both cash and commodities from other countries.

We co-sponsored a resolution in the

United Nations that launched a UN-Food and Agriculture Organization study of whether and how to organize a multilateral food aid program of vastly larger proportions.

In the Kennedy Round of trade negotiations, we have advanced a proposal to make available from all sources ten million tons of food grains annually for food aid, to be supported by grain exporters and importers alike. This proposal is now being discussed in Geneva as part of an International Cereals Arrangement.

We are now participating in a study initiated by the Food and Agriculture Organization—in cooperation with the World Bank, the UN and the OECD—to examine how multilateral action might increase the availability and effective use of fertilizers and other materials needed to speed up agricultural production.

At the OECD Ministerial Meeting this fall, we advanced a proposal to develop an Agricultural Food Fund to encourage private investment in the basic agricultural industries of the developing countries.

Second, the United States encouraged a multilateral response to last year's emergency in India.

The worst drought of the century threatened millions with starvation and countless more with disease born of malnutrition. As a result, I recommended, and you in the Congress approved a program to send over 8 million tons of food grain to India. In an unprecedented display of common concern, governments, private organizations and individuals in 42 other nations joined in providing \$180 million in food and other commodities to meet the needs of that country. Over-all, India imported almost 11 million tons of grain and used several million tons from its own emergency food reserves.

The fact that India did not experience

famine ranks among the proudest chapters in the history of international cooperation. But last year's effort—heartening as it was—was hasty and improvised. The world must organize its response to famine—both today and for the years ahead.

Third, this year's economic aid program makes agricultural development a primary objective.

The AID program which I will shortly send to the Congress, includes funds to finance imports of fertilizer, irrigation pumps, and other American equipment and know-how necessary to improve agriculture in the developing countries.

Fourth, I proposed and the Congress enacted far-reaching legislation which provides the strong foundation for the new Food for Freedom program.

The central theme of the program is self-help. The legislation authorized concessional sales of food to countries which prove their determination to expand their own food production.

iv.

All of us know where the real battle is fought. Whatever the efforts in world capitals, the real tale is told on the land. It is the man behind the mule—or the bullock—or the water buffalo—who must be reached. Only his own government and his own people can reach him.

Thus, the most important progress of the past year has occurred in the developing countries themselves. And there is progress to report.

India—the largest consumer of food aid—perhaps provides the best example.

This has been a year of innovation in Indian agriculture. Agricultural development now has top priority in India's economic plan. Much remains to be done. But

the evidence is unmistakable. India has started on the right path. India has:

- Imposed a food rationing system to make efficient use of existing supplies.
- Streamlined its transportation system to improve distribution.
- Increased prices paid to the farmer, thus providing new incentives to use fertilizer, improved seeds and other modern materials.
- Begun large-scale operations with new varieties of rice introduced from Taiwan and with large quantities of high-yielding wheat seed imported from Mexico.
- Approved plans to increase public investment in agriculture by more than 100% during the new Five Year Plan.
- Started to expand rural credit, improve water supply and accelerate the distribution of fertilizer to remote areas.
- Stepped up family planning.
- Negotiated an agreement for the first of several externally financed fertilizer plants to expand India's supply of home-produced fertilizers.

India is off to a good start. But it is only a start. As Indian officials have warned, hard work remains in reaching targets they have set and in improving cooperation among state governments. India's economic problems are enormous. But they can be solved.

What India has begun to do represents the growing realization in the developing world that long-term economic growth is dependent on growth in agriculture. Not every country has made an effort as great as India's. But in some countries, production has improved more rapidly.

Everywhere there is an air of change. No longer does industrial development alone attract the best minds and talents. Agriculture is now attracting the young and more enterprising economists, administrators, and entrepreneurs in the developing world.

This is the best measure of progress in the War on Hunger and the best assurance of success.

v.

India's food problem requires a major commitment of our resources and those of other advanced countries. India's population is equal to that of 66 members of the United Nations.

Broad authority exists under our legislation for national action by Executive decision alone. But the issues presented here are of such moment, and on such a scale, as to make it important that we act together, as we do on other great issues, on the firm foundation of a Joint Resolution of Congress.

I ask you to support the broad approach we have proposed to the international community as a basic strategy for the War on Hunger. That strategy rests on three essential principles:

1. *Self help.* The War on Hunger can be won only by the determined efforts of the developing nations themselves. International aid can help them. But it can only help if they pursue well-conceived and well-executed long-range plans of their own.

2. *Multilateral participation.* The assistance of the international community must be organized in a coalition of the advanced and the developing nations.

3. *Comprehensive planning.* The international community must develop a comprehensive plan to assist India to fulfill its program of achieving food sufficiency, not only during this year, but for the next few years as well.

Most of you are familiar with the events of the past year. Drought limited India's food grain production to 72 million tons in the 1965-66 crop year, compared with a record 88 million tons the previous year. A

massive international emergency program met the immediate crisis. But India had to use precious food reserves—that are thus not available to meet the shortages created by a second successive bad crop.

The weather since then has brought little relief. The general outlook is slightly improved, and over-all production may reach 79 million tons this year. But late last summer a severe drought hit heavily-populated areas in north-central India. Unless Indian production is supplemented by substantial imports—perhaps 10 million tons by present estimates for calendar 1967—more than 70 million people will experience near famine.

The Government of India has already taken internal measures to move grain from its more fortunate areas to the drought areas. Imports of 2.3 million tons of grain are now in the pipeline to meet India's needs for the first two or three months of 1967. India has purchased some 200,000 tons of this grain with her own scarce foreign exchange. Canada with 185,000 tons, Australia with 150,000 tons and the Soviet Union with 200,000 tons have already joined the United States with its 1.6 million tons, in an impressive multilateral effort to help.

India's immediate problem—and the world's problem—is to fill the remaining gap for the balance of this year.

Because these facts bear heavily on the extent of US food shipments, I have requested and received careful verification from our Ambassador in New Delhi, from the Secretary of Agriculture and from members of Congress, who have recently been in India, including Senator McGee and Senator Moss.

I am particularly grateful to Representative Poage and Representative Dole and Senator Miller, who at my request made a special trip to India in December to assess the situation on the ground. Their careful and

thorough analysis of the situation in India and their recommendations to me have been of great value.

During the last two weeks, the Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs and the Under Secretary of Agriculture have consulted in New Delhi and with most members of the World Bank's India Consortium.

The work of all these men and the diplomatic efforts of the Government of India have laid the foundation for the steps we must now take.

The United States cannot—and should not—approach this problem alone or on an improvised basis. We must support the Indian Government's efforts to enlist the aid of other nations in developing a systematic and international approach to the problems of Indian agriculture. Our long term objective is to help India achieve its goal of virtual self-sufficiency in grain by the early 1970's. Meanwhile, as part of that effort, we must help India meet its immediate food needs.

VI.

In line with policies established by the Congress, and after promising consultations with the Government of India and other governments involved, I recommend the following steps to achieve these objectives:

First: Our basic policy is to approach the problem of Indian food through the India Aid Consortium organized under the chairmanship of the World Bank. That Consortium has already developed a multilateral approach to economic assistance for India. Now, we propose to make food aid a part of that multilateral assistance program. We seek effective multilateral arrangements to integrate Indian food aid with broader programs

of economic assistance and with capital and technical assistance for agricultural development.

In a preliminary way, we have consulted with the Government of India and with other members of the Consortium. There is substantial agreement among Consortium members on the major points of our proposal:

- Meeting food needs of India during this emergency should be accepted as an international responsibility in which each nation should share;
- Emergency food and food-related aid should be coordinated through the World Bank Consortium;
- This aid should not diminish the flow of resources for other development programs. It should be in addition to the targets for each country suggested by the World Bank.

Adding food aid to the responsibilities of the Consortium is sound economics and fair burden-sharing. The Consortium provides a proper channel for the food and food-related aid of donors who have not previously been involved in the food field. It will make clear that food provided from outside is as much a real contribution to Indian development as capital for specific projects or foreign exchange assistance for import programs.

Second: Should this program be established, we will support the Indian Consortium as it:

- Undertakes a detailed projection of Indian food production and food aid requirements;
- Prepares a program for non-food imports required to meet food production targets, as the basis for determining the equitable share of each donor;
- Reviews India's self-help efforts, re-

ports regularly on progress and identifies areas for future concentration of energies.

Third: We must take prompt action to help India meet its emergency food needs. Our best present estimate is that India needs deliveries of 10 million tons of food grains this year or roughly \$725 million worth of food. 2.3 million tons, worth roughly \$185 million, are already in the pipeline from a number of countries, including our own. To keep food in the pipeline, I am making an immediate allocation of 2 million tons, worth nearly \$150 million, to tide India over while the Congress acts.

I recommend that Congress approve a commitment to share fully in the international effort to meet India's remaining food grain deficit of 5.7 million tons—worth about \$400 million. To that end, I recommend a U.S. allocation of an additional amount of food grain, not to exceed 3 million tons, provided it is appropriately matched by other countries. I recommend that approximately \$190 million available to the Commodity Credit Corporation in calendar 1967 be used for this purpose. These funds, if allotted, will have to be replenished by appropriation in Fiscal 1968.

Fourth: I recommend your approval of an allocation of \$25 million in food commodities for distribution by CARE and other American voluntary agencies, to assist the Government of India in an emergency feeding program in the drought areas of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh.

Fifth: We hope other donors will accelerate their exports of fertilizers to India.

Unless the application of chemical fertilizers rises sharply in India, she will not be able to meet her food grain targets. Those fertilizer targets are ambitious, yet they must be met and if possible, exceeded. Marshalling more fertilizer imports is as im-

portant to meeting India's emergency as gathering additional grain. India herself must take prompt steps to increase her fertilizer investment and production and improve its distribution.

Sixth: I propose for the longer run to continue encouraging U.S. private investors to participate in India's program to expand production of chemical fertilizers. We will urge other governments to encourage their own producers.

Seventh: We intend to pursue other initiatives in the broader context of world agricultural development:

- We shall continue to press for multilateral efforts in every international forum in which we participate, including the current negotiations to establish a food aid program as part of an International Cereals Arrangement.
- We shall continue our policy of encouraging private capital and technology to join the War on Hunger.
- We shall press for the creation of an investment guarantee fund by the OECD to encourage private investment in the agricultural industries of developing countries.
- We shall make available to food deficit nations the technology our scientists have now developed for producing fish protein concentrate.
- We shall look to the study by the President's Science Advisory Committee on the problems of food production to supply further and more definitive guidelines for near-term action and for long-range planning.

None of these steps can be as important as Indian resolve and Indian performance. The Indian Government is committed to a bold program of agricultural modernization. That program is the foundation for the entire international effort to help India.

We believe that a self-reinforcing process of improvement is under way in India, affecting both agricultural techniques and government administration. On the basis of that conviction, we can move forward to do our share under the Food for Freedom Program of 1966.

VII.

I believe these proposals are in our national interest. I believe that they reflect the deepest purposes of our national spirit.

I am asking the Congress, and the American people, to join with me in this effort and in an appeal to all the nations of the world that can help. I am asking the Congress to consider thoroughly my recommendations and to render its judgment. The Executive Branch, this Nation and other nations will give full attention to the contributions that Congressional debate may produce.

There are many legitimate claims on our resources. Some may question why we devote a substantial portion to a distant country.

The history of this century is ample reply. We have never stood idly by while famine or pestilence raged among any part of the human family. America would cease to be America if we walked by on the other side when confronted by such catastrophe.

The great lesson of our time is the interdependence of man. My predecessors and I have recognized this fact. All that we and other nations have sought to accomplish in behalf of world peace and economic growth would be for naught if the advanced countries failed to help feed the hungry in their day of need.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

The White House

February 2, 1967

NOTE: For the President's statement upon signing a resolution providing additional emergency food for India, see Item 153.

34 The President's News Conference of *February 2, 1967*

THE PRESIDENT. Good afternoon, ladies and gentlemen.

CONSULAR CONVENTION WITH THE U.S.S.R.

[I.] I have been asked to give a statement about the consular convention that is pending before the United States Senate.

I should like to say very briefly that I hope the Senate will give its advice and consent to the proposed convention with the U.S.S.R. I feel very strongly that the ratification of this treaty is very much in our national interest. I feel this way for two principal reasons:

First, we need this treaty to protect the 18,000 American citizens who each year travel from this country to the Soviet Union. The convention requires immediate notification to us whenever an American citizen is arrested in the Soviet Union. It insures our right to visit that citizen within 4 days, and as often thereafter as is desirable.

We think that we need these rights to help to protect American citizens. These are rights which the Soviet citizens already have who travel in this country, because they are guaranteed by our Constitution.

Second, the convention does not require the opening of consulates in this country or

in the Soviet Union. It does provide that should any such consulate be opened, the officials would have diplomatic immunity.

The Secretary of State informs me that no negotiations for consulates are underway and that the most that he can envision in the foreseeable future is the opening of one consulate in each country, to be manned by from 10 to 15 people.

There are presently 452 Soviet officials in the United States who have diplomatic immunity. If an additional consulate were opened, and if another 10 were added to the 452, Mr. Hoover has assured me that this small increment would raise no problems which the FBI cannot effectively and efficiently deal with.

In short, I think we very much need this convention to protect American interests, and to protect American citizens abroad. In my judgment, it raises no problem with respect to our national security. Therefore, I hope very much that the Senate, in its wisdom, after full debate, will see fit to ratify it.¹

I will be glad to have any questions.

QUESTIONS

VIETNAM

[2.] Q. We are hearing and reading and writing a good deal lately about diplomacy aimed at a Vietnam settlement. I wonder if you could give us your assessment of the peace front at this time.

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Cormier² states a question that I know is on the minds of all the people here today and all the people in this country.

¹ For the President's statement of March 16 following Senate approval of the convention, see Item 119.

² Frank Cormier of the Associated Press.

As you know, I have underlined over and over again the very deep interest of the United States in a prompt and peaceful settlement of all the problems in Southeast Asia.

I have said many times that we are ready to go more than halfway in achieving this result.

I would remind all of you that we would welcome a conference in Southeast Asia. This might be a Geneva conference. It could be an all-Asian conference, or any other generally acceptable forum.

We would be glad to see the unconditional discussions to which I referred in my statement of April 1965 at Johns Hopkins.

We would participate in preliminary discussions which might open the way for formal negotiations.

We are prepared today to talk about mutual steps of deescalation.

We would be prepared to talk about such subjects as the exchange of prisoners, the demilitarization, or the demilitarized zone, or any other aspect which might take even a small step in the direction of peace.

We would be prepared to discuss any points which the other side wishes to bring up, along with points which we and our allies very much want to raise ourselves.

Or there could be preliminary discussions to see whether there could be an agreed set of points which could be the basis for negotiation.

So it is against this background that we study very carefully all of the public statements made which appear from time to time and which bear upon Southeast Asia, and all the views which we receive from or through other governments.

It would not be helpful to me—and I do not intend to do so—to comment on any particular channel or communications at this

point. But you may be sure that we are diligent in our search for the possibility of peaceful settlement.

In all candor, I must say that I am not aware of any serious effort that the other side has made, in my judgment, to bring the fighting to a stop and to stop the war.

Q. Mr. President, you have been so eloquent in the past about expressing your desire for peaceful negotiations. I would like to ask you whether or not—if you thought it would speed this war down the road to peace—you would be willing personally to participate in negotiations with some of your opposite numbers, such as the leadership in Hanoi?

THE PRESIDENT. We have made clear that if the other side desires to discuss peace at any time, we will be very happy to have appropriate arrangements made to see that that is carried out.

Where we would talk, who would talk, what we would talk about are all matters that could be worked out between the two governments involved.

We have made clear to them, and to the world, the principles that we believe must govern a peace meeting of this kind, and a settlement that we would hope would come out of it: the honoring of the Geneva accords of 1954 and 1962, the right of self-determination for the people of South Vietnam, to insure that they are freed from the threat or use of force.

But we have, I must say, as of today no indication that the other side is prepared in any way to settle on these limited and decent terms.

We hope very much that we can have some signals in that direction, but I in candor must say that as of now we do not have.

Q. Mr. President, does your expressed willingness to negotiate a peaceful settle-

ment imply any willingness to compromise on any of our stated objectives in that part of the world?

THE PRESIDENT. I think that any peace agreement will involve understandings on both parts and certain concessions on both parts and certain understandings. I don't think that we can determine those before we come together, or through any press conference techniques.

I can only repeat what I said in the State of the Union: that I wish that the conflict in Vietnam was over.

And I can only repeat what I have said so many times: I will do anything I can on the part of this Government to go more than halfway to bring it to an end.

I must say that we face great costs. We face agony. We do plan to carry out our efforts out there. We are going to support our troops in the field. We are going to work with our Vietnamese allies toward pacification and constitutional government.

While we are doing that, every hour of every day the spokesmen for this Government are under instructions to explore every possibility for peace.

But I do not want to disillusion any of you. And I do not want any of you to be caught by speculation. As of this moment, I cannot report that there are any serious indications that the other side is ready to stop the war.

Q. You have three times now used that phrase "no serious efforts by the other side to bring the war to a close."

How would you characterize what has been going on in the last couple of weeks? Do you recognize any signs of maneuverability or fluidity in their position?

THE PRESIDENT. I see almost every day some speculation by some individual or some hope or desire expressed by some govern-

ment. And I assume that different individuals get different impressions. Certainly they have different hopes. I can only "speak for myself, John," and with the information that I have, with the knowledge that is brought to me, I must say that I do not interpret any action that I have observed as being a serious effort to either go to a conference table or to bring the war to an end.

Q. Mr. President, could you give us your assessment of how recent events in China may be affecting the chances for peace in Vietnam?

First of all, your assessment of what is happening in China, and then how you think that may affect the chance of a peace?

THE PRESIDENT. I think that there is little I can add to what the general public knows about the events in China. I think that we all know that they are having very serious problems.

And I would not think that would add anything to the strength of our adversaries in that area. I think that we can see from some of the problems that we have ourselves from time to time that unity is very important in connection with our operations.

And I do not see that the differences in China are going to contribute anything to the strength of the North Vietnamese.

On the other hand, I do not want to hold out any hopes to you that I do not have myself. And I cannot say at this moment that the events in China are going to contribute immediately to the end of the war in Vietnam.

Q. Mr. President, would you discuss the reports that there has been a decline in the infiltration rate to the South, to say whether you think the bombing has had any effect on this?

THE PRESIDENT. I stated in my Baltimore

speech in early 1965 what we expected to come from the bombing.

We felt that it would improve the morale of the people in South Vietnam who felt that they had almost lost the war.

We felt that it would make the North Vietnamese pay a much heavier price for what they were doing.

And we felt that it would make the infiltration more difficult.

We think it has achieved all of those expressed purposes.

We cannot speak with cold assurance on the infiltration and the numbers each day, or each week, or each month.

In some quarters of the year our indications are that they increase. In other periods of the year, the next quarter, they may go down some.

I know of nothing that I can conclude as highly significant from the guesses and the estimates that we have made.

Q. Mr. President, we have said in the past that we would be willing to suspend the bombing of North Vietnam in exchange for some suitable step by the other side. Are you prepared at all to tell us what kind of other steps the other side should take for this suspension of bombing?

THE PRESIDENT. Just almost any step.

As far as we can see, they have not taken any yet.

And we would be glad to explore any reciprocal action that they or any of their spokesmen would care to suggest.

We have made one proposal after the other. We would like to have a cease-fire. We would be very glad to stop our bombing, as we have on two previous occasions, if we could have any indication of reciprocal action.

But as of now they have given none. And

I assume they are willing to give none until I hear further.

THE PRESIDENCY AND THE PRESS

[3.] Q. Mr. President, last fall your image was described in some very harsh terms. Some saw it as arrogant and not to be believed. But lately these terms have switched to something much more sympathetic and you have been seen lately by many as an underdog.

You have been President for more than 3 years. How do you feel about the job, and, if you can bear to tell us, how do you feel about us in the press?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I have not given a lot of thought to you in the press. We have our problems with the press twice a day at our regular briefings. I try to meet with them at least twice a month, in some manner. And almost every day I see a collection of them on one subject or the other about something that interests them.

I think our system requires that, and I always try to reciprocate their understanding.

Now as for being President, I can only add to what I said the first day I was in this office: I am going to do the very best I can. I need all the help that I can get. I think the country, and the Congress, and the other nations of the world have been very willing to be reasonable in their relations with me.

I think all in all we have succeeded in obtaining some of our objectives.

I go to bed every night feeling that I have failed that day because I could not end the conflict in Vietnam.

I do have disappointments and moments of distress, as I think every President has had.

But I am not complaining.

And if you can endure it in the press, I will try to endure it in the Presidency.

THE NEW CONGRESS

[4.] Q. Have you been able to take a reading of the new Congress? Is it perceptively more conservative than the last one?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, I think it is quite a different Congress. I think it is going to be a more partisan Congress. And I think that it is going to be more difficult to obtain favorable action on administration measures.

I said after the first Congress after the election in 1964 that the President's mandate rarely lasted longer than 6 months, and I hoped that we could get most of the pledges we made in our platform enacted as soon as possible.

I have never tabulated it, but I believe Senator Mansfield made the statement that the Congress has enacted about 85 percent of our platform.

We still have some other things to pass. We will win some and we will lose some. We will try to work out an area of agreement where we can take some modified language in certain legislation we have to pass.

I don't want to anticipate more difficulty than I need to.

I am going to do with the Congress like I am trying to do with our adversaries in other places in the world: I am going to say to the minority party, which I do think appears to be able to find fault with almost our every act, that I want to meet them halfway, and I want their cooperation. I want their help. Because I don't believe it is good for the country to have partisan political in-fighting all the time. We ought

to reserve a few weeks before the election for that, and then all of us work for America the rest of the time.

I hope and believe that most Members of the Congress will feel that way.

RELATIONS WITH EASTERN EUROPE

[5.] Q. Mr. President, for some time you have been talking about building bridges to the countries of Eastern Europe. Despite the appeals of this Government, the Czechoslovakian Government has sentenced an American citizen to what we believe to be a rather harsh punishment.

How does this affect your thinking on building these bridges to the Communist Eastern European countries?

THE PRESIDENT. There are many obstacles that come in the way in our attempt to reach all of our objectives. I regret very much the incident to which your refer.³ I am very hopeful that the government concerned will take appropriate, just, and fair action.

I am still determined that, notwithstanding some difficulties that may arise from time to time, that this is in the overall best interests of this country. And I am going to continue to try to work toward that goal.

VIETNAM

[6.] Q. Mr. President, the Foreign Minister in North Vietnam has said that if the United States stopped bombing the North

³In November 1966 Vladimir Kazan-Komarek, a Czech-born American citizen, was arrested in Prague, tried on charges of anti-state activity, and sentenced to a prison term. The sentence was commuted in April 1967, and Mr. Kazan-Komarek was expelled from the country.

then peace talks could be arranged.

Would you consider a mere willingness to talk peace to be enough of a step on their part to halt bombing or would some military move be necessary?

THE PRESIDENT. I have seen nothing that any of them have said that indicates any seriousness on their part. I am awaiting any offer they might care to make.

They know that we are in contact with them. I cannot speak for them. But I am very anxious for them to make any proposal. And we will give it very prompt and serious consideration.

COMMUNISM SINCE WORLD WAR II

[7.] Q. Recently experts have testified at the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that the whole threat of communism has changed a great deal since World War II and that it is quite a different picture now. Do you agree that the Communist threat is sufficiently different?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes. We still have our problems, but I think they change from time to time. And I think there have been material changes in the thinking of various countries and their approach to their relations to other nations since World War II.

I am very hopeful that we can continue to try to evolve a satisfactory formula for getting along in this world. And I am encouraged in that hope every day. I see more encouraging signs than I do discouraging ones along that line.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

[8.] Q. Since the election of last November, a number of Governors and other

people have criticized the efforts or lack of efforts of the Democratic Party and the national committee.

When Mr. Staebler ⁴ left the White House the other day he said important things are happening within the national committee.

Can you tell us what is happening within the Democratic Party?

THE PRESIDENT. I did not see Mr. Staebler. I do not know what he refers to. I think he would be a better person to make that reply than I am.

The Democratic National Committee has a very competent chairman, vice chairman, chairman of the finance committee, and the deputy chairman. All of those people were in the committee when I came into the Presidency. While they have only had one national campaign since that time, it was very satisfactory so far as I am concerned.

And I think some people have used the committee as a kind of whipping boy—some of them that really did not understand the functions of the committee. I have worked on both the national committee, as an officer, and the congressional committee, as an officer, for many years.

⁴ Neil Staebler, member of the Democratic National Committee from Michigan.

It has never been the function of the national committee to take over the congressional elections. We support them. We work with them. We aid them every way we can in the national committee.

But there are not many Congressmen that want the Democratic national chairman to manage their campaigns in their local districts. And for that reason, we have a congressional committee and we have a senatorial committee.

It is my judgment that those committees are well run, well operated. They did a good job this year. And I know the Democratic National Committee gave them more support and more assistance and more effort than we have given in any period in our history.

So I do not know exactly what they are referring to. I think if they had a knowledge of the situation, they would not feel as badly as they do about the present membership.

Reporter: Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: President Johnson's ninety-fifth news conference was held in the East Room at the White House at 3 p.m. on Thursday, February 2, 1967. The news conference was broadcast live on radio and television.

35 Special Message to the Congress on Crime in America. *February 6, 1967*

To the Congress of the United States:

THE BACKGROUND

In the past three years, I have sent to the Congress many special messages on the human problems of our time. I have asked for legislation to improve the education, health, and economic opportunities of our people, and to enrich the physical environ-

ment in which we live.

Twice before I have spoken of the problem of crime because crime—like poverty, disease and ignorance—is a major social problem that directly or indirectly affects every American life.

In our democracy, the principal responsibility for dealing with crime does not lie with the national government, but with the states and local communities.

The same is true of education and public health. Yet as the Federal government has accepted a substantial responsibility in those fields—augmenting state and local efforts—it has also begun to pay increased attention to its role in the control of crime. For, better education, better health and better jobs are essential—but they are only part of our national task.

Public order is the first business of government.

When public order breaks down, when men and women are afraid to use the public streets, their confidence is seriously shaken. When hundreds of thousands of young people enter adulthood carrying the burden of police records, when contempt and mistrust too often characterize public attitudes toward lawful authority, all—young and old, private citizens and public officials—suffer the consequences.

Lawlessness is like a plague. Its costs, whether economic, physical or psychological, are spread through every alley and every street in every neighborhood. It creates a climate in which people make choices, not out of confidence, but out of fear.

Recently, a survey made in high crime areas of two of our largest cities found that:

- 43 percent of those interviewed stayed off the streets at night.
- 35 percent did not speak to strangers.
- 21 percent used only cabs and cars at night.
- 20 percent would like to move to another neighborhood. All because of their fear of crime.

Whether these citizens had ever been victimized by a criminal, or had even witnessed a major crime, their fear of crime had effectively narrowed the scope of their lives—denying them pleasure, opportunity, and a sense of peace. For them, and for all of us, crime—and the fear of crime—has be-

come a public malady. Its extent and gravity may be subjects for debate. But its existence is certain. So is our duty to seek its cure with every means at our command.

As I said in my State of the Union Message:

“At the heart of this attack on crime must be the conviction that a free America—as Abraham Lincoln once said—must ‘let reverence for the laws . . . become the political religion of the Nation.’

“Our country’s laws must be respected. Order must be maintained. I will support—with all the constitutional powers the President possesses—our Nation’s law enforcement officials in their attempt to control the crime and violence that tear the fabric of our communities.”

THE NATIONAL CRIME COMMISSION REPORT

Two weeks ago I received the report of the National Crime Commission, which I appointed in July 1965, to make the most comprehensive study of crime in the history of our country. That report is now being printed and will be available shortly.

It gives us an extraordinary insight into the nature of crime and criminal justice in America.

It cannot be summarized in a few paragraphs, but several of its findings give us some measure of our task:

- Over 7 million people each year come into contact with one of the agencies of criminal justice in America. More than 400,000 are confined on any one day in correctional institutions.
- The cost of operating correctional services alone is \$1 billion a year.
- Crime’s cost to the economy is staggering. Property losses approach \$3 billion a year. In many stores the cost of shoplifting and employee pilfering is as high

as—in some cases, higher than—the profit margin. The economic cost of white collar crime—embezzlement, petty theft from businesses, consumer frauds, anti-trust violations and the like—dwarfs that of all crimes of violence.

- A great deal of crime is never reported to the police. Probably more than twice as many aggravated assaults, burglaries, and larcenies occur, as are reported. In some communities the figure may be 10 times as high.
- The incidence of crime is highest in the 15 to 21 age group. 15-year olds commit more of the serious crimes than any other age group, with 16-year olds close behind. More than fifty percent of arrests for burglaries are of youths under 18.
- Most crimes of violence are committed by and against people who know each other.
- Those who commit crimes of violence more commonly do so against members of their own race. Relatively few major crimes are interracial.

Six principal themes run through the Crime Commission report:

1. Crime prevention is of paramount importance.

Prevention of crime means equipping police forces to respond quickly to emergency calls. It means reducing crime opportunities: from theft-proof ignition systems for cars, to stricter controls on the sale of guns, from better street lights and modern alarm systems to tactical deployment of police forces in high crime areas.

But crime prevention also means elimination of the conditions which breed crime. In the words of the Crime Commission, "there is no doubt whatever that the

most significant action, by far, that can be taken against crime is action designed to eliminate slums and ghettos, to improve education, to provide jobs, to make sure that every American is given the opportunities and the freedoms that will enable him to assume his responsibilities. We will not have dealt effectively with crime until we have alleviated the conditions that stimulate it. To speak of controlling crime only in terms of the work of the police, the courts and the correctional apparatus alone, is to refuse to face the fact that widespread crime implies a widespread failure by society as a whole."

2. The system of criminal justice must itself be just and it must have the respect and cooperation of all citizens.

So long as perfunctory, mass-production methods prevail in many lower courts, so long as scandalous conditions exist in many jails—where, in 1965, 100,000 children were held in adult jails, and where attempts to rehabilitate are almost non-existent—we cannot achieve full public confidence in the system of criminal justice.

What is required of that system is a profound self-analysis, the willingness to change, and a massive effort to:

- Improve the caliber and training of law enforcement, judicial and corrections officials.
- Strengthen the capability of police to detect crimes and apprehend those who commit them.
- Extend the range and quality of treatment services.
- Make full use of advanced scientific methods in the courtroom, to reduce frustrating and unfair delays and to make available to the sentencing judge all necessary information about the defendant.

- Provide better counsel for juveniles and for adults who cannot afford to provide their own.
- Improve communication and understanding between law enforcement authorities and the urban poor.

So long as we deny police, courts and correctional agencies the resources they need to provide fair and dignified public service, large elements of our population will challenge both the institutions of justice and the values they represent.

What is required of citizens in every community in America is an understanding, not only of the critical importance of first-rate law enforcement, but also of the difficulties under which their police, judges, and corrections officials labor today. If local citizens are prepared to cooperate with their own system of justice and to support it with the resources it needs to discharge its duty, those difficulties can be substantially reduced.

3. *Throughout the criminal justice system, better-trained people are desperately needed and they must be more effectively used.*

The Crime Commission found that current personnel practices in most jurisdictions often fail to attract high-caliber men and women. Requiring each new police officer to begin his career as a patrolman makes the lateral entry of better-qualified men almost impossible. There are today few means of tapping the special knowledge and skills of those brought up in slums. Today's single, rigid line of police promotion and service is inefficient. Critical shortages of specially trained policemen, probation and parole officers, teachers, caseworkers, vocational instructors, and group counselors are severely weakening the criminal justice system.

There are many ways to attack this problem. Some police chiefs suggested to the

Crime Commission that many police forces could be restructured, to provide for

—*Uniformed "community service officers"*, who would maintain close relations with people in their areas and be alert to potentially dangerous conditions that should be brought to the attention of other city agencies for prompt action. These officers might not meet conventional educational requirements. They might even have had minor encounters with the law as teenagers. But they would know their areas and the people who live in them.

—*Police officers*, who would perform the traditional police patrol duties. Typically these officers would have graduated from high school.

—*Police agents*, who would take on the most sensitive and complex police assignments—patrolling in the highest crime neighborhoods, staff duties, police-community relations, solving the most difficult serious criminal cases. Two years of college, and preferably a baccalaureate degree, might be required for assignment as an agent.

—Entrance into police service at any one of these three levels, or opportunities to work their way up through the different levels as basic education and other qualifications were met.

4. *A far broader—and more profound—range of treatment is needed than the present correctional system provides.*

This applies to offenders of all ages, but it is especially true—and particularly important for the young. Since the generation of children about to enter teen-age is the largest in our history, we can anticipate an even sharper rise in juvenile delinquency in the decade to come—unless we make drastic changes in the effectiveness of the criminal

justice system, as well as in economic and social conditions.

Many offenders, the young most of all, stand a far better chance of being rehabilitated in their home communities, than in ordinary confinement. Recently the California Youth Authority concluded a 5-year experiment with various methods of treatment. Convicted juvenile delinquents were assigned on a random basis either to an experimental group where they were returned to their communities for intensive personal and family counseling, or to the regular institutions of correction. The findings to date are dramatically impressive:

- Only 28 percent of the experimental group had their paroles revoked.
- More than half—52 percent—of those confined in regular institutions later had their paroles revoked.

Falling back into crime was almost twice as great for those treated in regular institutions, as for those treated in the community. And it appears that the community treatment program costs far less than institutional confinement.

On the basis of this California experiment and its other studies, the Crime Commission concludes that local institutions related to the community, each housing as few as 50 inmates, and supported by a wide range of treatment services, should be developed throughout the country.

This will require the commitment of new resources by most communities. In a recent survey of juvenile court judges, 83 percent said that no psychologist or psychiatrist was available to their courts. A full third had neither probation officers nor social workers. Further, if many young offenders are better handled by community agencies other than juvenile courts, the potential of those agencies must be enlarged and fully tapped.

5. *Access to better information and to*

deeper and broader research is vital to police and correctional agencies.

The Crime Commission found little research being done on the fundamental issues of criminal justice—for example, on the effect of punishment in deterring crime, or on the effectiveness of various police and correctional procedures.

Private research can be valuable. More state and local operations research is essential. Regional institutes for research should be established. Improved collection, dissemination and analysis of criminal justice statistics is essential for deeper insights into the causes of crime, its prevention and control, and better probation and correction programs. State and city planning would benefit from sounder and more precise predictions of future crime levels and problems.

6. *Substantially greater resources must be devoted to improving the entire criminal justice system.*

The Federal government must not and will not try to dominate the system. It could not if it tried. Our system of law enforcement is essentially local: based upon local initiative, generated by local energies and controlled by local officials. But the Federal government must help to strengthen the system, and to encourage the kind of innovations needed to respond to the problem of crime in America.

THE SAFE STREETS AND CRIME CONTROL ACT OF 1967

I recommend that the Congress enact the Safe Streets and Crime Control Act of 1967 to:

- Provide planning and program grants to states and local governments.*
- Establish, in the Department of Justice, a Director of a new Office of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice*

Assistance. The agency he heads will be a cooperative link with state and local agencies of criminal justice. It will give us the practical means of assisting and encouraging modernization throughout the system. It will operate the grant program established under the Act, and focus research on the causes, prevention, and control of crime.

I am requesting \$50 million in fiscal 1968 under the Safe Streets and Crime Control Act, largely for planning grants, research and pilot projects. Our best estimate is that the Federal investment under this Act in the second year will be approximately \$300 million. The Federal investment beyond the second year will depend upon the effective response of state and local governments.

I recommend Federal grants of up to 90 percent to states, cities and regional and metropolitan bodies to assist them to develop plans to improve their police, courts, and correctional systems.

Through these grants, we intend to encourage comprehensive approaches to the problems of crime. The close inter-locking of every element in the criminal justice system makes comprehensive planning mandatory.

To illustrate: the Crime Commission recommends that drunkenness should be regarded as a criminal offense only when it is accompanied by disorderly conduct. Today, one-third of all arrests are for drunkenness. Two million arrests for drunkenness burden the police, clog the lower courts and crowd places of detention. If, instead of treating drunkenness as an ordinary crime, local authorities chose to create a civil de-toxification program, the consequences of that choice would be felt throughout the law enforcement and corrections system.

Almost any reform of this nature will have significant secondary effects. Treating

each reform as an isolated matter will create conflicts and loss of effectiveness throughout the system. Thus, the grants under this provision will require that comprehensive plans be developed that take into account the interrelationship among all aspects of law enforcement, courts and corrections, as well as closely related social programs.

I recommend Federal grants of up to 60 percent to support approved programs in action.

These grants would encourage innovative efforts against street crime, juvenile delinquency, and organized crime.

To be eligible, the state or local governing body—or bodies—must show an increase in its own expenditures by an annual increment of 5 percent. The 60 percent grant would be applied against the cost of the program in excess of that increment. It must also show that it has adopted a comprehensive plan, containing clear priorities and balancing the needs of all parts of the criminal justice system.

Some of the local and regional programs that might qualify for grants would provide:

- Better training for criminal justice personnel.
- Various innovative techniques, such as tactical squads, special street lighting, new public alarm systems.
- More effective alarm systems.
- Two-way radio and multiple-channel police networks.
- Coordinated information systems for all law and corrections officials.
- New rehabilitation techniques and the personnel to employ them.
- Salaries for criminal justice personnel where associated with special training or innovative programs. With respect to other criminal justice personnel not engaged in such programs, up to, but not more than—one-third of the Federal

grant may be used for salaries.

To be approved, a plan must meet a number of qualifying tests. Among them, the plan must:

- Apply to a jurisdiction, or combination of jurisdictions, with a population of at least 50,000 persons.
- Deal with all law enforcement and criminal justice agencies in the area covered by the plan, unless the Attorney General determines that it is not practicable to do so.
- Set forth priorities for the improvement of all aspects of law enforcement and criminal justice affected by the plan, based upon the identification of needs and problems.
- Incorporate innovations and advanced techniques.
- Demonstrate the willingness of state or local bodies to assume the costs of improved law enforcement and criminal justice systems after a reasonable period of Federal assistance.

I recommend Federal grants of up to 50 percent for the construction of significant new types of physical facilities, on a regional or metropolitan basis, such as:

- crime laboratories,
- community correction centers,
- police academy-type centers.

RESEARCH AND SPECIAL PROJECTS

Under the Law Enforcement Assistance Act of 1965, we have conducted a program to improve the techniques of law enforcement through research and pilot projects. This program has proved its value. Research, along with pilot projects, must be vigorously supported if we are to improve the criminal justice system.

As part of a broader crime control program, I propose superseding the Law Enforcement Assistance Act with a broader program of research, development and special pilot project grants.

I recommend that the Safe Streets and Crime Control Act authorize the Attorney General to make research grants or contracts, of up to 100 percent, with public agencies, institutions of higher education, or other organizations.

These grants could be used to:

- Support research and education projects of regional or national importance.
- Establish national or regional institutes for research and education in law enforcement and criminal justice.

FEDERAL, STATE AND LOCAL COOPERATION

State and local governments have already shown their willingness to meet their responsibilities in the criminal justice area. They have also demonstrated their desire to cooperate with the national government. During 1966, for example, the Department of Justice and the National Crime Commission have urged all 50 governors to establish state planning committees on law enforcement and criminal justice. Many of these committees are already in existence. Additional states are setting up committees each month.

To continue this cooperation, I am directing the Acting Attorney General to convene at the Justice Department a conference of state, city and private authorities in law enforcement and criminal justice. Its purpose will be to review the findings of the National Crime Commission and to share judgments on how best the Federal government may contribute to the essentially State and local task of law enforcement.

A PROGRAM FOR YOUNG AMERICANS

The proposals I have outlined above will give new strength to the instruments of law enforcement: our police, courts, and correctional agencies. Yet we know that America's crime problem demands far broader efforts to reach young people trapped in poverty—without skills, without purpose, without hope.

Not all crime is attributable to poverty. The rise of crimes committed by youth in affluent suburban areas testifies to that. But crime rates do increase markedly in an atmosphere that breeds hostility and frustration. They increase as the channels of opportunity are limited and social mobility is foreclosed.

Understanding this, we have embarked on a broad range of programs giving disadvantaged young people the chance to break free of the waste and boredom that would otherwise characterize their lives. In my message to the Congress on America's Children and Youth, which I intend to submit shortly, I will outline a program for young Americans. The purpose of that program will be not only to reduce delinquency, but to increase the chances for young people to lead more useful and productive lives.

NARCOTICS AND DANGEROUS DRUGS

I urge the Congress should also give prompt attention to a number of other aspects of America's crime problem. Among these is narcotics addiction.

Narcotics addiction, the abuse of dangerous drugs and illicit traffic in both continue to challenge the best efforts of federal, state and local governments to stamp them out. Their cost in wasted lives is incalculable. The crime

that is associated with them is a serious threat to communities across America.

In the past three years, we have begun new federal and state programs. These programs can lead to a marked improvement in the drug abuse problem. But if their promise is to be sustained, we must make a sufficient commitment of resources and competent administration.

Every level of government, federal to local, must intensify its attack on the narcotics and drug problem.

For our own part, we shall take these additional measures to combat drug addiction and traffic in drugs:

1. *Rehabilitation*

To carry out the purposes of the Narcotic Addict Rehabilitation Act of 1966, I am instructing the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, in consultation with the Attorney General and the Secretary of the Treasury, to coordinate the rehabilitation efforts of all the federal agencies concerned, and to work through local and state facilities to the greatest possible extent. Federal rehabilitation efforts will be closely related to local programs that may qualify for federal support under the grant provisions of the Safe Streets and Crime Control Act of 1967.

2. *Enforcement Training*

I recommend that the Congress provide funds to enable the Federal Bureau of Narcotics and the Food and Drug Administration to enlarge their existing enforcement training programs, so that they can reach a far greater number of local and state enforcement officers.

Under these programs, enforcement officers and experts of the Federal government are sent to local communities with severe drug addiction problems, to train local enforcement personnel in the most mod-

ern techniques of detecting and apprehending drug pushers and addicts and the most advanced methods of treating drug addiction.

3. *Public Information and Education*

It is essential that the public be better informed about narcotics and dangerous drugs: what they are, what their effects are on the body and mind, how widely they are misused, the laws which govern them, and the medical treatment that offers the best chance of cure. This information should be made available to local governments, school systems, parents, young people, college campuses and medical groups.

To this end, I am directing the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare to create an Information and Education Center on Narcotic and Dangerous Drugs.

4. *International Control*

If we are to succeed in controlling narcotics and dangerous drugs, we must work in concert with other nations. Most illicit narcotics—particularly heroin—come from and through other nations to our shores. Drugs, like epidemic diseases, must be controlled effectively everywhere.

I shall shortly submit to the Senate, for its advice and consent, the 1961 Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs. Fifty-four nations have acceded to that Convention, and we believe that other nations may follow. With the coming establishment of the International Narcotics Control Board as the only supervisory international agency, our accession to the Convention will allow us to have a proper voice in securing fulfillment by other countries of their treaty obligations.

5. *State Drug Laws*

There are large disparities in state laws dealing with dangerous drugs. Some states do not even have such laws. Controlling traffic in dangerous drugs requires a careful synthesis of state and federal regulation. If

our greatest strength is to be brought to bear on drug control, the states should act as soon as possible on the type of drug abuse control act now being circulated in model form by the Food and Drug Administration. I urge the states to enact this law as soon as possible.

FIREARMS CONTROL

Any effective crime control program requires the enactment of firearms legislation.

The National Crime Commission has underscored the emphatic need for the legislation I propose again this year. I urge the 90th Congress to place it high on its agenda in this session.

The legislation I am submitting is closely comparable in substance to that which was under consideration in the last Congress. *I strongly recommend that the Congress enact legislation to:*

- Prohibit certain mail order sales and shipments of firearms, except between federal licensees;
- Prohibit over-the-counter sales of firearms, other than rifles and shotguns, to any person who does not reside in the state in which the federal licensee does business;
- Prohibit federal licensees from selling handguns to any person under 21, and from selling rifles and shotguns to any person under 18;
- Curb imports into the United States of surplus military firearms and other firearms not suitable for sporting purposes.

This legislation is no panacea for the danger of human irrationality and violence in our society. But it will help to keep lethal weapons out of the wrong hands.

This legislation will not curtail ownership of firearms used either for sport or self-protection. But it will place a valuable re-

straint on random trade in handguns—the use of which has more and more characterized burglaries and other crimes. It will gain added strength as states pass firearms legislation and licensing laws similar to the Sullivan Law in New York.¹

To pass strict firearms control laws at every level of government is an act of simple prudence and a measure of a civilized society. Further delay is unconscionable.

UNIFIED FEDERAL CORRECTIONAL SYSTEM

I renew my request for legislation to establish a unified federal correctional system within the Department of Justice.

Today, correctional treatment in the national system is fragmented and often impedes continuity of treatment. The proposed unified system would provide coherent organization, and a systematic flow of all post-sentencing responsibilities—probation, institutional management, and parole supervision.

A unified system becomes especially important as we gain experience with community treatment and work-release methods. It would permit the better use of staff and fiscal resources, improve training for all federal correctional employees, and simplify the creation of computerized data banks. The Federal government should lead in all organizational reforms which permit more effective diagnosis and treatment of individual offenders—especially since the repeated offender is so prominent and disturbing a feature of crime in America.

A FEDERAL JUDICIAL CENTER

I recommend legislation to establish a Federal Judicial Center in the Administrative

¹McKinney's Consolidated Laws of New York (Title 39, sec. 400).

Office of the United States Courts.

Despite the increase in the number of Federal district judgeships—from 197 in 1941 to 341 in 1966—the delay and docket congestion in our Federal courts is the worst in our history.

The mere addition of judges to the courts will not bring about the efficient administration of justice that simple justice demands. Better judicial administration requires better research, better training and continuing education programs.

The Judicial Conference has long recognized this. It has either recommended, or established on an ad hoc basis, some twenty different programs of research and education. Yet none of these programs has been adequately staffed or supported. None has been able to solve the administrative problems of the judiciary.

If we are to reduce the backlog of cases pending in the courts and meet the urgent law enforcement problems we face, these programs must be given permanence and sufficient means to accomplish their tasks. They should be open to the scrutiny of the Congress, the entire judiciary, and the public.

A Federal Judicial Center, established in the Administrative Office of the United States Courts, will enable the courts to begin the kind of self-analysis, research and planning necessary for a more effective judicial system—and for better justice in America.

ORGANIZED CRIME

We have accomplished much in exposing the citadels of crime and corruption. I am determined, however, to extend our efforts to root out this poisonous element from our society.

The Department of Justice will be the focal

point for bringing increased federal resources to bear on this problem of organized crime. We will increase the number of personnel previously assigned to this task.

Federal efforts can best be extended by the allocation of additional resources. However, obtaining witnesses is a major difficulty in dealing with organized crime.

I recommend that the Congress enact legislation to:

- Make it a federal crime to coerce or threaten a person who is willing to give vital information to our federal investigators, thus extending additional protection to potential witnesses at the beginning of an organized crime investigation before a grand jury has been convened.*
- Extend federal immunity provisions to certain crimes associated with racketeering, in order to assist in gathering competent evidence.*

Criminal syndicates do not recognize state boundaries. Their impact is frequently nation-wide. The Federal government's responsibility in combatting organized crime is clear and unequivocal.

This message, however, deals principally with federal assistance to state and local law enforcement. With a few notable exceptions, State and local jurisdictions have little experience in operating an effective organized crime program. I am directing the Acting Attorney General to: Establish a special program to offer state and city officials assistance in setting up effective plans to combat organized crime.

THE RIGHT OF PRIVACY

Justice Brandeis called the right of privacy the "right most valued by civilized men."

It is the first right denied by any totalitarian system. It is associated in the minds of most Americans with the right to be free of unlawful searches and forced self-incrimination. It is a hallmark of a free society.

I believe we should protect that right against invasion by wiretapping and electronic devices.

We would indeed be indifferent to the command of our heritage if we failed to take effective action to preserve the dignity and privacy of each among us. A new Federal law banning wiretapping and electronic bugging and snooping is essential.

Present laws are clearly inadequate. They create serious uncertainties in their application and leave large loopholes in their coverage. In short, they invite abuse.

I recommend that the Congress enact the Right of Privacy Act of 1967.

Within the full reach of the constitutional powers possessed by the Federal government this law would:

- Outlaw all wiretapping, public and private, wherever and whenever it occurs, as well as all willful invasions of privacy by electronic devices such as radio transmitters and concealed microphones. The only exceptions would cover those instances where the security of the Nation itself is at stake—and then only under the strictest safeguards.
- Prohibit the advertisement, manufacture or distribution in interstate commerce of wiretapping and eavesdropping devices.

TO INSURE THE PUBLIC SAFETY

The program I have called for in this message will not, of itself, bring about a sudden decline in the reported crime rate.

As crime reporting improves, as citizens increasingly demand the protection to which they are entitled and report crimes they formerly bore in silence, as larger numbers of young people enter the age of greatest susceptibility to crime, as the problems of the ghetto are compounded—as these events continue to occur, the reported crime rate will continue to rise.

Nevertheless, there are important steps we can take now to affect the incidence of crime and its contamination of our democracy. I have tried to describe several in this message.

Certain of these steps could, if resolutely undertaken by local and national officials, be in effect a year from today.

Other steps, put into effect now, could reduce the costs of crime over the next several years. These involve more than the condemnation of crime, more than spasmodic responses to sensational disclosures. They involve hard work and an unswerving commitment by all levels of government to an intensified, long-term program of action.

Yet even they will fail unless they are accompanied by the greater involvement of private citizens.

It is the citizen who will finally determine whether the agencies of law enforcement and criminal justice are staffed and nourished by first-rate skills and modern equipment. It is the citizen who maintains and enlarges respect for law and order. It is the interaction of the citizen and the community—their common dedication to public order—which is the most powerful deterrent of crime.

Thus, it is the citizen who will determine whether streets will be safe to walk, whether homes will be secure, whether property rights will be respected, whether integrity and honest dealing will govern relationships between men.

We can control crime if we will. We must act boldly, now, to treat ancient evils and to insure the public safety.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

The White House

February 6, 1967

NOTE: For statements by the President upon signing related legislation see Items 468, 560. See also Item 530.

For a statement by the President concerning the report of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, see Item 60.

36 Statement by the President on the Message on Crime in America. *February 6, 1967*

I HAVE today sent to Congress the Safe Streets and Crime Control Act of 1967. It calls for the most comprehensive attack on crime ever undertaken. Crime is a local problem and must be solved by local authorities. But the Federal Government can help to train better police forces and give them modern equipment—to stem the rising tide of organized crime, to stop the illegal flow of

narcotics, to keep lethal weapons out of the wrong hands, guarantee the right of privacy of every American citizen.

Our country's laws must be respected; order must be maintained; crime must be controlled. I am asking the Congress to act now to help insure the public safety.

NOTE: The President recorded the statement for radio and television broadcast. It was not made public in the form of a White House press release.

37 Remarks Upon Presenting the National Medal of Science Awards for 1966. February 6, 1967

Dr. Hornig, distinguished Medal of Science award winners, Members of the Cabinet, Members of the Congress, distinguished ladies and gentlemen:

The discoverer Isaac Newton once wrote that he felt like "a boy playing on the seashore," while "the great ocean of truth lay all undiscovered before me."

Today, we have come here to the East Room to honor 11 men whose lifelong purpose has been to explore the great ocean of truth. Their achievements—and the work of other scientists—have lengthened man's life, have eased his days, and have enriched our treasury of wisdom.

For nearly two centuries, America has been a lighthouse of democratic government in the world.

But we have also stood for other things.

First, we have been an example of the power of science and technology to transform man's life.

The steamship, the telephone, the Salk vaccine, the splitting of the atom, our steady climb to the moon and the stars—all of these developments in our land have excited the entire world, and have changed it forever.

Today, our enormous investment in science and research is our evidence of our faith that science can not only make man richer—but science can make man better.

Second, and more important, America stands for the unfettered pursuit of knowledge.

Scientific research in our Nation is heavily financed by our Government.

I believe that government must guard freedom of inquiry—and extend it.

The voyage of our scientists should be

to make new discoveries—not just to confirm old dogmas.

In the famous poem, Ulysses pledges

"To follow knowledge, like a sinking star,
Beyond the utmost bounds of human thought."

That goal is the goal of these scientists—that goal is the goal of American science.

So gentlemen, I am greatly honored to make this year's awards of the National Medal of Science.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:44 a.m. in the East Room at the White House. His opening words referred to Dr. Donald F. Hornig, Special Assistant to the President and Director of the Office of Science and Technology.

The National Medal of Science, established by Congress in 1959 (73 Stat. 431), is awarded to outstanding scientists on the basis of recommendations by the President's Committee on the National Medal of Science under the chairmanship of Dr. H. E. Carter of the University of Illinois. The 1966 recipients and their citations are listed below:

Biological sciences: Edward Fred Knipping, Director, Entomology Research Divisions, U.S. Department of Agriculture, "For outstanding original contributions involving unique biological approaches to the control of insect vectors responsible for diseases of humans, domesticated animals, and plants"; Fritz Albert Lipmann, professor of biochemistry, Rockefeller University, "For original discoveries of molecular mechanisms for the transfer and transformation of energy in living cells, and for fundamental contributions to the conceptual structure of modern biochemistry"; William Cumming Rose, professor of chemistry, emeritus, University of Illinois, "For the discovery of the essential amino acid threonine and for the subsequent brilliant studies elucidating the qualitative and quantitative amino acid requirements of man and of animals"; Sewall Wright, professor of genetics, emeritus, University of Wisconsin, "For original and sustained contributions to the mathematical foundations of the theory of evolution and for basic contributions to experimental and biometrical genetics."

Engineering sciences: Claude Elwood Shannon, Donner Professor of Science, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, "For brilliant contributions to the mathematical theories of communications and information processing and for his early and continuing impact on the development of these disciplines"; Vladimir Kosma Zworykin, honorary vice president, Radio Corporation of America, "For major contributions to the instruments of science, engineering and television, and for his stimulation of the application of engineering to medicine."

Mathematical sciences: John Willard Milnor, professor of mathematics, Princeton University, "For clever and ingenious approaches in topology which have solved long outstanding problems and opened new exciting areas in this active branch of mathematics."

Physical sciences: Jacob Aall Bonnevie Bjerknes, professor of meteorology, University of California, Los Angeles, "By watching and studying maps he

discovered the cyclone-making waves of the air and the climate-controlling changes of the sea"; Subrahmanyan Chandrasekhar, professor of theoretical astrophysics, University of Chicago, "For numerous superb contributions to stellar astronomy, physics, and applied mathematics, and for his guidance and inspiration to his many students and colleagues"; Henry Eyring, dean, Graduate School (retired), University of Utah, "For contributions to our understanding of the structure and properties of matter, especially for his creation of absolute rate theory, one of the sharpest tools in the study of rates of chemical reaction"; and John Hasbrouck Van Vleck, Hollis Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, Harvard University, "For his many contributions to the development of the theory of molecular structure and for his profound influence, through original contributions and through many brilliant students, on the theory of the magnetic and dielectric properties of materials."

38 Special Message to the Senate on Transmitting the Treaty on Outer Space. February 7, 1967

To the Senate of the United States:

I

I am today transmitting to the Senate, for your advice and consent, the first Treaty on Outer Space.

The provisions of this Treaty reflect the will and desire of the signatory states, already numbering more than half the nations of the world, that the realms of space should forever remain realms of peace.

The privilege of transmitting this milestone agreement to you before the end of the first decade of space exploration is especially gratifying for me.

Only ten years ago, as a Senator, I chaired the first Congressional hearings called to determine what response our national policy should make to the challenges of the exploration of outer space. The hearings and the events of those times seem now a world away for us all. Yet I remember—as I know

you do—the climate of great awe and greater anxiety in which Senators addressed themselves to their responsibilities. At that time:

—No American satellite had yet been orbited.

—The readiness of our rockets was much in question.

—There was no NASA, no vast complex at what is now Cape Kennedy, no Manned Spaceflight Center at Houston. The very word, "astronaut," was not in our vocabulary.

—Men questioned the capacity of our educational system to yield up the incalculably valuable resource of minds trained for the great tasks of the space age.

—The stature of our advanced technology and our ability to participate as leaders in the explorations of the universe was far from being established with certainty.

In that uncertain climate, our concerns

about space were quite different from now. We were rightly concerned for the safety of our nation and for the survival of humankind. We directed our concern to the organization of our society and to the priority of our values as free men.

In November 1958, President Dwight D. Eisenhower asked me to appear before the United Nations to present the United States resolution urging that the exploration of outer space be undertaken for peaceful purposes, as an enterprise of international cooperation among all member nations.

On that occasion, speaking for the United States, I said:

"Today, outer space is free. It is unscarred by conflict. No nation holds a concession there. It must remain this way. We of the United States do not acknowledge that there are landlords of outer space who can presume to bargain with the nations of the Earth on the price of access to this domain. We must not—and we need not—corrupt this great opportunity by bringing to it the very antagonisms which we may, by courage, overcome and leave behind forever if we proceed with this joint adventure into this new realm.

"We know the gains of cooperation. We know the losses of the failure to cooperate. If we fail now to apply the lessons we have learned, or even if we delay their application, we know that the advances into space may only mean adding a new dimension to warfare. If, however, we proceed along the orderly course of full cooperation we shall, by the very fact of cooperation, make the most substantial contribution toward perfecting peace.

"Men who have worked together to reach the stars are not likely to descend together into the depths of war and desolation."

I believe those words remain valid today.

The "very fact of cooperation" in the evo-

lution of this Treaty is to be taken as a "substantial contribution toward perfecting peace." As long ago as 1958, President Eisenhower initiated an exchange of letters with the leadership of the Soviet Union, seeking agreements binding the uses of outer space to peaceful purposes. President Kennedy repeatedly reaffirmed our willingness to cooperate toward these ends.

In October 1963, the General Assembly of the United Nations called on nations of the world not to station nuclear or other weapons of mass destruction in outer space. Two months later the Assembly adopted a Declaration of Legal Principles to govern activities in space. On May 7, last year, I repeated, and Ambassador Goldberg reiterated many times thereafter, our view of the urgency of doing all that we could to assure that exploration of outer space would take place in peace, for peaceful ends.

In July 1966, negotiations on the Treaty were formally begun at Geneva in the 28-member United Nations Outer Space Committee. Accord was subsequently reached at renewed negotiations in New York. The Treaty was unanimously endorsed by the Twenty-first Session of the General Assembly just over a month ago.

On January 27, the Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies was opened for signature in Washington, London and Moscow. The United States, United Kingdom and Soviet Union were among the sixty countries signing the Treaty in Washington. Other nations are expected to add their signatures in the near future.

The climate in which such accord has been reached is clearly an encouraging omen for continuing in other realms our constant quest for understandings that will strengthen the chances for peace.

II

In the diplomacy of space, as in the technology of space, it is essential always that interim achievements not be mistaken for final success. This Treaty I transmit to the Senate today is such an interim achievement—a significant, but not a final step forward.

It carries forward the thrust of the past decade to enlarge the perimeters of peace by shrinking the arenas of potential conflict. This is a thrust to which the Senate has given its support by ratifying the four Geneva Conventions on the Law of the Sea in 1958, the Antarctic Treaty of 1959 and the Limited Test Ban Treaty of 1963.

As we have dealt with the sea, the atmosphere and the vast unpopulated continent of Antarctica, now in this Treaty we extend reason to the activities of nations in the endless realm of outer space.

The Treaty lays down fundamental principles:

- No nation can claim sovereignty to outer space, to the moon or to other celestial bodies.
- All nations have the right to conduct space activities.
- No one may use outer space or celestial bodies to begin a war. The rules of the United Nations Charter apply to space activities.
- No country may station in space or orbit around the Earth nuclear or other weapons of mass destruction.
- No country may install such weapons on a celestial body.
- No nation may establish military bases, installations or fortifications, on a celestial body. Nor may any weapons be tested or military maneuvers be conducted there. The right to visit another country's installations and space vehicles

on a celestial body is guaranteed.

—Astronauts are “envoys of mankind.” If an astronaut lands on another country's soil, he must be returned safely, promptly and unconditionally.

—Space activities and their results are to be reported for the benefit of all.

—Each country is to avoid harmfully contaminating outer space and adversely changing the environment of the Earth by introducing extra-terrestrial matter.

These and other provisions of the Treaty are described in detail in the accompanying report of the Secretary of State.

III

Space exploration has become an intimate part of our lives. The exploits of men and machines in outer space excite and thrill us all. The valiant young men who have become symbolic of our national effort as Astronauts are close to every American family. The deaths in line of duty of Lieutenant Colonel Virgil Grissom, Lieutenant Colonel Edward White and Lieutenant Commander Roger Chaffee touched every American home and heart.¹

Yet, we must remember that these are only primitive years in the epoch of space exploration and utilization—an epoch that will run to the end of time. In the next decade and in all the decades to come, the capabilities of nations in space will multiply far beyond our comprehension today. If we should flag or falter in our support of this great extension of human knowledge, the concern and anxiety we felt so keenly a decade ago would be known again to other Americans in future times.

When we ask what this nation or any nation expects to find from exploration in

¹ See Item 19.

space, the answer is one word: knowledge—knowledge we shall need to maintain Earth as a habitable environment for man.

The resources of this planet are already taxed to support human existence. Now and even more each day, as the family of man increases so rapidly, fertile soil, clear water, clean air and a safe atmosphere all become more precious to men and nations than the metals and jewels of ages past.

The quest for gold and silver, and diamonds and rubies, once lead men to explore the Earth seeking enrichment for themselves and their nations. So now the realities of this and future ages require that nations pursue together the exploration of space within this galaxy, seeking new knowledge and new capabilities to enrich the life of all mankind.

The future leaves no option. Responsible men must push forward in the exploration of space, near and far. Their voyages must be made in peace for purposes of peace on earth. This Treaty is a step—a first step, but a long step—toward assuring the peace

essential for the longer journey.

I strongly recommend—in appropriate commemoration of the Senate's own role in charting the course that the world now seems willing to follow—that the Senate act promptly in giving consent to the ratification of this Treaty. I hope that I may be able to affirm as President of the United States, what I said as a Senator to the United Nations in 1958:

“On the goal of dedicating outer space to peaceful purposes for the benefit of all mankind, there are no differences within our government, between our parties or among our people.”

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

The White House

February 7, 1967

NOTE: The treaty was favorably considered by the Senate on April 25, 1967, and after ratification entered into force on October 10, 1967. It was proclaimed by the President on October 10, 1967.

The text of the treaty is printed in Senate Executive D (90th Cong., 1st sess.).

39 Special Message to the Congress Recommending a 12-Point Program for America's Children and Youth. *February 8, 1967*

To the Congress of the United States:

In 1905, this nation hummed with industrial growth—and Jane Addams discovered a boy of five working for a living by night in a cotton mill.

Thirteen percent of the laborers then in the cotton trade were child laborers. All across the nation, in glass factories, in mines, in canneries and on the streets, more than two million children under 16 worked—full time.

Slowly, what Theodore Roosevelt called “public sentiment, with its corrective power” stirred and raised a cry for action.

“The interests of this nation,” President Roosevelt declared to Congress in 1909, “are involved in the welfare of children no less than in our great national affairs.”

By 1912, the Federal Children's Bureau was established. The long battle to end child labor moved toward victory. Congress had pledged its power to the care and protection of America's young people.

Upon that pledge, the Congress, the Executive Branch and the states have built public policy—and public programs—ever since.

In the past three years, I have recommended and you in the Congress have en-

acted legislation that has done more for our young people than in any other period in history:

- Head Start and other preschool programs are providing learning and health care to more than two million children.
- The Elementary and Secondary Education Act is improving the education of more than seven million poor children.
- Our Higher Education Programs support more than one million students in college—students who might otherwise not have been able to go.
- The Neighborhood Youth Corps, the Job Corps and an expanded Manpower Development and Training Program are bringing skills to almost one million young Americans who only a few years ago would have been condemned to the ranks of the unemployed.
- The “Medicaid” program is now extending better medical service to millions of poor children.

In fiscal 1960, the Federal Government invested about \$3.5 billion in America’s children and youth. In fiscal 1965 that investment rose to \$7.3 billion. In fiscal 1968 it will increase to over \$11.5 billion—more than three times the amount the government was spending 8 years ago.

We are a young Nation. Nearly half our people are 25 or under—and much of the courage and vitality that bless this land are the gift of young citizens.

The Peace Corps volunteer in Bolivia, the Teacher Corps volunteer in a Chicago slum, the young Marine offering up his courage—and his life—in Vietnam: these are the Boy Scouts, the 4-H Club members, the high school athletes of only a few years ago. What they are able to offer the world as citizens depends on what their Nation offered them

as youngsters.

Knowing this, we seek to strengthen American families. We also seek to strengthen our alliance with state and local governments. The future of many of our children depends on the work of local public health services, school boards, the local child welfare agencies and local community action agencies.

Recent studies confirm what we have long suspected. In education, in health, in all of human development, the early years are the critical years. Ignorance, ill health, personality disorder—these are disabilities often contracted in childhood: afflictions which linger to cripple the man and damage the next generation.

Our nation must rid itself of this bitter inheritance. Our goal must be clear—to give every child the chance to fulfill his promise.

Much remains to be done to move toward this goal. Today, no less than in the early years of this century, America has an urgent job to do for its young.

Even during these years of unparalleled prosperity:

- 5.5 million children under six, and 9 million more under 17, live in families too poor to feed and house them adequately.
- This year one million babies, one in every four, will be born to mothers who receive little or no obstetric care.
- More than four million children will suffer physical handicaps and another two million will fall victim to preventable accidents or disease.
- One million young Americans, most of them from poor families, will drop out of school this year—many to join the unhappy legion of the unemployed.
- One in every six young men under 18 will be taken to juvenile court for at

least one offense this year.

Our nation can help to cure these social ills if once again, as in the past, we pledge our continuing stewardship of our greatest wealth—our young people.

I recommend a 12-point program for the children and youth of America. With the help of the Congress, we can:

1. Preserve the hope and opportunity of Head Start by a "Follow-Through" program in the early grades.
2. Strengthen Head Start by extending its reach to younger children.
3. Begin a pilot lunch program to reach preschool children who now lack proper nourishment.
4. Create child and parent centers in areas of acute poverty to provide modern and comprehensive family and child development services.
5. Help the States train specialists—now in critically short supply—to deal with problems of children and youth.
6. Strengthen and modernize programs providing aid for children in poor families.
7. Increase Social Security payments for 3 million children, whose support has been cut off by the death, disability or retirement of their parents.
8. Expand our programs for early diagnosis and treatment of children with handicaps.
9. Carry forward our attack on mental retardation, which afflicts more than 125,000 children each year.
10. Launch a new pilot program of dental care for children.
11. Help States and communities across the nation plan and operate programs to prevent juvenile delinquents from becoming adult delinquents.
12. Enrich the summer months for needy boys and girls.

STRENGTHENING HEAD START

Head Start—a preschool program for poor children—has passed its first trials with flying colors. Tested in practice the past two years, it has proven worthy of its promise.

Through this program, hope has entered the lives of hundreds of thousands of children and their parents who need it the most.

The child whose only horizons were the crowded rooms of a tenement discovered new worlds of curiosity, of companionship, of creative effort. Volunteer workers gave thousands of hours to help launch poor children on the path toward self-discovery, stimulating them to enjoy books for the first time, watching them sense the excitement of learning.

Today Head Start reaches into three out of every four counties where poverty is heavily concentrated and into every one of the fifty states.

It is bringing more than education to children. Over half the youngsters are receiving needed dental and medical treatment. Hearing defects, poor vision, anemia, and damaged hearts are being discovered and treated.

In short, for poor children and their parents, Head Start has replaced the conviction of failure with the hope of success.

The achievements of Head Start must not be allowed to fade. For we have learned another truth which should have been self-evident—that poverty's handicaps cannot be easily erased or ignored when the door of first grade opens to the Head Start child.

Head Start occupies only part of a child's day and ends all too soon. He often returns home to conditions which breed despair. If these forces are not to engulf the child and wipe out the benefits of Head Start, more is required. Follow-Through is essential.

To fulfill the rights of America's children

to equal educational opportunity the benefits of Head Start must be carried through to the early grades.

We must make special efforts to overcome the handicap of poverty by more individual attention, by creative courses, by more teachers trained in child development. This will not be easy. It will require careful planning and the full support of our communities, our schools and our teachers.

I am requesting appropriations to launch a "Follow-Through" program during the first school grades for children in areas of acute poverty.

The present achievements of Head Start serve as a measure of the distance we must still go:

—Three out of four Head Start children participate only in a summer program.

The summer months are far too brief to close the gap separating the disadvantaged child from his more fortunate classmate.

—Only a small number of three-year-olds are now being reached. The impact of Head Start will be far more beneficial if it is extended to the earlier years.

—Head Start has dramatically exposed the nutritional needs of poverty's children. More than 1.5 million preschoolers are not getting the nourishing food vital to strong and healthy bodies.

To build on the experience already gained through Head Start:

—I am requesting funds from the Congress and I am directing the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity to:

1. *Strengthen the full year Head Start program.*

2. *Enlarge the number of three-year-olds who participate in Head Start.*

3. *Explore, through pilot programs, the effectiveness of this program on even younger children.*

—I am recommending legislation to authorize a pilot program to provide school lunch benefits to needy preschoolers through Head Start and similar programs.

CHILD AND PARENT CENTERS

There is increasing evidence that a child's potential is shaped in infancy—and even during the pre-natal period. Early in life, a child may acquire the scars that will damage his later years at great cost to himself and to society. No serious effort in child development can ignore this critical period.

In every community, we must attack the conditions that dim life's promise. Today, the Federal Government and the states support a wide range of services for needy children and their parents.

But we have fallen short. Many of these services are fragmented. Many do not provide imaginative and inventive programs to develop a child's full potential. Others fail to enlist the adults of the community in enriching the lives of children and thereby enriching their own lives as well.

The task is to marshal these services—to develop within our comprehensive neighborhood centers a single open door through which child and parent can enter to obtain the help they need.

I am instructing the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity to begin a pilot program of child and parent centers through its community action program in areas of acute poverty.

I am also instructing the Secretaries of Health, Education, and Welfare and Hous-

ing and Urban Development to support these centers with resources from related programs.

These child and parent centers would provide a wide range of benefits—as wide as the needs of the children and parents they must serve:

- health and welfare services.
- nutritious meals for needy preschoolers.
- counseling for parents in pre-natal and infant care and instruction in household management, accident prevention and nutrition.
- day care for children under three years old.
- a training base for specialists in child development.

A typical center might serve a slum neighborhood or a large housing project. Where possible, the centers would be affiliated with universities to provide greater research and experimentation in the fields of child development and education.

TO WORK WITH CHILDREN

A wealthy and abundant America lags behind other modern nations in training qualified persons to work with children.

These workers are badly needed—not only for poor children but for all children. We need experts and new professionals in child care. We need more preschool teachers, social workers, librarians, and nurses.

New training efforts must be supported—for day care counselors, parent-advisors and health-visitors. We must train workers capable of helping children in neighborhood centers, in health clinics, in playgrounds and in child welfare agencies. Others must be prepared to support the teacher in the school

and the mother in the home.

These jobs promise excellent opportunities for high school and grade school graduates, and for citizens who are retired. They can provide meaningful employment for persons who are themselves economically deprived. In helping needy young children achieve their potential, they can also help to develop themselves.

Two OEO programs, Foster Grandparents and Home Health Aides, have already proved the value of such services.

To help provide the trained workers needed for America's children, I recommend legislation to increase to 75 percent the Federal matching funds for State child welfare personnel, including training programs.

I am also directing the Secretaries of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare, and the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, to emphasize through adult education, vocational rehabilitation and other programs, training for “new careers” in child care.

SOCIAL SECURITY INCREASES FOR CHILDREN

Two weeks ago, I proposed legislation to bring the greatest improvement in living standards for those covered under Social Security since that historic Act was passed in 1935.

While this Program extends primarily to the older Americans, it also covers a child if the family breadwinner, who is under Social Security, dies, retires, or becomes disabled.

Today, more than 3 million children receive Social Security payments. Their average benefit is only \$52 a month.

To provide more adequate payments to

these children, I recommend legislation to enlarge their benefits—with an average increase of at least 15 percent.

IMPROVING CHILD ASSISTANCE

Enacted during the 1930's, the "Aid to Families with Dependent Children" (AFDC) program is a major source of help for the poor child. Under AFDC, Federal financial aid is provided to States to help needy families with children under 21.

There are serious shortcomings in this program:

- Only 3.2 million children received benefits last year.
- 12 million children in families below the poverty line received no benefits.
- 33 states do not even meet their own minimum standards for subsistence.
- Seven states offer a mother and three children \$120 a month or less.

Only 21 states have taken advantage of a 1962 law, expiring this year, allowing children with unemployed parents to receive financial assistance. Only 12 states have community work and training programs for unemployed parents to give them the skills needed to protect their family and earn a decent living. A number of states discourage parents from working by arbitrarily reducing welfare payments when they earn their first dollar.

To remedy these deficiencies and give the poorest children of America a fair chance, I recommend legislation to:

- Require each state to raise cash payments to the level the state itself sets as the minimum for subsistence, to bring these minimum standards up-to-date annually, and to maintain welfare stand-*

ards at not less than two-thirds the level set for medical assistance.

- Provide special federal financial assistance to help poorer states meet these new requirements.*
- Make permanent the program for unemployed parents, which expires this year.*
- Require each state receiving assistance to cooperate in making community work and training available.*
- Require states to permit parents to earn \$50 each month, with a maximum of \$150 per family, without reduction in assistance payments.*

Even well-established state welfare programs lack adequate services to protect children where there is physical abuse or neglect. There should be protection for the child, as well as help for the parent. Other state child welfare programs should expand day-care and homemaker services. New services must be tested, particularly for the mentally retarded, for the child requiring emergency shelter and for the child in the urban slum.

I recommend legislation to authorize a program of project grants to encourage states and local communities to develop new forms of child services.

CHILD HEALTH

Last year, nearly 400,000 needy mothers received care through maternal and child health nursing services. About three million children received public health nursing services, including almost 20% of all infants under one year of age.

But our public health record for children gives us little cause for complacency:

- At least ten other nations have lower

infant mortality rates than the United States. Nearly 40,000 babies in America die each year who would be saved if our infant mortality rate were as low as Sweden's.

- Nearly one million pregnant women receive little or no prenatal care.
- More than 3.5 million poor children under 5 who need medical help do not receive it under public medical care programs.

Our whole society pays a toll for the unhealthy and crippled children who go without medical care: a total of incalculable human suffering, unemployment, rising rates of disabling disease, and expenditures for special education and institutions for the handicapped.

We have made hopeful beginnings toward reducing that toll.

Under the "Medicaid" program enacted in 1965, the 25 states now in partnership with the Federal Government will help pay hospital costs and doctors' bills for more than 3.5 million poor children this year. By next year, we expect 23 more states to join "Medicaid."

I am requesting increased funds for the "Medicaid" program, including \$221 million for medical care for needy children—an increase of some \$100 million over last year.

We must also move in another direction. Nearly 500,000 youngsters now receive treatment under the Crippled Children's Program. But more than twice that number need help.

The problem is to discover, as early as possible, the ills that handicap our children. There must be a continuing follow-up and treatment so that handicaps do not go neglected.

We must enlarge our efforts to give proper

eye care to a needy child. We must provide help to straighten a poor youngster's crippled limb before he becomes permanently disabled. We must stop tuberculosis in its first stages, before it causes serious harm.

I recommend legislation to expand the timely examination and treatment of an additional 500,000 poor children in Fiscal 1968.

In 1965 I proposed and the Congress enacted a special program to provide comprehensive health care for the poor child. Today, through the work of the Children's Bureau and local public health agencies, thousands of preschool and school children in more than 20 communities across America are being examined and treated. The early success of this program justifies its further expansion.

I am requesting the full authorization of \$40 million for the comprehensive health service program for preschool and school children.

There are only 12,000 trained pediatricians and 13,000 obstetricians in the United States today—far too few to provide adequate medical care for all our children and mothers.

Our health goals for children cannot be met unless we develop new patterns of health care. This will require the great energy and skill of the American medical profession. New types of health workers must be trained to help our doctors do more. We must use more effectively the health manpower we have. Above all, the health profession should be encouraged to invent and innovate to give every child the medical care he needs.

I recommend legislation to authorize 10 pilot centers this year to provide research and development in child health care, to train health workers, to test new methods and to provide care for 180,000 needy children and 10,000 mothers.

These new centers will be associated, wherever possible, with medical universities or neighborhood health centers. They will:

- Train new types of health workers to assist the pediatrician and obstetrician.
- Design and develop more efficient methods and techniques of health care delivery.
- Provide needed maternal and child health care.

In addition, I am directing the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to allocate increased funds to help train more pediatricians, obstetricians and family doctors.

MENTAL RETARDATION

Each year more than 125,000 infants are born mentally retarded.

This dread disability strikes rich families and poor. The tragedy of mental retardation affects the child, the parents and the entire community.

In 1958, the late Congressman from Rhode Island, John E. Fogarty, introduced legislation which launched our attack on mental retardation.

For the past 3 years we have intensified that attack on all fronts—in prevention, treatment, rehabilitation, employment, recreation services.

But today, America still lacks trained workers and community facilities to carry on the fight.

I recommend legislation to:

- Provide, for the first time, Federal support to assist the staffing of community mental retardation centers.
- Extend Federal support for the construction of university and community centers for the mentally retarded.

DENTAL NEEDS

Nearly two out of three disadvantaged children between the ages of 5 and 14 have never visited a dentist. They have five times more decayed teeth than their more fortunate classmates.

To begin meeting the dental needs of poor children, I recommend legislation to:

- Authorize a pilot program of dental care for 100,000 children in areas of acute poverty.
- Provide training for dental assistants to help bring care to schools and other community agencies.
- Explore better methods of furnishing care.

THE JUVENILE DELINQUENCY PREVENTION ACT OF 1967

Youth can mean high spirits, great ambitions, wide intellectual interests, constructive group activities and the exciting tests of physical and mental power.

But too often it means failure in school, drop-outs, the emptiness of unplanned days, joblessness, flights from a broken home, and trouble with the police.

The rapid urbanization of our nation and the sharply growing numbers of young people can mean new vigor and opportunity for our society—or new crime problems and more wasted lives.

This Nation has already committed itself to enrich the lives of our young people and to free the disadvantaged from the waste and boredom that would otherwise characterize their lives:

- The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 and the Higher Education Act of 1965 are greatly expanding educational opportunities.

- The Upward Bound Program is preparing disadvantaged boys and girls for entry into college.
- Work-study programs, grants, loans and scholarships are helping to provide an education for young people unable to afford it.
- The Manpower Training and Development Act, the Job Corps and the Neighborhood Youth Corps are providing needed job skills.

Despite these achievements, much remains to be done to fulfill our commitment to young Americans. In later Messages, I will propose additional measures that will assist young Americans—in education, in health, and in special employment programs.

But today, I propose to deal with the young American who is delinquent or potentially delinquent. Too many schools and agencies close their doors and minds to a young person with serious behavioral problems, and then pass him on to sterner but frequently less effective authorities. Most youth who commit delinquent acts ultimately grow into responsible adults. But if a youth behaves badly enough or is unlucky enough to enter the courts and correctional institutions, he is more likely to continue in criminal activity as an adult.

The past five years of experience under the Juvenile Delinquency Act and the report of the National Crime Commission have shown the need for new approaches for dealing with delinquent and potentially delinquent youth:

- Special community-based diagnostic and treatment services for youth in trouble.
- The strengthening of ties between the community and the correction and probation system.
- The construction of modern correctional facilities employing the most ad-

vanced methods of rehabilitation.

We must pursue a course designed not merely to reduce the number of delinquents. We must increase the chances for such young people to lead productive lives.

For the delinquent and potentially delinquent youth, we must offer a New Start. We must insure that the special resources and skills essential for their treatment and rehabilitation are available. Because many of these young men and women live in broken families, burdened with financial and psychological problems, a successful rehabilitation program must include family counseling, vocational guidance, education and health services. It must strengthen the family and the schools. It must offer courts an alternative to placing young delinquents in penal institutions.

I recommend the Juvenile Delinquency Prevention Act of 1967.

This Act would be administered by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. It would provide:

- 90% Federal matching grants to assist states and local communities to develop plans to improve their juvenile courts and correction systems.
- 50% Federal matching grants for the construction of short-term detention and treatment facilities for youthful offenders in or near their communities.
- Flexible Federal matching grants to assist local communities to operate special diagnostic and treatment programs for juvenile delinquents and potential delinquents.
- Federal support for research and experimental projects in juvenile delinquency.

The problems of troubled youth do not yield to easy solution. They must be pursued on a broad front. Thus, states and communities must be encouraged to develop compre-

hensive strategies for coping with these problems.

The facilities they build should be modern and innovative, like the "half-way" houses already proven successful in practice. These facilities should provide a wide range of community-based treatment and rehabilitation services for youthful offenders.

New methods of rehabilitation—establishing new ties between the correctional institution, the job market, and the supporting services a delinquent youth needs when he returns to the community—should be tested.

Local agencies, public and private, should be assisted in providing special diagnostic and treatment services for youth with serious behavioral problems. Other Federal programs for medical care, education, and manpower training should be supplemented to provide the intensive services needed to assist delinquent and potentially delinquent youth to become productive citizens. These efforts must first be concentrated in poor neighborhoods where the risk of delinquency is highest.

These steps must be taken now. But at the same time we must continue and expand our research effort. We must learn why so many young people get into trouble and how best to help them avoid it. To do this, we will look to universities and individuals, state and local agencies, and other institutions capable of adding to our knowledge and improving our methods and practices in this vital area.

SUMMER PROGRAMS FOR YOUNG AMERICANS

Last year, summer took on a new and brighter meaning for millions of needy young citizens:

- Head Start served 570,000 preschoolers.
- The Elementary and Secondary Education Act provided funds to bring reme-

dial courses and day camps to two and a half million children.

- Upward Bound enabled 25,000 high school students to live on college campuses and gain new learning experiences.
- The Youth Opportunity Campaign found more than a million jobs for 16-to-21-year olds.
- The Neighborhood Youth Corps offered summer work to 210,000 young people.
- Community Action and other OEO programs, such as Operation Champ, offered recreation to nearly one million children.

This summer we can do more.

We can enable additional schools and playgrounds to remain open when vacation comes.

We can, with the help of public-spirited local organizations, bring fresh air and cool streams to the slum child who has known only a sweltering tenement and who must sleep on a crowded fire escape to get relief from the heat.

We can enlist the volunteer help of many citizens who want to give needy children a happy summer.

To further these purposes, I will:

- Establish a Cabinet-level Council headed by the Vice President to promote Summer Youth Opportunities.*
- Direct this Council to make public facilities available to provide camping opportunities for additional needy children this summer.*
- Request the Council to call on public and private groups to sponsor and operate these camps and to enlist college students and others to work in them.*
- Request the Council to call a national "Share Your Summer" conference to encourage more fortunate families to*

open their vacation homes to disadvantaged children for part of the summer.

In addition, I recommend legislation to provide funds for the construction of summer camp facilities for at least 100,000 children in 1968. These camps would be built only where there is an agreement with a private institution or local government agency to operate and finance them.

I am directing every federal agency to strengthen its programs which provide summer employment, education, recreation and health services. These summer programs must become a permanent feature in the year-round effort to develop our children and teenagers for responsible citizenship.

I call upon every city and local community to help make summers happy and productive for the youth of America. It should not take an Act of Congress to turn on a fire hydrant sprinkler, to keep a swimming pool open a little longer, or provide lights and supervision for a summer playground.

A NEW PRIORITY

No ventures hold more promise than these: curing a sick child, helping a poor child through Head Start, giving a slum child a summer of sunlight and pleasure,

encouraging a teenager to seek higher learning.

I believe that the Congress recognizes the urgency—and the great potential—of programs which open new opportunity to our children and young people.

But beyond these beginnings, there is much to do.

We look toward the day when every child, no matter what his color or his family's means, gets the medical care he needs, starts school on an equal footing with his classmates, seeks as much education as he can absorb—in short, goes as far as his talents will take him.

We make this commitment to our youth not merely at the bidding of our conscience. It is practical wisdom. It is good economics. But, most important, as Franklin D. Roosevelt said thirty years ago, because "the destiny of American youth is the destiny of America."

We can shape that destiny if we act now and if we bring to this task the energy and the vision it demands.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

The White House

February 8, 1967

NOTE: For statements or remarks upon signing related legislation, see Items 292, 378, 517.

40 Statement by the President on the Message on America's Children and Youth. *February 8, 1967*

TODAY I asked the Congress to enact a new charter for the young people of America. Although the progress in this area has been great, too many boys and girls still remain untouched by our great and prosperous society.

There is much that we can and that we should be doing about this.

We should strengthen Head Start and extend its reach by Follow Through in the early school years.

We should begin a lunch program for undernourished preschool children.

We should improve health services for children and for expectant mothers.

We should increase our social security

payments for more than 3 million dependent children.

We should launch a new attack on juvenile delinquency.

We should provide healthy summer recreation.

And we should make this commitment

to our youth because it is right, and because it is wise, and because, as our great President Franklin D. Roosevelt once said, "the destiny of American youth is the destiny of America."

NOTE: The President recorded the statement for radio and television broadcast. It was not made public in the form of a White House press release.

41 Remarks to a Group of Boy Scouts Following Their Presentation of the Scouts' Annual "Report to the Nation." *February 8, 1967*

I WANT to thank you for coming. This has been a very interesting part of the day for me.

I worked late last night on a message to Congress on young people. It is a message that will offer great hope. When those hopes and dreams are carried out, it will bring great satisfaction to the young people of this country.

Every day I try to stay young by visiting with the young. I am frequently interested in the subjects that challenge your membership.

I was reading the other night a published report from some of the organizations in government which make an annual report. They had just taken a poll of high school graduates. The poll indicated that the first preference of high school graduates, as far as vocations would be concerned, is for government service.

That made me very proud that our young people are that interested in their country and those who lead and direct it.

I spoke to a friend of mine who is a writer of great experience in the government. He had been out lecturing throughout the country, talking to the young people. He told me of a college he had recently visited where a high percentage of those polled in-

dicated that their first choice was public service.

We didn't do much about preparing the way for our free enterprise system. That was handed down to us by our forefathers. We have a great responsibility in this twentieth century to preserve and protect it. It is going to take the very best minds and the very best bodies among us.

I know of no greater organization that contributes more to developing the mind and the body in the way that it should be developed than the Boy Scouts of America.

I have enjoyed visiting with you in your annual meetings and I hope that I may have that chance again. I hope you understand that we are proud of you here at the White House. We are glad that you could come and see us. We wish you every success in your work.

We hope that all the other young people in America, as they come along, will want to emulate you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:32 p.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House to a group of 13 Scouts and Explorers who had been chosen to present him the traditional "Report to the Nation" on Scouting activities during the past year. The report was presented by Eric C. Shafer of Wyomissing, Pa.

As printed above, this item follows the text released by the White House Press Office.

42 The President's Reply to a Message From Pope Paul VI on Vietnam.
February 8, 1967

Your Holiness:

I deeply appreciate your message, which is a great source of spiritual support. I devoutly share your wish that the suspension of hostilities over the Lunar New Year may be extended and may open the way to negotiations for a just and stable peace.

The Governments of the United States and the Republic of Vietnam, together with others, are devoting intensive efforts to this end. As you know, the Government of Vietnam has twice signified its readiness to discuss an extension of the truce with representatives of the other side.

We are prepared to talk at any time and place, in any forum, with the object of bringing peace to Vietnam; however I know you would not expect us to reduce military action unless the other side is willing to do likewise.

We are prepared to discuss the balanced reduction in military activity, the cessation of hostilities, or any practical arrangements which could lead to these results.

We shall continue our efforts for a peaceful and honorable settlement until they are crowned with success.

With great respect,
Sincerely,

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

NOTE: The President wrote in response to Pope Paul's message of February 7, the text of which follows:

"Our heartfelt appeals for the return of peace in Southeast Asia have always found a favourable reaction on your part, Mr. President, and that of your countrymen and this fact strengthens our hope in this hour of anxious waiting. We sincerely wish that the celebrations of the New Lunar Year so dear to the Vietnamese people with the suspension of the hostilities by all the parties engaged in the conflict, may open finally the way to the negotiations for a just and stable peace putting an end to the great sacrifices brought on by a war protracted now for years. We know quite well the obstacles to achieving such a goal but we have no doubt in your dedication, Mr. President, to a constant search for a way to peace. Therefore, we ask you to increase even more your noble effort in these days of truce for this great cause and we pray Almighty God to crown your endeavors for peace with every success. We assure you, Mr. President, of our sentiments of highest consideration."

43 Remarks of Welcome at the White House to King Hassan II of Morocco. *February 9, 1967*

Your Majesty, Your Royal Highness, distinguished friends:

Your Majesty, I am very happy—on behalf of the people of the United States—to welcome you once more to these shores. This is not your first visit, but this is the first time that I have had the pleasure as President to welcome you. I am very honored.

It has always seemed to me that our two countries have much in common. Our history and our cultures are very different. Yet in all matters that are vital to human dignity

and to happiness, we speak with one voice.

Both nations are dedicated to the ideals of freedom—freedom for ourselves and freedom for all others. Both nations are devoted to orderly progress and to equal justice for all people.

Your nation was one of the very first to give formal recognition to our young country when our success was still in doubt, and there were many who hoped to see us fail.

In modern times the American people have followed with great interest Your

Majesty's own effort on behalf of the people of Morocco. We have watched intently your nation's struggle for progress in the decade since regaining your independence.

So we meet here today in the White House as friends. I hope that in all of our talks we will reaffirm our common desire to improve the lot of all men. Certainly I am pleased at the opportunity to discuss with you the great issues of our day.

The greatest of all such issues is the question of peace and of reconciliation among nations and peoples.

Not peace at any price; not peace where one nation dominates another; but peace where all nations accept the rule that their differences shall be settled by discussion and compromise, and not by force of arms.

And a peace where they turn from hostility to working together—working together on behalf of their own peoples and the other people of the world.

You in north Africa have a chance in the days and the years ahead to turn this corner. I understand that, despite other problems you may have, your economic ministers are meeting regularly to explore what you can do together to develop your nations. I know the path of regional cooperation is never an easy one; but I have seen with my own eyes in Asia how old quarrels and suspicions can subside and can give way to joint ventures—joint ventures to teach the young, to improve the people's health, to raise the standards of living for all. I know the same healing process is underway in this hemisphere.

In many parts of the world it is being demonstrated that it is by this route that nations—loyal to their culture and tradition—loyal to their own ambitions—yet can find a place of dignity and strength in the modern world.

We look forward with great pleasure to knowing Your Majesty better. May your

visit be the symbol of our people's determination to walk together, to pursue together an entire world of peace and abundance.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:39 p.m. in the East Room at the White House. A formal welcome with full military honors had been scheduled to be held on the South Lawn for the King, who was accompanied by his brother Prince Moulay Abdallah and his sister Princess Lalla Aicha. Because of inclement weather the President greeted his guests on the North Portico and the party proceeded to the East Room for the welcoming ceremony. King Hassan responded as follows:

Mr. President, I thank you most cordially for the words of welcome you have just spoken on the occasion of my arrival in Washington.

The very mention of the word "Washington" brings back to my mind the image of the great hero who liberated his country and made possible the emergence of his people's genius, that genius which has greatly influenced human civilization.

My family takes pride in the fact that George Washington and my ancestor, Sultan Sidi Mohammed Ben Abdallah, were close friends. We take pride, also, in the fact that they both, together, laid the cornerstone of the friendship between our two peoples—that friendship which has become strong and which, as the years go by, only grows in strength and becomes increasingly characterized by truthfulness, sincere cooperation, and mutual respect.

Despite my tender age at that time, I continue to retain in my mind the most glorious recollections of my late father's meeting with President Franklin Roosevelt at Casablanca in 1943.

I also remember their discussion of the various problems of that critical hour in the history of the human race. The most outstanding of the problems they discussed were those of peoples eager to achieve their independence and eager to shake off the yoke of slavery and exploitation under which they had long suffered.

Ever since that day, when I was still of tender age, I have been sure that the United States cherishes lofty ideals and upholds the highest principles and is motivated by a true and sincere desire to see nations become free and equal and willing to cooperate in all endeavors serving their mutual benefit.

Fortunately, many of the ideas and ideals which my father and the President of the United States discussed at that time were achieved at the end of the war, or shortly thereafter. It is also fortunate that my father was able to visit the United States as King of the fully sovereign state and that I have since visited the United States once, and here I am again at this time in order to continue discussions

and consultations within the framework of our strong friendship on matters that concern both our countries in particular, and matters that concern the international community in general.

You have mentioned, Mr. President, that you have not as yet become personally acquainted with my country, although you have undoubtedly heard much about it. There is a proverb that says, "He who has seen is not the same as the one who has only heard."

We hope, therefore, that you may soon find it possible to visit Morocco and to become personally acquainted with its people.

Mr. President, speaking for myself and on behalf of my people and government, I wish to express, again, our gratitude for your welcome to us and for the kind reception you accorded us. We also wish to address to the people of the United States—through you, Mr. President—our warmest greetings, together with our affection and respect.

44 Special Message to the Congress on Foreign Aid. *February 9, 1967*

To the Congress of the United States:

Twenty years ago, President Truman set forth the basic proposition underlying the foreign aid program when he told the Congress:

"I believe that we must assist free peoples to work out their own destinies in their own way. I believe that our help should be primarily through economic and financial aid which is essential to economic stability and orderly political processes."

This judgment was shared by Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy and by every Congress since the 79th in 1946. It is my judgment today. I believe it is the judgment of most Americans.

Our commitment to assist the economic growth and security of developing nations is grounded in the hard realities of the post-war world. We know that want is the enemy of peace and hopelessness the mother of violence.

We know that:

- in the long run, the wealthy nations cannot survive as islands of abundance in a world of hunger, sickness and despair.
- the threat to our security posed by internal subversion and insurgency cannot be countered by withdrawal, isolation or indifference.

—men—acting together—have the power to shape their destiny. Around the world, from Mexico to Greece to Taiwan, we have seen the energy and determination of the emerging peoples transform our aid into the seeds of prosperity.

—abroad, as at home, the true national interest of the American people goes hand in hand with their sense of freedom, justice and compassion.

Precisely because foreign assistance programs are so vital to our national interest, they must reflect the circumstances of the late sixties, not those of the past. They must respond to the ideas which move men in the emerging nations today. They must draw upon the lessons of experience. They must take account of the growing wealth of other advanced countries.

The proposals in this message reflect the experience of our aid activities over two decades. They emphasize the six guiding principles on which our programs must be based:

1. *Self-help*—nations develop primarily through their own efforts. Our programs can only be supplements, not substitutes. This is the overriding principle.

2. *Multilateralism*—every advanced nation has a duty to contribute its share of the cost.

3. *Regionalism*—the future of many countries depends upon sound development of resources shared with their neighbors.

4. *Agriculture, health and education*—these key sectors are the critical elements of advancement everywhere in the underdeveloped world.

5. *Balance of payments*—we cannot help others grow unless the American dollar is strong and stable.

6. *Efficient administration*—every American citizen is entitled to know that his tax dollar is spent wisely.

NEW DIRECTIONS

To carry out these principles, I propose:

- A new Foreign Assistance Act*, stating in clear language our objectives, our standards, and our program techniques.
- A statutory National Advisory Committee on Self-Help*, to advise the Congress, the President, the Secretary of State, and the AID Administrator on how effectively recipient nations are mobilizing their own resources under the self-help criteria of the Act.
- A statutory objective that at least 85% of our development loan funds be spent in a regional or multilateral framework.*
- More than \$1 billion in programs to improve agriculture, education and health*, a 25 percent increase over last year.
- A shift in emphasis in our aid policy in Africa*, to concentrate our help increasingly on regional and multi-national projects.
- Sympathetic consideration of a U.S. contribution to a new special fund of the African Development Bank.*
- A \$200 million U.S. contribution to new special funds of the Asian Development Bank*, in accord with the recommendations of the Black mission, headed by

Mr. Eugene Black, my Special Representative on Asian Development.

—*A reorganization of the Agency for International Development*, to better carry on the War on Hunger and to promote private investment and the growth of private enterprise in the less-developed world.

My proposals for programs authorized by the Foreign Assistance Act in fiscal 1968 will require total appropriations of slightly over \$3.1 billion. Of this, some \$2.5 billion will be devoted to economic aid. Almost \$600 million will be for military assistance. Funds for the regional development banks would be authorized by separate legislation.

THE FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1967

Foreign aid now rests on a legislative foundation enacted in 1961. This pathfinding statute has served the nation well. But the experience we have gathered over the past several years should now be codified in a new law.

I propose the Foreign Assistance Act of 1967.

This Act will contain a clear statement of the philosophy which underlies our programs and the criteria to be used in this Administration. To provide the continuity needed for sound management, it will contain authorizations covering two years. Most important, it will provide a framework for each of the basic thrusts of our aid policy.

1. *Self-Help*

Self-help is the lifeblood of economic development. No sustained progress is possible without it. Aid provided as a substitute is aid wasted.

Waste is a luxury none of us can afford. The only obligation tied to our aid is the recipient's obligation to itself—to mobilize

its own resources as efficiently as possible. I will not ask any American citizen to contribute his tax dollars to support any country which does not meet this test.

Accordingly, *the Act will make it clear that the development job is primarily the responsibility of the developing countries themselves.* In no case will the United States undertake to do for any country what it should do for itself. Nor will we assist in any venture which we believe has received less than full support from the recipient country. The United States will insist on the general economic policies necessary to make our aid effective.

We are now applying strict and effective self-help standards. The results are evident in the fact that, on the average, each citizen in the major aid-receiving countries is saving one of every eight dollars he earns. These savings become investments. For every dollar the United States and other donors provide, these local sources invest ten dollars.

Still, there is an urgent need for a permanent, nonpartisan, public body to evaluate self-help performance.

Thus, *the Act I propose will authorize the President to establish a National Advisory Committee on Self-Help.* This Committee will consist of members from both parties, from the business community, from labor, from universities and from other walks of life. It will review and evaluate our aid programs in as many countries as it sees fit. It will examine our program to see whether the recipients are extending their best efforts and whether we are making the best possible use of our aid. Its findings will be available to the Congress.

2. Multilateralism and Burden-Sharing

Development is a world problem. No single country has all of the resources required. Equity demands that no single coun-

try be asked to carry the bulk of the load.

I propose that the Act set as an objective that 85% of our development loans be undertaken in a regional or multilateral framework.

This action fits the trend of recent years, as advanced nations have increasingly accepted the responsibilities associated with their growing wealth. The combined value of our economic and food aid is less than seven-tenths of one percent of our national income, only slightly more than the average for all advanced countries. We devote smaller shares to foreign assistance than such countries as France and Belgium.

But these figures do not tell the whole story. Our defense expenditures far exceed those of all other free nations combined and serve their common interest. This burden too must be counted in the balance.

Thus, we must redouble our efforts to get other donors to enlarge their commitments.

3. Regionalism

Resources know no national boundaries. Rivers flow through many countries, transportation and communication networks serve different peoples, sources of electric power must be shared by neighbors. Economic advance in every part of the world has required joint enterprises to develop shared sources of wealth.

These facts underlie the growing movement toward regional cooperation:

- The Alliance for Progress has transformed the inter-American system of institutions into a reliable and dynamic engine of change.
- Asian initiatives have created the framework for cooperation of all kinds. Such institutions as the Asian and Pacific Council and the Asian Development Bank are clear evidence of the new will to press forward.

I propose that the Act state that the United States will encourage regional economic development to the maximum extent consistent with the economic and political realities in each region.

I propose three steps to carry out this policy:

- First, in most African countries, we will gradually shift to cooperative projects which involve more than one donor or more than one recipient.
- Second, we will seek an appropriate means of responding to the recent request of the African Development Bank for U.S. participation in a special fund to finance worthy projects which are beyond the means of the Bank's ordinary capital.
- Third, we will respond favorably to the request for special funds for the Asian Development Bank. Preliminary explorations suggest a U.S. share of \$200 million, to be contributed over a number of years with matching arrangements and balance of payments safeguards.

These proposals spring from a philosophy of pragmatic regionalism. They reflect the facts of economic life.

Political unity is neither required nor expected. But the resources available for development are too scarce to scatter among many countries when greater promise lies in joint action. We must take full advantage of the benefits of cooperation.

4. *Agriculture, Health and Education*

The fundamentals of a decent life are sufficient food, freedom from disease, and an opportunity to absorb as much knowledge as individual capacities permit.

These are the first goals of all societies. They must be the first objects of our aid.

I propose that the Act establish agricul-

ture, health and education as our primary concerns and that investment in these areas be substantially expanded.

I propose that our investment in:

- agriculture rise from \$504 million last year to \$668 million in 1968.
- education rise from \$166 million to \$228 million.
- health rise from \$192 million to \$202 million.

In particular, we will wage War on Hunger. Together, the world must find ways to bring food production and population growth into balance. My proposals make clear our determination to help expand food supplies. We must be equally ready to assist countries which decide to undertake voluntarily population programs.

5. *Balance of Payments*

Our foreign assistance programs rest on the basic strength of the dollar and our balance of payments. This Administration will continue to see that our aid programs have the least possible adverse effect on our balance of payments.

Almost 90 percent of our economic assistance and over 95 percent of our military assistance is now spent in the United States. These programs serve to expand U.S. trade abroad. They help develop new trading patterns.

6. *Efficient Administration*

The Agency for International Development is a sound, well-run instrument of public policy. But, like all arms of government, AID can be improved. It can add further to its economy record—a record which includes \$33 million in cost reduction last year alone, and a 20 percent cut in personnel—apart from Southeast Asia—since 1963.

I am establishing two new offices in AID:

- An Office of the War on Hunger to con-

solidate all AID activities relating to hunger, population problems and nutrition.

—An Office of Private Resources to concentrate on marshalling private investment and the expansion of private sectors in the less-developed world—the best long-term route to rapid growth.

Both of these steps are consolidations—they will require no new appropriations or personnel. They will focus the attention and energy of the Agency directly upon two priority areas. They are significant steps forward.

ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE

LATIN AMERICA

For Latin America, I recommend an economic aid program of \$624 million.

This amount is clearly justified by our own interests and the recent performance of our Latin American partners. The program I propose is lean and concentrated. Nearly 70 percent of it will be committed in four countries—Brazil, Colombia, Peru and Chile. In each case, we will make certain that the amount actually spent is in accord with clear needs and meets the strict self-help criteria of the Act.

The outlook for a solid return from these expenditures is promising:

—*Brazil* shows greater economic dynamism than at any time in her recent history. She has forced inflation down from the 1964 high of 140 percent to 40 percent—still far too high, but an enormous improvement. Her balance of payments situation is well under control. Agricultural production has been increased. Per capita income is up. In general, the economic situation is more hopeful than

the most favorable predictions of three years ago.

—*Peru* continues its steady economic climb. Per capita income last year was \$378, compared to \$325 five years before. The critical job now is to bring more people into the economic mainstream, while further stimulating the developed coastal areas. U.S. contributions will be heavy in the areas of agriculture and education.

—In *Chile*, the favorable copper market will make possible a reduction in our aid. We will concentrate our help in the crucial rural area to increase agricultural production and exports.

—In *Colombia*, economic trends are also encouraging. Our contributions will be made through a group of donors led by the World Bank. We will concentrate on agriculture and education.

—Our program for *Central America*—*Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala, Costa Rica, and Honduras*—is tailored to support the Central American Common Market. This Market is one of the most promising innovations in the developing world. The spirit it reflects has already increased trade within the Central America region by 400 percent over the past five years. We will make modest contributions to the Central American Integration Fund to continue and accelerate this pace.

—The balance of my request is largely for the *Dominican Republic* and *Panama*. It is essential that we maintain strong programs in these countries, although they will cost slightly less than in the past.

The vision and hard work of 450 million people in this hemisphere have made the Alliance for Progress into one of the great

tools for human betterment. Its success is by no means assured. There will be disappointments as well as achievements along the way. But it is a vehicle for the hopes and energies of a continent. The program I propose will carry it forward.

Meetings among the governments of the Western Hemisphere during the year may produce further proposals, such as replenishment of the resources of the Inter-American Development Bank. Where these proposals merit our consideration and support and require action by the Congress, I will submit my recommendations to you at the appropriate time.

NEAR EAST-SOUTH ASIA

For the Near East-South Asia, I recommend a program of \$758 million.

This region provides the harshest test of free institutions:

- Nowhere else in the free world are there so many people: as many as the combined populations of North and South America and Western Europe.
- Nowhere else do so many people live in such dire poverty: per capita income for nine out of every ten persons is under \$100 per year.
- Nowhere else are divisive forces so poised to take advantage of any misstep.

Several advanced nations have banded together, under the leadership of the World Bank, to form an Aid Consortia for India and Pakistan. A similar group has been formed for Turkey, chaired by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. These groups determine the share each member will contribute and provide a forum for continuing discussions with recipient countries. They have served the interests of all parties.

In my Message on Food for India, I proposed that food and related aid be added to the agenda of the consortium for India as an additional area of assistance in which all donors should join. We will exert the full extent of our influence to insure that this consortium becomes the primary vehicle for all aspects of development aid to India—from grants of funds to evaluation of performance.

Despite the shadow of famine and the ever-present danger of renewed frictions, the situation in the three countries—India, Pakistan and Turkey—which will receive 91 percent of our aid to the Near East-South Asia gives reason for hope:

—*India* is trying to regain the lead in the race between her expanding population and her food supply. She plans to double her outlays for agriculture in the next five years and to quadruple her voluntary population program. India has increased fertilizer purchases by 85 percent and has started crash programs in farmland development. She has begun campaigns to increase supplies of better seeds and pesticides. But Indian performance is not confined to agriculture. In early 1966 she liberalized her system of import controls and devalued her currency. All advanced nations must come to her aid if these hard-won opportunities are to be realized.

—*Pakistan* has an outstanding economic record. Her future is brighter still. From 1960 to 1965, her Gross National Product grew at an average annual rate of 5.8 percent compared to 2.5 percent previously; agricultural production grew at an average annual rate of 3.5 percent compared to 1.6 percent previously; local private investment grew by 54 percent; and total private investment

was 63 percent over planned targets.
 —*Turkey* also has a remarkable record. We and other Western nations are determined to help Turkey meet its goal of self-sustaining economic growth by 1973. She is already well on her way. In 1966, her Gross National Product grew by 8.3 percent, industry by 9.5 percent, agricultural production by 11 percent, and the use of fertilizer by 40 percent. The percentage of children of school age enrolled in primary schools increased to almost 80 percent.

If it cannot be demonstrated that hard work, coupled with relatively modest amounts of our aid, will produce better lives for the countless millions of this region, our cause will surely fail. The programs I propose will enable us to continue meeting this challenge.

AFRICA

For Africa, I recommend a program of \$195 million.

Africa is undergoing the historic growing pains of attaining stable independence. Thirty-five of her thirty-nine nations have gained their freedom since World War II, many in the past five years. The inevitable strains are evident in the headlines of the world's newspapers.

The most hopeful sign of growing African maturity is the increased support for cooperative economic enterprises. With 14 countries of less than 5 million people each, this attitude is essential for progress.

Our AID policy toward Africa will:

- encourage the African activities of the World Bank and its affiliates.
- direct a greater part of our resources into projects and programs which involve more than one African country.

—seek new breakthroughs in private investment in Africa, particularly the current efforts by private American banks and other financial institutions.

EAST ASIA

For East Asia, I recommend a program of \$812 million.

Nearly 85 percent of our assistance to this region is directly or indirectly related to our effort to block Communist aggression.

My recent visit to Asia confirmed my deep conviction that foreign assistance funds for Vietnam and surrounding countries are just as important as military appropriations. They are vital to a successful war effort. They permit us to build for the future.

Most of these funds—about \$650 million—will be used in Vietnam, Laos, and Thailand. The \$550 million planned for Vietnam is indispensable to military success, economic stability and continued political progress. It will stimulate and support measures to bind the people and government of South Vietnam together in a common cause. It will help to begin the task of reconstruction and development. It will relieve war-time suffering for millions of Vietnamese.

In Laos and Thailand, these funds will finance economic development and security which will assure that armed conflict will not engulf all of Southeast Asia.

Our assistance to Thailand will be channelled through a new consultative group of thirteen donors, chaired by the World Bank. In Laos, five other countries will join the U.S. with significant contributions.

Elsewhere in free Asia, the tide of history clearly favors progress:

- In Korea*, the economy is now growing at the rapid annual rate of 8 percent. Industrial production is rising at a 14

percent rate annually, agricultural production at a 6 percent rate. In the few short years since the Korean War, the Republic of South Korea has become strong enough not only to maintain its internal advance, but to help in the defense of freedom in Vietnam.

—*In Indonesia*, the new government has committed itself to a program of economic rehabilitation and recovery. We are joining with other European and Asian nations to provide urgently needed help to the stricken Indonesian economy. We are also participating in arrangements with other nations to reschedule Indonesian debts.

The road ahead in East Asia is long and dangerous. But these accomplishments are hopeful signs. We will encourage the vital and progressive spirit that has stimulated them.

MILITARY ASSISTANCE

For military assistance, I recommend appropriations of \$596 million.

This is the smallest request since the program began in 1950. In part, this fact reflects transfer of appropriations for military assistance for Laos, Thailand, NATO Infrastructure and international military headquarters to the budget of the Department of Defense.

But this request also represents a substantial reduction. Military assistance outside Southeast Asia is now only 45 percent of what it was in 1960.

For the Near East-South Asia, I recommend \$234 million, down 50 percent from 1963. Virtually all this will be used in Greece, Turkey and Iran, three countries which have shared the burden of mutual security for twenty years.

For East Asia, I recommend \$282 million,

almost entirely for Korea and Taiwan. We will use these funds to strengthen these outposts against further Communist expansion in Asia.

For Latin America, I recommend \$45.5 million, largely for internal security and training.

For Africa, I recommend \$31 million, heavily concentrated in countries where we have major interests and where there are problems of internal security.

It is not the policy of the United States to provide sophisticated arms to countries which could better use their resources for more productive purposes.

It is the policy of the United States to help:

—where we are asked.

—where the threat of invasion or subversion is real.

—where the proposal is militarily and economically sound.

—where it is consistent with our interests and our limited means.

This will continue to be our policy.

THE CHALLENGE AHEAD

The programs I propose represent the minimum contribution to mutual security and international development which we can safely make.

There are some who say that even this request should be foregone in view of needs at home and the costs of the struggle in Vietnam.

Nothing could be more short-sighted and self-defeating. This country—the wealthiest in human history—can well afford to devote less than seven-tenths of one percent of its national income to reduce the chances of future Vietnams.

Some would have us renege on our commitments to the developing countries on the

ground that "charity begins at home."

To them, let me emphasize that I have recommended no charity, nor have I suggested that we stray from home. The inescapable lesson of our century, inscribed in blood on a hundred beaches from Normandy to Vietnam, is that our home is this planet and our neighbors three billion strong.

Still others have grown weary of the long, hard struggle to bring the majority of the world's population out of the shadows of poverty and ignorance.

To them, let me say that we are dealing in decades with the residue of centuries. There is no shortcut. There is no easy way around. The only effective tools are ingenuity, capital and, above all, the will to succeed.

All of us sometimes find ourselves sympathizing with these complaints. All of us are subject to the frustrations, disappointments and shattered hopes which accompany a supporting role in a task which must fundamentally be performed by others. But, in

the cold light of reason, our responsibility to ourselves and our children reasserts itself and we return to the task with renewed vigor.

I am confident that the American people have not lost the will and the dedication which have made them the most powerful and responsible nation on earth.

I am confident that they will go forward into the new era of world progress for which their past efforts have prepared the way.

I am confident that their vision will transcend the narrow horizons of those who yearn for a simpler age.

The proposals I offer today are the practical requirements of that vision. To do less would endanger all we have accomplished in the past two decades.

I know that this test shall not find us wanting.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

The White House

February 9, 1967

NOTE: The Foreign Assistance Act of 1967 was approved by the President on November 14, 1967 (see Item 489).

45 Statement by the President on the Foreign Aid Message. *February 9, 1967*

I HAVE today asked the Congress to help chart a new course for American foreign aid. We know that aid is indispensable to our quest for world order. We know that poverty is the enemy of peace and hopelessness is the mother of violence. But the world is changed since our aid began, some 20 years ago. And our thinking should change with it.

Our primary objective must be to help those nations which are willing to help themselves.

I will not ask a single American citizen to contribute his tax dollars to support any country which does not meet this test, because no sustained progress is possible without the spirit of self-help.

Aid provided as a substitute is aid that is wasted. And waste is a luxury that none of us can afford.

NOTE: The President recorded the statement for radio and television broadcast. It was not made public in the form of a White House press release.

46 Toasts of the President and King Hassan II of Morocco.

February 9, 1967

Your Majesty, Your Royal Highness, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

Morocco is among America's oldest friends, one of the very first to recognize us as a free nation.

His Majesty and I are continuing a very old tradition.

The messages of our first President and His Majesty's illustrious ancestor, handwritten messages, carried between our two countries by a sailing ship, are very treasured in our National Archives.

Thus, we are ancient friends.

We are also modern partners—ready to stand together before the challenges that face us in modern times.

There is the widening gap between population and food supply.

The United States has proposed that all nations unite in a worldwide war on hunger.

From our talks today, I am more confident than ever that our friends in Morocco are committed to that struggle.

As I said this morning in receiving His Majesty, our ultimate task is to create among the nations of the world a community of peace.

I often read and reread Article I of the United Nations Charter. I believe all of us—and especially those of you who are too young to know how the world felt in 1945—should come to know it line by line.

Its principles govern the actions of American foreign policy from day to day:

- collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace;
- collective measures for the suppression of acts of aggression;

—adjustment or settlement of international disputes by peaceful means;

—the development of friendly relations among nations based upon respect for the principle of equal rights and the self-determination of peoples;

—international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character; and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.

These words were written 22 years ago. In those years Americans have taken more than 200,000 casualties in collective measures to suppress acts of aggression.

All of us, working together, at different times and in different places, have made sure that aggression did not succeed.

The chances for world security are larger, and the hope for world peace is nearer, because tonight aggression has not succeeded.

Meanwhile, in lands and nations throughout the world much has been done to lift the standards of living.

In Western Europe, Latin America, Africa, and Asia, cooperation in economic and social progress is no longer just a matter of words. It is a fact.

So I tell you tonight that despite the terrible burden of war in Southeast Asia, I am confident that we will pass along to the next generation the gifts of hope and opportunity that illuminate Article I of the United Nations Charter.

I think I speak for all my countrymen, Your Majesty, in expressing this hope and

making this prediction, and also in expressing to you our best wishes for your long life and for your good health.

It is our fervent prayer that our two countries will continue to do what is right, and continue to do what is needed to guide us to the peace and the progress which our talks reaffirmed today.

Ladies and gentlemen, His Majesty the King.

NOTE: The President proposed the toast at 10:05 p.m. at a dinner in the State Dining Room at the White House. King Hassan responded as follows:

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen:

We are extremely pleased to have visited the United States once again to meet this country's President, its leading citizens, and to become acquainted with its great people.

We are happy to meet on this occasion, in particular this select group of important men whose responsibilities cover all the various fields of politics, government, and economics.

At the present time, the time characterized by an increase in problems which are so great and serious that they seem sometimes very difficult to solve, we deem it most beneficial that chiefs of state should get together from time to time. This we deem essential because we believe that as a result of their meetings and direct discussions, bonds of cooperation among nations grow stronger on the one hand, and, on the other, the chances for peace in the world become greater.

It is this belief which has prompted us ever since our accession to the throne to visit on a number of continents the chiefs of state whose systems and customs differ from ours. We have seen that differences in systems and differences between races and cultures do not necessarily make it impossible to bring about a rapprochement of points of view, nor do they necessarily prevent the achievement of desired objectives.

It is our pleasure to be visiting again today this friendly country and to meet His Excellency, the President, Mr. Johnson, knowing that our meeting each other will definitely open up before us wider

and greater horizons for a free collaboration and cooperation in the interest of our two peoples.

We aspire to benefit from the experience of the people of the United States, which has become an example and an ideal in progress in the economic, agricultural, and industrial development fields.

We also wish to emulate the American techniques and methods which have resulted in prosperity and abundance, particularly as we have been for some years waging a relentless war on underdevelopment. We have been striving with all the power at our command to assure each of our people a life of dignity and value.

Mr. President, you are undoubtedly aware of the fact that along with the efforts we are putting forth for development in our country, we are doing our utmost to strengthen the bases of democracy in our country and to assure our people their freedoms.

In so doing, we believe that any system that does not protect the dignity of the individual, and any system that does not guarantee the freedom of the individual and the freedom of the community is a system that does not serve the interest of peace and stability in the world.

Mr. President, the deliberations we have had, and continue to have, in connection with problems affecting our two countries, and also in connection with international problems, are only an extension of the series of deliberations and consultations, both written and verbal, which our two countries have had for almost two centuries.

These deliberations are characterized by truthfulness and frankness as far as both the word and the tone are concerned. That is the case because it has always been our custom to talk in such manner.

Just as the encounters of the past have been successful, we are sure that our encounter today will be successful. That is because all of us are determined that our relations shall always move from good to better.

Mr. President, permit me, in concluding these remarks, to express my warmest and most sincere best wishes for your personal health and well-being, and for further happiness, prosperity, and progress for the people of the United States.

Ladies and gentlemen, will you join me in standing and rendering respect to His Excellency, the President of the United States, Mr. Johnson.

47 Statement by the President on Announcing an Agreement With Mexico on the Rio Grande Saline Problem. *February 10, 1967*

THE GOVERNMENTS of the United States and Mexico have approved an agreement for a solution to the Rio Grande salinity problem recommended by the International Boundary and Water Commission, United States and Mexico.

President Diaz Ordaz of Mexico joined with me in December 1965 in announcing the recommendations made by the Commission. The project consists of a canal to be constructed through the territory of Mexico to convey highly saline drainage from its Morillo Drain to existing drainage channels in that country, and thence to the Gulf of Mexico. The two countries will divide equally the costs of construction, operation, and maintenance, and supervise the project through the International Commission.

Both of our Governments moved quickly to adopt the recommendations and start construction. Within less than a year, Congress enacted and I approved authorizing legislation, funds were appropriated for this country's half of the construction costs, and I was able to inform the Mexican Government that the United States was ready to proceed.

Meanwhile, Mexico completed its arrangements. Since construction will be entirely in Mexico, that Government made the detailed designs, arranged for rights of way, and organized construction work. Mexico has begun initial construction, and plans to complete the project early in 1968.

When the new works are in operation, the harmful drainage will no longer enter the river. Those who make their homes on both sides of the river will have better water. Their crops and lands will be free from dangerous concentrations of salts.

I personally thank the many Members of the Congress who made it possible for us to move so quickly in the adoption of this solution to a difficult international problem. I congratulate the people in the Lower Rio Grande Valley of Texas who waited patiently while this solution was being developed, who responded so readily to the call for their advice and money, and who will soon enjoy the fruits of our joint labors with their neighbors to the south.

NOTE: For the President's statement of September 19, 1966, upon signing the enabling legislation and his telegram of the same day to President Diaz Ordaz, see 1966 volume, this series, Book II, Items 467, 468.

48 Statement by the President Concerning the Report "The Space Program in the Post-Apollo Period." *February 11, 1967*

IN THE brief span of less than ten years, the United States Space Program has advanced from small and hesitant beginnings into a large and vital national effort. Today, its achievements provide daily testimony of our country's leadership in space capabilities, in their applications to peaceful practical purposes, and to the advancement of scientific

understanding of the world in which we live.

But space is a hostile medium both for man and his instruments and therefore long periods of study, planning and hard work are required before major space undertakings can be successfully executed and their benefits fully harvested. For this reason, my Science Advisory Committee during the last

year has been examining the many faceted problem of what the United States might do in space in the early years following our Apollo Program. They have examined the potentialities and the value of new space programs and recommended a course for the future.

We will give careful consideration to these recommendations. Because the opportunities in space are great but the costs are high, our space planning deserves the thoughtful consideration of all Americans. I am therefore releasing this report for publication so that the excellent work of this Committee will be available to all as we chart a course into the future.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

NOTE: The report is entitled "The Space Program in the Post-Apollo Period: A Report of the President's Science Advisory Committee" (Government Printing Office, 99 pp.).

A White House announcement of the same date listed the following as major objectives recommended in the report:

1. A limited but important extension of Apollo in order to exploit our anticipated ability to explore the moon.

2. A strongly upgraded program of early unmanned exploration of the nearby planets, on a scale of time and effort that will enable the results of this program to contribute significantly toward the planning of future manned expeditions.

3. A program of technology development and of qualification of man for long duration space flight in anticipation of manned planetary exploration.

4. The extension and vigorous exploitation of space applications for the social and economic well-being of the Nation and for national security.

5. The exploitation of our capability to carry out complex technical operations in near earth orbit for the advance of science, particularly astronomy.

The announcement is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 3, p. 237).

The President's statement was included in the Committee's report. It was not made public in the form of a White House press release.

49 Remarks at a Ceremony at the Lincoln Memorial.

February 12, 1967

General Herrick, ladies and gentlemen:

There is a singular quality about Abraham Lincoln which sets him apart from all our other Presidents.

One cannot help but sense it here at this magnificent memorial. The moving statue by Daniel Chester French provides three dimensions of Lincoln, but there is something else—a fourth dimension of brooding compassion, of love for humanity; a love which was, if anything, strengthened and deepened by the agony that drove lesser men to the protective shelter of callous indifference.

The Lincoln papers show his total dedication to hard responsibility.

During the war, his orders to his generals

constantly dealt with soldiers convicted of desertion and sentenced to death. The President could have simply endorsed the recommendation of the Secretary of War. He might have treated the execution of deserters as only a routine affair in wartime.

But he rejected this "easy" bureaucratic solution.

Time and time again the order went out: "Suspend the sentence of execution until the Judge Advocate General shall have reported to the President." And rarely was the penalty ever reinstated.

Lincoln did not come to the Presidency with any set of full-blown theories, but rather with a mystical dedication to this Union—and an unyielding determination

to always preserve the integrity of the Republic.

He was the least arrogant of men, endowed with a humility which led him to write in 1864:

"I claim not to have controlled events, but confess plainly that events have controlled me. Now, at the end of three years struggle, the nation's condition is not what either party or any man devised or expected."

Lincoln was often racked by doubts. In the conduct of grave human affairs, dogmatic certainty is often the handmaiden of catastrophe.

But doubt can lead to disaster too—paralyzing the will when the times cry out for action.

The true quality of Lincoln emerges, I think, from the fact that for 4 long brutal years he never permitted his anguish and doubt to ever deter him from acting.

He recognized that the evidence he had to go on often was very incomplete. Yet he made a total commitment to action. And this commitment, while always total, was never fanatical. Lincoln's mind was always open. He was always searching for a new light. He was looking for a better policy. His intelligence never rested. The consequence was that, as he forced himself to confront changing reality, he never ceased to grow.

Nothing illustrates this spiritual growth more vividly than the development of Lincoln's views on the race question.

At the onset of the Civil War, his position was one of personal abhorrence towards slavery. But, really, his main political objective was to maintain the Union and not to eliminate slavery.

Gradually he became convinced that to restore the Union it was necessary to destroy slavery. And once this was settled in his

mind, he turned to action.

In his Annual Message to the Congress in December 1862, he stated his case quite precisely:

"In giving freedom to the slave, we assure freedom to the free—honorable alike in what we give, and what we preserve. We shall nobly save, or meanly lose, the last, best hope of earth."

As soon as he had committed himself to the elimination of slavery, Lincoln was brought face to face with the ultimate logical question: What status would the freed slaves have in the American community?

Would they be free and equal? Or would they, like the free Negroes of that time, live in limbo, technically free but in fact unequal and discriminated against?

Initially, Lincoln had avoided this ominous issue—the issue that was really to haunt American politics for a century after his martyrdom. Earlier, he had accepted the received wisdom of his time. He had advocated separate ways for the black and the white "races." In practice this meant support for the colonization of free Negroes abroad, in Africa, and in Central America.

But Abraham Lincoln's remorseless realism made it impossible for him to hold this view very long. Leading Negro spokesmen of that era demanded their full rights as Americans—Americans here, in this land—this land that they had helped to build. And the idea of organizing an exodus of over 4 million Negroes—even if they were willing to leave—was much too fearful to contemplate.

So Lincoln began his troubled journey towards a new concept which would go beyond theories of black power or white power; beyond the ancient blinders of racism to the establishment of a multi-racial com-

munity—in which a man's pride in his racial origins would be wholly consistent with his commitment to the common endeavor.

He died before he had the opportunity to give voice to this vision.

We can never know what course history would have taken had Booth's bullet not brought down this towering political saint and stoked the fires of vengeance.

We do know that it has taken more than a century for us as a nation to assert the ideal that Lincoln had barely formulated.

It has required the hard lessons of a hundred years to make us realize, as he realized, that emancipating the Negro was an act of liberation for the whites.

Abraham Lincoln was the "Great Emancipator"—of black and white alike. In a world long troubled by the curse of racism, there is a commanding clarity in Lincoln's belief that no man can truly live in creative equality when society imposes the irrational spiritual poverty of discrimination on any man.

For untold centuries men of different colors, and religions, and castes, and ethnic backgrounds have despised each other, have

fought each other, have enslaved and killed each other in the name of these false idols. And at what a terrible cost in crippled souls—in human creativity wasted on hate—in lost opportunities for growth and learning and common prosperity.

Today, racial suspicions, racial hatreds, and racial violence plague men in almost every part of the earth: in Asia, in Africa, in Europe, in Latin America, in the United States. It is man's ancient curse and man's present shame. The true liberators of mankind have always been those who showed men another way to live—than by hating their brothers.

In what he did to lift the baleful burden of racism from the American soul, Abraham Lincoln stands as a teacher—not just to his people—black and white alike—but to all humanity.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:22 p.m. from the steps of the Lincoln Memorial. His opening words referred to Maj. Gen. C. J. Herrick, Commanding General, Military District of Washington, U.S. Army.

The ceremony commemorating President Lincoln's birthday is an annual event sponsored by the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, District of Columbia Commandery.

50 Statement by the President on the Resumption of Bombing in North Vietnam. *February 13, 1967*

IT HAD BEEN our hope that the truce periods connected with Christmas, New Year, and Tet might lead to some abatement of hostilities and to moves toward peace.

Unfortunately the only response we had from the Hanoi government was to use the periods for major resupply efforts of their troops in South Vietnam.

Despite our efforts and those of third parties, no other response has yet come from Hanoi. Under these circumstances, in fair-

ness to our own troops and those of our allies, we had no alternative but to resume full scale hostilities after the cease-fire.

But the door to peace is and will remain open and we are prepared at any time to go more than halfway to meet any equitable overture from the other side.

NOTE: The statement was read by George E. Christian, Special Assistant to the President, at his news conference at 4:15 p.m. on Monday, February 13, 1967, at the White House. It was not made public in the form of a White House press release.

51 Remarks of Welcome at the White House to Haile Selassie,
Emperor of Ethiopia. *February 13, 1967*

Your Imperial Majesty:

It is a very great honor this afternoon to welcome His Imperial Majesty once again to American shores.

He has been our firm and cherished friend for more than five decades. He and his people have inspired us by their heroic example in time of war. And they have impressed us by the wisdom of their advice in time of peace.

The most destructive war in human history might well have been prevented if the world had only listened—30 years ago—to the Emperor of Ethiopia. Mankind has seldom been offered so accurate a prophecy. And it has never paid a grimmer price for ignoring one of its prophets.

I would like to repeat a statement His Majesty made to the world in those dark days before the Second World War. "Apart from the Kingdom of God," he said, "there is not on this earth any nation that is higher than any other."

No one has ever offered a better prescription for destroying the cancer of war.

Only when this simple, moral truth is finally accepted by all the leaders of every land can we truly hope for lasting peace.

His Imperial Majesty has never raised his voice in the halls of nations except to counsel wisdom, restraint, and justice. He once described the foreign policy of his own land in these words:

"We believe that war has become too dangerous a method for solving international disputes. Man must be as wise as he is advanced. He must allow his wisdom and his commonsense to prevail over temptations that can only lead to the destruction of civilization itself . . . the only safe way for the settlement of international disputes is the

method of peaceful negotiation, conducted in good faith, and with the aim of insuring peace and justice to all."

Your Majesty, I am told that in your country there is a proverb which says: "Truth, and the morning, become light with time."

Much time has already passed, Your Majesty, since you first tried to light our way toward a better, and toward a more peaceful world. I hope and believe that men are closer to reaching that long-sought destination than ever before in history. And our voyage has been guided, in no small part, by the courage, the example, and the wisdom of Ethiopia.

Your Majesty, we are greatly honored to have you with us in the White House this afternoon. We look forward with great anticipation to your visit with us in the days ahead.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:14 p.m. in the East Room at the White House following ceremonies on the North Portico, where His Imperial Majesty had been given a formal welcome with full military honors. Emperor Haile Selassie responded as follows:

Mr. President, Mrs. Johnson, distinguished guests:

First of all, Mr. President, I wish to state my satisfaction on the fact you have recovered as spiritedly from your recent difficulty with your health. It is nice to see you in the state that I find you today.

Each generation thinks that the situation it faces is the most serious one, the most difficult one than that which was faced by generations of the past. However, this may be true today. I believe, when we say the task of this generation is burdensome, we mean it.

Because of the progress mankind has achieved and because of the difficulties that are at times part and parcel of progress and prosperity, we find ourselves at a crossroad where we might make the world safe for our future generations or we might all perish together.

The friendship between the United States and Ethiopia is one of long standing. Our association in the past many decades, I hope, has been fruitful for both our peoples. Because the United States and

Ethiopia believe in the same fundamental and essential goals, it is necessary that we should put our efforts together so that we may make maximum contribution for the safety and prosperity of the generations to come.

In our discussions, Mr. President, I hope we will have the occasion of considering the certain questions of mutual concern, of exchanging views in a frank and open manner, and arriving, I am confident, at a consensus of understanding.

I believe that leaders must from time to time come together, face each other, and discuss problems they share in common. It is not enough that we deal through diplomatic channels.

Mr. President, I know of the hard work that you have in your country. I know of the immense responsibility you carry for the safety of mankind, for the maintenance of peace. I know also of your splendid effort in maintaining national peace and security. I am glad, under the circumstances, that you are able to consider my coming to the United States for the purpose of dealing with matters of mutual interest.

Ethiopia and Ethiopians are laboring today not

only for the peace and prosperity of our people, but also realizing the fundamental common interest which we share with other African people, we have dedicated ourselves to building a united and a more prosperous Africa. We found that the interest that affects Africa affects also Ethiopia and vice versa, because our destiny with the African Continent is a common one.

We have to put up a common effort to see that the continent's interests are protected. As it is well known, the Organization of African Unity was established in Addis Ababa. I believe this organization has made a good beginning in the interest of all of the African people.

I hope, Mr. President, during our private conversations I will have an opportunity of exchanging views with you about matters of mutual concern, as well as matters that relate to the Organization of African Unity.

Let me say, again, that I am glad to be in the United States today and I pray that our discussions will bear fruit.

Thank you.

52 Toasts of the President and the Emperor of Ethiopia.

February 14, 1967

Your Imperial Majesty, Mr. Vice President, Mr. Chief Justice, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

It is a high privilege tonight to honor one of this century's most courageous, farsighted, and respected statesmen, who has earned an indelible place in the hearts of men everywhere.

Monarch of the oldest Christian kingdom and an ancient civilization, you, Your Majesty, personify to us the eternal spirit of devotion to freedom and independence of your Ethiopian people.

The essence of the Ethiopian character was put in your stirring words many years ago: "With God's help, we have always stood proud and free upon our native mountains."

It is difficult for me to express to you tonight the very special place that you occupy in our tradition.

Indeed, in the tradition of all mankind.

Many of us in this room tonight recall the night of June 28, 1936, when the Emperor of Ethiopia made a plea to the League of Nations.

A plea for his suffering people which was also a very moving appeal to the conscience of humanity.

Your Majesty's final question to the League has echoed down the years with prophetic impact:

"I ask the 52 nations who have given the Ethiopian people a promise to help them in their resistance to the aggressor, what are they willing to do for Ethiopia?"

"And the great powers who have promised the guarantee of collective security to small states on whom weighs the threat that they may one day suffer the fate of Ethiopia, I ask, what measures do you intend to take?"

"Representatives of the world, I have

come to Geneva to discharge in your midst the most painful of the duties of the head of a state.

"What reply shall I have to take back to my people?"

We all know—to our shame—the reply Your Majesty received.

The betrayal of Ethiopia was in truth the turning point on the road to aggression and war.

Its lesson has been etched into our memory and has spurred us in building a world where solid commitments to resist oppression are no longer just scraps of paper.

Your Majesty, we also recall with great pleasure your triumphant return to Addis Ababa. And your remarkable reconstruction of your nation as you put into action your long-held and long-frustrated ideals of modernization:

- building schools, a fine university, hospitals, dams, airports, factories;
- turning Addis Ababa into a dynamic, beautiful, modern city;
- proclaiming a revised constitution and legal system;
- training young Ethiopians for the tasks of the future in the 20th century.

Your Majesty has not confined your concern just to your people.

We have all witnessed and can testify to with admiration your striking performance as a leader of Africa's many and diverse peoples—and as a mediator in potentially explosive confrontations between various African states.

The Organization of African Unity—which your initiative in 1963 was instrumental in creating—is one of the most hopeful institutions in the movement towards peace, reason, and unity in the great Continent of Africa.

It has always been a unique privilege and pleasure for me to have an opportunity to

exchange views on international affairs with one whom I consider to be one of the world's greatest elder statesmen.

Today, as in 1963 when we last talked, we had an immediate sense of the great mutual understanding and respect that our people entertain for each other.

Your Majesty, we treasure deeply this relationship. It is my genuine and most earnest hope that succeeding generations of our peoples will continue to reinforce the solid edifice of American-Ethiopian amity and understanding.

On this happy occasion, here tonight in the first house of this land, Mrs. Johnson and I, on behalf of our distinguished guests, all of those who are privileged to come here and be together tonight, and certainly on behalf of all of the American people, propose a toast to Your Majesty—respected statesman, peacemaker in the world, and most honored and trusted friend.

NOTE: The President proposed the toast at 10:10 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House at a dinner honoring Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia. In his opening words he referred to the Emperor, Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey, and Chief Justice Earl Warren. As printed this item follows the text released by the White House Press Office.

His Imperial Majesty responded as follows:

Mr. President and Mrs. Johnson, honored guests:

We are deeply touched by the kind words which you, Mr. President, have just said about us and the people of Ethiopia. We are equally grateful for the warm welcome and immense hospitality accorded us during our present as well as our previous visits to this great country.

This visit, among other things, also gives us the opportunity to carry with us the warmest greeting and admiration of the Ethiopian people to yourself and your family, Mr. President, and through you to the talented people of America.

From the time we have been chosen to lead our beloved people to the present years of the space era, Ethiopians have been watching with keen interest the gigantic technological strides and the immense economic advancement that the American way of life has brought about to mankind.

The democratic party politic practiced in America

has always been regarded by Ethiopians as a shining example of free expression of man who has governed his own destiny along the avenues he freely chooses.

Ethiopia, for one, is certain that in this great country of the United States she has real and lasting friendship. Such a relationship exists not as a matter of accident. It is rather the result of many similar views and principles which both Ethiopia and the U.S.A. share and uphold towards the maintenance of enduring peace for the world.

For without peace, whether on the continental scope or on a regional level, no nation can progress. The great concern which we at times manifest over the events developing around the eastern part of Africa might make us Ethiopians look more vigilant and sensitive than our friends wish us to be.

Yet some of the sad reminiscences of our own history, the peculiar position which we occupy in world geography, a delicate situation which is found on the periphery of an area which is always fraught

with turbulence, leaves us together with the other fellow Africans to face similar situations with no alternative but to be extra cautious to safeguard our national integrity.

At the same time, however, we shall not, as always, falter to continue strengthening our friendship with all our neighbors and friendly countries on the basis of mutual respect.

We always pray to the Almighty that peace and understanding reign among all nations on earth. We should also take this opportune moment, Mr. President, to express our deep gratitude for the numerous forms of assistance which Ethiopia has benefited from your Government, be it in the form of technical know-how or in human resource in all walks of our country's endeavor for national development.

It is, therefore, with this feeling of our appreciation that we ask the distinguished guests to toast the health of the President and his family and to the lasting amity between our two countries.

53 Message to the Congress Transmitting First Annual Report of the National Endowment for the Arts. *February 15, 1967*

To the Congress of the United States:

I am pleased to transmit the First Annual Report of the National Endowment for the Arts.

During its first year, the Endowment sponsored a great variety of projects to assist the arts in assuming their deserved place in American life.

It created new opportunities for novelists, poets, painters, sculptors, composers, and students in the arts.

It assisted fifty States in developing cultural resources, programs and facilities. Thirty-three State agencies for the arts have been established. New methods of bringing the arts to rural communities have been explored.

Plans have also been made for programs which will permit

- greater assistance to a wide variety of artistic endeavor;
- increased artistic exchanges between

Latin America and the United States, particularly in the field of creative writing;

—nationwide tours of the American Ballet Theatre and other artistic groups which will foster greater appreciation of the arts;

—the development of educational programs to heighten understanding of the arts among disadvantaged children.

Much of the early success of the Endowment can be traced to bipartisan support for its authorizing legislation, and to the wisdom of the Congress in requiring State and private participation in its programs.

We cannot expect massive Federal support to create great art, any more than massive defense programs can be expected to create individual courage. On signing the Arts and Humanities Bill in 1965, I reminded its supporters that "to produce true and lasting results, our States and municipal-

ities, our schools and great private foundations must join forces with us. It is in the neighborhoods of each community that a nation's art is born. In countless American towns there live thousands of obscure and unknown talents. What this bill does is to bring active support to this great national asset, to make fresher the winds of art in this great land of ours."

What the Arts Endowment has sought to do, in its first year, is to improve the climate in which creative talent works, and to extend and inform its audience.

This report is evidence that it has begun to achieve that goal. Those who believe that the quality and appreciation of art is one

test of a nation's maturity and greatness will take heart from this report. It is with pleasure that I commend it to your attention.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

The White House

February 15, 1967

NOTE: The report is entitled "National Endowment for the Arts and National Council on the Arts, Annual Report for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1966" (103 pages, processed).

The National Endowment for the Arts was established by section 5 of the act of September 29, 1965 (Public Law 89-209; 79 Stat. 845). The National Council on the Arts, established in 1964, was transferred to the National Endowment for the Arts by section 6 of the act. The President's remarks upon signing the act are printed in the 1965 volume, this series, Book II, Item 534.

54 Message to the Congress Transmitting First Annual Report of the National Endowment for the Humanities. February 15, 1967

To the Congress of the United States:

I am pleased to transmit the First Annual Report of the National Endowment for the Humanities. This report, together with the annual report of the National Endowment for the Arts, are truly significant documents. They record a pioneering Federal effort to enrich the cultural and human quality of American life.

The National Endowment for the Humanities was established to support exploration into the nature of man and his culture and to deepen understanding of the goals of human activity. The first year's activities have been devoted to developing plans to strengthen scholarship and teaching in the humanities and to foster greater public appreciation and understanding of the humanities.

These plans provide the basis for programs which will

—increase the number of outstanding

scholars in the humanities through annual fellowship awards to some 350 individuals—both promising and established scholars

—heighten public understanding of the humanities through improvements in education in the school, in the home, and in the community

—support research in specific fields to expand the range of our knowledge

—enable American scholars to make a greater contribution to the exchange of knowledge essential to international understanding.

More than 100 outstanding educators and scholars have advised the Endowment in the development of these programs. The views of these and other great humanists will be sought as plans for subsequent years are developed.

I am satisfied that the National Endowment for the Humanities has established a

firm foundation for extending the boundaries of our understanding. It is with great satisfaction that I now submit to you this record of its achievement.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

The White House

February 15, 1967

NOTE: The report is entitled "National Endowment for the Humanities, First Annual Report, Fiscal Year 1966" (Government Printing Office, 24 pp.).

The report of the National Endowment for the Arts was transmitted the same day (see Item 53).

The National Endowment for the Humanities was established by section 7 of the act of September 29, 1965 (Public Law 89-209; 79 Stat. 845).

55 Special Message to the Congress on Equal Justice.

February 15, 1967

To the Congress of the United States:

Almost two centuries ago, the American people declared these truths to be self-evident:

"That all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

Seventy-five years later, a savage war tested the foundations of their democratic faith. The issue of the struggle was, as Lincoln said, whether "we shall nobly save, or meanly lose, the last, best hope of earth."

Democracy triumphed in the field in 1865. But for the Negro American, emancipation from slavery was but the first engagement in a long campaign. He had still to endure the assaults of discrimination that denied him a decent home, refused his children a good education, closed the doors of economic progress against him, turned him away at the voting booth, the jury box, at places of public accommodation, seated him apart on buses and trains, and sometimes even threatened him with violence if he did not assent to these humiliations.

In 1948, President Truman ordered the defense establishment to accord equal treatment to servicemen of every race. That same year, the Supreme Court declared that state courts could not enforce racial covenants in the sale of houses. The Court later struck

down racial discrimination in public transportation.

In 1954, segregated education was found to be inherently unequal and in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment.

In 1957, the first civil rights act in eighty-two years passed the Congress.

Three later Acts were adopted within the next decade—in 1960, 1964, and 1965. Congress prohibited interference with the right to vote—to use any hotel, restaurant, or theater—to secure a job on the basis of merit. It barred the use of Federal funds to any agency that practiced racial discrimination.

Within these twenty years, the institutions of democratic government have begun to make the ancient, self-evident truths a reality for all Americans.

Though much of our task still lies before us, it is important to measure the progress we have made in the past few years.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST DISCRIMINATION

Voting

Since the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, the number of Negroes registered in the five states where voter discrimination was most severe has increased by 64 percent—from 715,099 to 1,174,569. The vast majority of the new voters—about 334,000—were registered by local officials, in

voluntary compliance with the Act.

The remainder—some 125,000—were registered by Federal examiners in 47 counties of the five states. Federal observers were present in many counties during the 1966 primary and general elections to insure that the newly registered voters were permitted to vote without interference.

In 1960, a Negro citizen complained that for 10 years he had tried without success to register to vote. Not a single Negro had been registered in his county for 60 years. In 1966, he ran for a seat on the local school board—and won.

Today, twenty Negroes serve in Southern legislatures. Several important local offices, such as school boards and county commissions, now have Negro membership.

The electorate in these states has begun to change. The right to vote—the fundamental democratic right—is now exercised by men and women whose color served in years past to bar them from the polls. After centuries of silence, their voice is being heard. It will never again be stilled.

Schools

In the 1963–1964 school year, ten years after the landmark *Brown* decision,¹ one percent of the Negro students in the 11 Southern states were in schools also attended by white students.

Then came the 1964 Civil Rights Act and its prohibition against the use of Federal funds to support racial bias.

In September 1966, 12.5 percent of the Negro students in those same states were enrolled in desegregated schools. We expect

this figure to increase significantly next fall. We will proceed with the task of securing the rights of all our children.

Hospitals

This year, Negroes are being admitted to hospitals which barred them in the past. By January, 7,130 hospitals—more than 95 percent of the hospitals in the nation—had agreed to provide services without discrimination. More than 1,500 of those hospitals have had to change past policies to make that commitment.

Getting rid of discriminatory practices has benefitted hospital systems, as well as the people they serve.

Last year, for example, half the beds in an all-white hospital were unoccupied. Yet Negroes in the community were sent to a completely segregated and overcrowded hospital. The half-empty hospital changed its policies to admit Negroes, and it now operates at full capacity. The formerly Negro hospital will be converted into a nursing home serving both races. The effect of the change was to provide better medical care for the entire community.

Public Accommodations

When the 1964 Civil Rights Act was passed, prohibiting racial discrimination in places of public accommodation, fears were expressed that this sharp change in established customs would bring about serious economic loss and perhaps even violence.

Yet from the start there has been widespread voluntary compliance with the law. Thousands of restaurants, motels and hotels have been opened to Americans of all races and colors. What was thought to be laden with danger proved generally acceptable to both races.

Because all businesses of a similar type are covered, each businessman is free, for

¹ *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kans.*, was one of the cases involved in the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954, declaring racial segregation in the public schools unconstitutional. The text of the decision is printed in United States Supreme Court Reports, 1954 (349 U.S. 294, 99 L. Ed. 1083).

the first time, to operate on a non-discriminatory basis without fear of suffering a competitive disadvantage.

Now Negro families travelling through most parts of their country do not need to suffer the inconvenience of searching for a place to rest or eat where they will be accepted or the humiliating indignity of being turned away.

PROGRAMS FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE

The struggle against today's discrimination is only part of the nation's commitment to equal justice for all Americans. The bigotry of the past has its effects in broken families, men without skills, children without learning, poor housing, and neighborhoods dominated by the fear of crime.

Because these effects are encrusted by generations of inferior opportunities and shattered hopes, they will not yield to laws against discrimination alone. Indeed there is no swift medicine, no matter how potent or massively applied, that can heal them at once. But we know some of the things we must do if the healing process is to begin—and we are doing them.

Education

Head Start has given deprived children a chance to learn in later years—instead of being merely exposed to school. Through this and other preschool programs, two million children have been offered better education and health care.

More than seven million children in seventy percent of all school districts in the United States have participated in programs under Title I of the 1965 Education Act. These programs have a single aim: to improve the education of disadvantaged children. The better libraries, larger professional staffs, advanced instructional equipment and

other services they provide are investments in the future of children who need them most.

In my Message on America's Children and Youth, I asked the Congress to provide an additional \$135 million to strengthen Head Start. With these funds, we will launch a Head Start Follow-Through Program in the early grades of elementary school to maintain the momentum the child has gained and we will extend the Head Start Program downward to cover more three-year-olds.

Extraordinary help at the start of life is necessary for all disadvantaged children. It is particularly necessary for the Negro child reared in poverty and encumbered by generations of deprivation.

Jobs and Training

Thousands of job opportunities for the young have been created by the Neighborhood Youth Corps and the Job Corps. The first, active in both urban and rural areas, has enabled many young people to earn enough to remain in school, and provided employment and remedial education for dropouts.

The Job Corps—also meant to help those between 16 and 21—has offered other thousands both a change of environment and the opportunity to acquire education and job training.

The Manpower Development and Training Act gives men without jobs or skills the chance to acquire both, by combining government planning and resources with private industry. The Work Experience Program offers welfare recipients a means of obtaining the experience they need for gainful employment.

Today's strong economy, which last year put almost three million more Americans on the payrolls, is also of tremendous benefit to needy persons in search of dependable em-

ployment. But for the long term, and as demand for better qualified workers grows, training and remedial education will be of even greater importance to the disadvantaged. This is particularly true for those who leave the farm and move to urban areas in search of employment, without the skills an urban society requires.

During the last three years, our training programs have provided the means of self-sufficiency to almost a million men and women. The value of these programs to the Negro American is especially great.

The unemployment rate for Negroes is more than double that for whites. About 650,000 Americans, more than 20 percent of all unemployed, are non-white. About 213,000 of these are between 14 and 19 years of age. Job training is essential to enable them to get off the welfare rolls and to go on the tax rolls.

Our economy is also strengthened by these programs. If Negroes today had the same skills as other Americans, and if they were free from discrimination in employment, our Gross National Product could become \$30 billion higher.

I will shortly submit recommendations to strengthen and expand these training programs. I am asking the Congress for an additional \$135 million in appropriations for the Office of Economic Opportunity for a special program to open the doors of opportunity and meaningful employment to our most disadvantaged citizens.

I will call for the active assistance of private industry and organized labor to provide skills and jobs to those now confined to the welfare rolls and the slums.

THE NEED FOR PERSEVERANCE

There are those who believe this series of accomplishments is long enough. There are

those who grow weary of supporting great social programs, impatient with the failures that attend them and cynical about those they are intended to help. There are those who think "equal justice" is a rhetorical phrase, intended only as an admonition to judges, not as a guiding principle for national policy.

To them I can only say: consider the consequences if the Nation—and I as the President—were to take what appears to be the easy way out, abandon the long, hard struggle for social and economic justice and say that enough has been done.

—There would be little hope of strengthening the economy of the country through the improved earning-power and productive capacity of Negro Americans.

—There would be little hope of avoiding massive welfare expenditures for people denied the training and jobs they need to become self-supporting.

—There would be little hope of ending the chain of personal tragedies that began with ancient bigotry and continues to this hour.

—There would—above all—be little hope of achieving the self-respect that comes to a nation from doing what is right.

Our task is far from over. The statistics demonstrate the magnitude of the effort required.

—The life expectancy of the Negro is five years shorter than that of his white contemporary and the infant mortality rate for Negroes is 40 percent higher.

—The adult white has had at least three more years of education—and has been educated in better schools—than the average adult Negro.

—The unemployment rate for nonwhites aged 21—even in this time of near full employment—is double that of whites.

—Negroes are characteristically more densely housed in units only 56 percent of which meet health and safety standards.

—The income of the average Negro family is about 40 percent lower than that of the average white family.

The programs we have adopted in the past few years are only a beginning. We have made a good start.

But we must remember that it is only a start. We must realize that civil rights are also civil opportunities. Unless these rights are recognized as opportunities by Negro and white alike, they can achieve nothing. We must realize that training and education programs provide skills and opportunities. But only where there is both the will to seek the job and the willingness to hire the job applicant, can these programs achieve their ultimate objectives.

The next steps are harder, but they are even more important. We shall need years of trial and error—years in which children can be strengthened to grow into responsible young adults, years of better training, better jobs, better health, and better housing—before the results of what we have done so far can be seen.

Perseverance, the willingness to abandon what does not work, and the courage to keep searching for better solutions—these are the virtues the times require.

CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION

Last year I proposed the enactment of important civil rights legislation. I proposed that legislation because it was right and just.

The civil rights legislation of 1966 was passed by the House of Representatives, and brought to the floor of the Senate. Most of its features commanded a strong majority in

both Houses. None of its features was defeated on the merits.

Yet it did not become law. It could not be brought to a final vote in the Senate.

Some observers felt that the riots which occurred in several cities last summer prevented the passage of the bill.

Public concern over the riots was great, as it should have been. Lawlessness cannot be tolerated in a nation whose very existence depends upon respect for law. It cannot be permitted because it injures every American and tears at the very fabric of our democracy.

We want public order in America, and we shall have it. But a decent public order cannot be achieved solely at the end of a stick, nor by confining one race to self-perpetuating poverty.

Let us create the conditions for a public order based upon equal justice.

THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1967

The Act I am proposing this year is substantially the same as last year's bill. Some revisions have been incorporated to take account of useful suggestions and perfecting amendments made by the 89th Congress. I believe these revisions offer a basis for common action.

I recommend the adoption of a national policy against discrimination in housing on account of race, color, religion or national origin. I propose the adoption of progressive steps to carry out this policy.

I recommend the clarification and strengthening of existing Federal criminal laws against interference with Federal rights.

I recommend requirements for the selection of juries in Federal courts to guard against discrimination and insure that juries are properly representative of the community.

I recommend legislation to eliminate all

forms of discrimination in the selection of state court juries.

I recommend that the Civil Rights Act of 1964 be amended to authorize the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to issue judicially enforceable cease-and-desist orders.

I recommend the extension, for an additional five years, of the United States Commission on Civil Rights.

I recommend a 90 percent increase in appropriations for the Community Relations Service.

These measures are not new. I have recommended and supported them in the past. I urge the Congress to act favorably upon them because justice and human dignity demand these protections for each American citizen.

EQUAL JUSTICE IN HOUSING

For most Americans, the availability of housing depends upon one factor—their ability to pay.

For too many, however, there are other crucial factors—the color of their skin, their religion or their national origin.

When a Negro seeks a decent home for himself and his family, he frequently finds that the door is closed. It remains closed—though the Negro may be a serviceman who has fought for freedom.

The result of countless individual acts of discrimination is the spawning of urban ghettos, where housing is inferior, overcrowded and too often overpriced.

Statistics tell a part of the story. Throughout the nation, almost twice as many non-whites as whites occupy deteriorating or dilapidated housing. In Watts, 32.5 percent of all housing is overcrowded, compared with 11.5 percent for the Nation as a whole.

In Harlem, more than 237,000 people live in an area consisting of three and one-half square miles. This is a density of 105 people per acre. Ninety percent of the buildings in Harlem are more than 30 years old, and almost half were built before the end of the nineteenth century.

The environment of most urban ghettos is the same: inferior public facilities and services—streets, lighting, parks; sanitation and police protection; inferior schools; and isolation from job opportunities. In every sphere of urban life the ghetto-dweller is shortchanged.

A child growing up in such an environment must overcome tremendous man-made obstacles to become a useful citizen. The misery we tolerate today multiplies the misery of tomorrow.

Many of our existing and proposed programs—though not directed simply at relieving the problems of any particular minority group—will relieve conditions found in their most acute form in the urban ghetto. These programs are necessary and they must be fully supported.

But money and assistance are not enough. Since the ratification of the 14th Amendment to the Constitution, this Nation has been committed to accord every citizen the equal protection of its laws. We must strengthen that commitment as it relates to discrimination in housing—a problem that is national in scope.

The legislation I recommend would ultimately apply to all housing in the United States. It would go into effect by progressive stages.

The proposed legislation would direct the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development to carry out education and conciliation measures to seek an end to discrimination in housing. He would call conferences of lead-

ers in the housing industry, consult with state and local officials, and work with private organizations.

The prohibition against discrimination in the sale or rental of housing would become effective progressively over a two-year period:

- Immediately, to housing already covered by the Presidential order on equal opportunities in housing.
- During 1968, to dwellings sold or rented by someone other than their occupant, and to dwellings for five or more families. Essentially, this stage would cover large apartment houses and real estate developments.
- In 1969, the Act would apply to all housing.

This Act would be aimed at commercial transactions, not at the privacy of the home. It would outlaw discriminatory practices in financing housing and in providing real estate brokers' services. It would prohibit "block-busting," by which unscrupulous dealers seek to frighten homeowners into selling quickly, out of fear that the value of their homes will decline.

In every instance, the legislation would require the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development to try to achieve a voluntary solution. Only if such a settlement could not be reached would the Secretary be authorized to hold an administrative hearing. If, after an administrative hearing, a violation of the law were found, the Secretary would be authorized to issue a judicially enforceable cease-and-desist order.

The Secretary would work with State and municipal fair housing agencies that already exist. In appropriate cases he would be authorized to rely on their enforcement of the State and city laws.

The Attorney General would be empowered to support these enforcement ef-

forts, when he had reason to believe that a general pattern or practice of discrimination exists.

Last year the legislation I proposed to ban discrimination in housing stirred great controversy. Although a majority of both Houses in the Congress favored that legislation, it was not enacted. Some of the problems raised by its adversaries were real; most involved myths and misinformation. The summer riots in our cities did as much damage to the chances of passing that legislation as the unfounded fears of many Americans and the opposition of special interest groups.

There should be no need for laws to require men to deal fairly and decently with their fellowman. There should be no need to enact a law prohibiting discrimination in housing—just as there should have been no need to send registrars to enforce voting rights, to issue guidelines to require desegregation of our schools, to bring suits in Federal courts to insure equal access to public accommodations, and to outlaw discrimination in employment.

But the Civil Rights Acts of 1957, 1960, and 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 were necessary and they have moved this country toward our goal of providing a decent life for each of our citizens.

I am proposing fair housing legislation again this year because it is decent and right. Injustice must be opposed, however difficult or unpopular the issue.

I believe that fair housing legislation must and will be enacted by the Congress of the United States. I was proud to be a member of the Congresses that enacted the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960 and as President to sign into law the 1964 and 1965 Acts. I believe that generations to come would look upon the enactment of this legislation by the 90th Congress as one of its proudest achievements. I cannot urge too strongly that the

Congress act promptly on this legislation.

Today the subject of fair housing is engulfed in a cloud of misinformation and unarticulated fear. Some believe the value of their homes must decline if their neighborhoods are integrated. They fear the conversion of their communities into unsightly slums, if a family of a different color moves into a house across the street. Neither of these events need occur. In an atmosphere of reason and justice, they would not occur. In the scores of cities and states that have such laws these events have not occurred.

The task of informing the minds and enlightening the consciences of those who are subject to these fears should begin at once. Churches can help perform this task with a unique competence—and they should. So should civic organizations, public officials, human relations commissions, labor unions and private industries. It must be done. The sooner it is done, the nearer we will come to that just America it is our purpose to achieve.

INTERFERENCE WITH RIGHTS

Another basic test of equal justice is whether all men are free to exercise rights established by the Congress and the Constitution. A right has little meaning unless it can be freely exercised. This applies in particular to Negro Americans who seek to vote, attend school, and utilize public accommodations on an equal basis.

Negro children have been abused for attending previously segregated schools. Shots have been fired into the homes of their parents. Employers who practiced nondiscrimination have been harassed. Most shocking of all are the crimes which result in loss of life. Some of the victims have been Negroes; others were whites devoted to the cause of justice.

State and local officials are primarily re-

sponsible for preventing and punishing acts of violence. In many cases, however, these officials have not been able to detect or prosecute the perpetrators of the crimes. In some, unfortunately, they have not been willing to meet their obligations. For these reasons and because violence has too often been used to deny Federal rights, there is need for Federal legislation.

Present Federal statutes are inadequate in several respects. Maximum penalties are too low for crimes which cause death or serious injury. Only in some instances do the statutes reach misconduct by private persons not acting in concert with public officials. Existing laws do not spell out clearly the Federal rights which they protect.

To remedy these deficiencies, I recommend legislation to:

- Specify the activities which are protected, including voting, purchasing a home, holding a job, attending a school, obtaining service in a restaurant or other place of public accommodation.
- Prohibit acts or threats of violence, by private individuals acting alone or public officials, directed against Negroes or members of other minority groups because they are or have been participating in those activities.
- Authorize victims of violence to bring civil actions for damages or injunctive relief.

The penalties prescribed are graduated, depending on the gravity of the offense. When physical injury results, the maximum penalty is \$10,000 and ten years. When death occurs, the sentence may be imprisonment for any term of years or for life.

FEDERAL AND STATE JURIES

A fair jury is fundamental to our historic traditions of justice.

Fairness is most likely to result when the jury is selected from a broad cross section of the community. The exclusion of particular groups or classes from jury duty not only denies defendants their right to an impartial jury. It also denies members of the excluded group the opportunity to fulfill an important obligation of citizenship and to participate in the processes of their government.

On many occasions, I have emphasized the importance of respect for the law. Yet, creating respect for legal institutions becomes virtually impossible when parts of our judicial system operate unlawfully or give the appearance of unfairness.

Current methods of Federal court jury selection have sometimes resulted in the exclusion of Negroes and other minority groups. Often the cause lay in the method of selection.

I recommend legislation to:

- Eliminate discrimination in the selection of juries in Federal courts.*
- Insure that juries in Federal courts are uniformly drawn from a broad cross section of the community.*

To reduce to a minimum the possibility of arbitrary exclusion of certain groups, the act will spell out in detail the selection procedures to be followed in all Federal district courts. Names of prospective jurors would be obtained by random selection from voter lists—a broadly representative source in almost all parts of the country, now that the Voting Rights Act of 1965 is being implemented. Under the bill only objective standards, including basic literacy requirements found in existing law, could be used to determine the qualifications of a prospective juror.

Legislation to deal with selection of State court juries is also needed. There has been persistent, intentional discrimination in

juror selection in some localities. A recent case involved jury discrimination in a county whose population in 1960 was more than 70 percent Negro. Of the persons listed on the jury rolls between 1953 and 1965, less than two percent were Negro. No Negro had ever served as a member of a jury in that county.

Numerous criminal convictions obtained in State courts have been set aside on the ground that Negroes were excluded from the juries. Such court decisions may assure justice in a particular case. They cannot reform the jury selection systems.

The Fourteenth Amendment establishes equality before the law and charges the Congress with enforcing that requirement. Such flagrant, persistent abuses as are revealed in many recent jury selection cases cannot be tolerated by a society which prides itself on the rule of law.

I recommend legislation to:

- Prohibit discrimination on account of race, color, religion, national origin, sex, or economic status in the selection of State or local juries.*
- Authorize the Attorney General to sue State or local jury officials who exclude Negroes or members of other minority groups from juries.*
- Prescribe new remedies to make it easier to prove jury discrimination.*
- Authorize the courts to issue a variety of orders specially tailored to eliminate the most common methods by which jury discrimination is practiced.*

EQUAL JUSTICE IN EMPLOYMENT

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibited discrimination in hiring, promotion and working conditions, as well as discrimination in the membership practices of labor organizations. The Equal Employment Oppor-

tunity Commission was created to carry out the Congressional mandate.

The Commission was directed to eliminate discriminatory employment practices by informal methods of conciliation and persuasion. By the end of this fiscal year, the Commission will have completed over two thousand investigations and more than five hundred conciliation efforts. This is hard work, but when it succeeds, case by case it opens up new opportunities to:

- The minority group employees of an aircraft company, who no longer are confined to dead-end jobs but now have training opportunities in 40 job classifications.
- The employees of a large ship construction firm which has improved the job rights of over 5,000 Negroes.

Unlike most other Federal regulatory agencies, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission was not given enforcement powers. If efforts to conciliate or persuade are unsuccessful, the Commission itself is powerless. For the individual discriminated against, there remains only a time-consuming and expensive lawsuit.

In considering the proper role of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, it is important to bear in mind that non-white unemployment remains disproportionately high:

- In 1966, the unemployment rate was 3.3 percent for white persons. It was 7.3 percent for non-whites.
- Non-white unemployment in 1965 was twice the rate for whites. In 1966, the ratio rose to 2.2 to 1.
- Among youth not attending school, the unemployment rate in 1966 was 8.5 percent for whites and 20.3 percent for non-whites.

No single factor explains the differences

in the unemployment rates of non-whites and whites. But part of the disparity is clearly attributable to discrimination. For that reason, effective remedies against discrimination are essential.

I recommend legislation to give the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission authority to issue orders, after a fair hearing, to require the termination of discriminatory employment practices.

The cease-and-desist orders of the Commission would be enforceable in the Federal Courts of Appeal and subject to judicial review there. These powers are similar to those of other Federal regulatory agencies.

Enforcement power would harmonize the procedures of the Commission with the prevailing practice among States and cities that have had fair employment practices agencies for many years. It would reduce the burden on individual complainants and on the Federal courts. It would enhance the orderly implementation of this important national policy.

THE COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

The United States Commission on Civil Rights has, since its creation in 1957, proved to be an exceptionally valuable agency. This bipartisan fact-finding agency has contributed substantially to our determined effort to assure the civil rights of all Americans. Its investigations and studies have contributed to important changes in the laws and policies of the Federal government. Publications of the Commission—in the fields of voting, housing, employment, school segregation, and equality of opportunity in government programs—have been helpful to other government agencies and to private groups interested in equality of opportunity.

The Commission has also served as a

clearinghouse for information on civil rights matters. It has provided information on Federal laws, programs and services to assist communities and private organizations in dealing with civil rights issues and with economic and social problems affecting race relations.

Under existing law, the term of the Commission expires on January 31, 1968. But much more remains to be done.

I recommend that the life of the Commission be extended for an additional five years.

COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 recognized the importance of providing bridges of understanding for communities across the land struggling with problems of equal justice and discrimination. Last year, I recommended, and you in the Congress approved, the transfer of the Community Relations Service to the Department of Justice to make it a more effective instrument of national policy.

This year, I recommend that the funds for the work of the Community Relations Service be increased by 90 percent—from \$1.4 million to \$2.7 million.

In city after city and county after county, the men of the Community Relations Service have worked, quietly and effectively, behind the scenes, to conciliate disputes before they flared up in the courtrooms or on the streets.

I deeply believe that, under our democratic system, the work of conciliation can be brought to bear increasingly to remove many of the injustices, intentional and unintentional, which derive from prejudice. It is in this spirit and with this conviction that I request a substantial increase in the funds appropriated to the Community Relations Service.

EQUAL JUSTICE

We adopted a Constitution "to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure the domestic tranquility," and "provide for the common defense."

In our wars Americans, Negro and white, have fought side by side to defend freedom. Negro soldiers—like white soldiers—have won every medal for bravery our country bestows. The bullets of our enemies do not discriminate between Negro Marines and white Marines. They kill and maim whomever they strike.

The American Negro has waited long for first-class citizenship—for his right for equal justice. But he has long accepted the full responsibilities of citizenship.

If there were any doubt, one need only look to the servicemen who man our defenses. In Vietnam, 10.2 percent of our soldiers are American Negroes bearing equal responsibilities in the fight for freedom—but at home, 11 percent of our people are American Negroes struggling for equal opportunities.

The bullets at the battlefield do not discriminate—but the landlords at home do. The pack of the Negro soldier is as heavy as the white soldier's—but the burden his family at home bears is far heavier. In war, the Negro American has given this nation his best—but this nation has not given him equal justice.

It is time that the Negro be given equal justice. In America, the rights of citizenship are conferred by birth—not by death in battle.

It is our duty—as well as our privilege—to stand before the world as a nation dedicated to equal justice. There may be doubts about some policies or programs, but there can be no doubt about the rights of each man to stand on equal ground before his

government and with his fellow man.

On June 4, 1965, at Howard University, I spoke about the challenge confronting this Nation—"to fulfill these rights." What I said then has even greater importance and meaning for every American today:

"Freedom is the right to share fully and equally in American society—to vote, to hold a job, to enter a public place, to go to school. It is the right to be treated in every part of our national life as a person equal in dignity and promise to all others.

"But freedom is not enough. You do not wipe away the scars of centuries by saying: Now you are free to go where you want, do as you desire, and choose the leaders you please.

"You do not take a person who, for years, has been hobbled by chains and liberate him, bring him up to the starting line of a race and then say, 'You are free to compete with all the others,' and still justly believe that you have been completely fair.

"Thus it is not enough just to open the gates of opportunity. All of our citizens must have the ability to walk through those gates.

"This is the next and more profound stage of the battle for civil rights. We seek not just freedom but opportunity—not just legal equity but human ability—not just equality as a right and a theory, but equality as a fact and as a result.

"For the task is to give 20 million Negroes

the same chance as every other American to learn and grow, to work and share in society, to develop their abilities—physical, mental and spiritual, and to pursue their individual happiness.

"There is no single easy answer to all of these problems.

"Jobs are part of the answer. They bring the income which permits a man to provide for his family.

"Decent homes in decent surroundings, and a chance to learn—an equal chance to learn—are part of the answer.

"Welfare and social programs better designed to hold families together are part of the answer.

"Care of the sick is part of the answer.

"An understanding heart by all Americans is also a large part of the answer.

"To all these fronts—and a dozen more—I will dedicate the expanding efforts of the Johnson Administration."

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

The White House

February 15, 1967

NOTE: The White House Report on the Legislative Record of the First Session, 90th Congress, made public by the Press Office on December 16, 1967, carries the following under the heading "The Unfinished Business":

"7. *Civil Rights*—no action on *fair housing*. The Senate passed a bill requiring *fair Federal jury selection*. The House passed a measure affording *greater protection* to persons exercising their lawful civil rights." (3 Weekly Comp. Pres. Docs., p. 1737).

56 Statement by the President on the Message on Equal Justice.

February 15, 1967

TODAY I have sent to the Congress my proposals for the Civil Rights Act of 1967.

It is in many respects very similar to the measure I asked Congress to adopt last year. As you will remember, that measure was

favorable by a majority of both Houses and actually passed the House, but never did get to a vote in the Senate.

Though we were not successful last year, I am asking Congress to bar discrimination

in housing, and to secure other very basic rights for every citizen of this land.

I am doing this for one reason—because it is right. And I am doing it in the name of millions of Americans, both white and Negro, who object to treating their fellow

citizens one way on the battlefield and another way in the country they are fighting to defend.

NOTE: The President recorded the statement for radio and television broadcast. It was not made public in the form of a White House press release.

57 Special Message to the Congress “To Protect the American Consumer.” February 16, 1967

To the Congress of the United States:

Almost 100 years ago the 42nd Congress enacted and President Grant signed the first consumer protection law—to prohibit the fraudulent use of the mails.

We have passed many milestones since then on the road to consumer protection. One landmark was the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906. Shortly after its enactment, President Theodore Roosevelt wrote:

“The work thus begun must be unflinchingly carried forward in the interest both of the public and of the great body of . . . producers who are engaged in honest business.”

Congresses and Presidents have “unflinchingly carried forward” in the public interest—from the Federal Trade Commission Act passed during Woodrow Wilson’s day and the Securities Act under Franklin Roosevelt, to the Truth-in-Packaging Act under the 89th Congress last year.

The consumer has also benefited from wise government policies to promote and stabilize prosperity. The American consumer today enjoys the highest standard of living ever experienced in the world. And it has risen rapidly in recent years. During the past three years, the consumer has reaped the harvest of a vigorous prosperity:

- Nearly 6 million more Americans are at work, contributing to production and collecting growing paychecks;
- Real income after taxes has advanced

13 percent for the average American, a gain as large as in the preceding 8 years; —The net financial wealth of American families has risen \$150 billion.

We were concerned with the rise in prices last year, even though the incomes of most families outpaced the price level. Over the past several months, price increases have waned in intensity. And there is clear and welcome evidence that interest rates have been moving down. We must take whatever steps are necessary to continue these trends.

With the cooperation of business, labor and the consumer, Government policies will be working this year

- to improve our record on prices and interest rates, and
- to continue the steady growth of family incomes.

The rising incomes of prosperity have brought new vigor to the marketplace. American business has responded with matchless ingenuity and enterprise to produce the widest range of quality products ever offered for sale.

But the march of technology that has brought unparalleled abundance and opportunity to the consumer has also exposed him to new complexities and hazards. It has made his choices more difficult. It has made many of our laws obsolete and has created the need for new legal remedies and safeguards. In short, we are faced with new

problems of prosperity.

Most of these problems are resolved in the free competitive market through the energies of private enterprise. It is remarkable how well the free enterprise system does its job. The Government does not and will not tell business what to produce or labor where to work. Nor will it tell the consumer what to buy.

By comparison with the scope of the market, the task of the Government is relatively small. Nonetheless, that task is vital and must be executed fully and faithfully. It must be kept up to date with the realities of modern life and a sophisticated marketplace.

The Government must work to make consumer choice fully effective. The consumer must be protected against unsafe products, against misleading information, and against the deceitful practices of a few businessmen that can undermine confidence in the vast majority of diligent and reputable firms.

The 89th Congress fulfilled these responsibilities. It will surely go down in history as a consumer's Congress. I proposed and you in the Congress enacted a series of measures designed to protect the consumer in the modern supermarket, on the new high-speed turnpikes of America and in our growing banking and savings institutions:

- The Truth-in-Packaging Act has launched a system to tell the buyer just what he is purchasing, how much it weighs, and who made it.
- The Traffic and Highway Safety Acts have begun the first comprehensive national attack on the mounting toll of death and destruction on the highways.
- The Child Protection Act is safeguarding our youngsters against needless tragedy from hazardous toys.
- Additional insurance protection has been afforded to the millions of Americans who place their savings on deposit.

I now call upon the 90th Congress, in Theodore Roosevelt's words, to carry forward unflinchingly in the public interest, and to build on the record of progress of the 89th Congress. For there is important unfinished and new business on the agenda to:

- Provide consumers with accurate and clear information on the cost of credit.
- Give our investors better protection in their interests in private pension and their purchases of undeveloped land, welfare plans and their holdings of mutual funds.
- Insure that medical devices and laboratories designed to aid health do not instead intensify illness.
- Close the gaps in our system of meat inspection.
- Reshape our laws dealing with hazardous household products.
- Improve our shameful record of losses of life and property through fires.
- Minimize the likelihood of massive electric power failures.
- Insure the safety of natural gas pipelines.

I have submitted many proposals at this session to benefit the poor and the disadvantaged of our land. The recommendations I am making today will help all Americans. Most of all, they will help middle income families—the vast majority of Americans who can afford to enjoy the abundance of the marketplace, but who can ill afford the high cost of deceit, misinformation and confusion.

TRUTH IN LENDING

Consumer credit has become an essential feature of the American way of life. It permits families with secure and growing incomes to plan ahead and to enjoy fully and promptly the ownership of automobiles and modern household appliances. It finances higher education for many who otherwise

could not afford it. To families struck by serious illness or other financial setbacks, the opportunity to borrow eases the burden by spreading the payments over time.

Because of these benefits, consumers rely heavily on credit. Outstanding consumer credit today totals \$95 billion. \$75 billion takes the form of installment credit. The interest costs on consumer credit alone amounted to nearly \$13 billion in 1966.

The consumer has the right to know the cost of this key item in his budget just as much as the price of any other commodity he buys. If consumers are to plan prudently and to shop wisely for credit, they must know what it really costs.

In many instances today, consumers do not know the costs of credit. Charges are often stated in confusing or misleading terms. They are complicated by "add-ons" and discounts and unfamiliar gimmicks. The consumer should not have to be an actuary or a mathematician to understand the rate of interest that is being charged.

As a matter of fair play to the consumer, the cost of credit should be disclosed fully, simply and clearly.

Now that the right of consumers to be fully informed is protected when they shop in the supermarkets, the time has come to protect that right for shoppers who seek credit.

I recommend the Truth-in-Lending Act of 1967 to assure that, when the consumer shops for credit, he will be presented with a price tag that will tell him the percentage rate per year that is being charged on his borrowing.

We can make an important advance by incorporating the wisdom of past discussions on how the costs of credit can best be expressed. As a result of these discussions, I recommend legislation to assure:

—Full and accurate information to the

borrower, and

—Simple and routine calculations for the lender.

This legislation is urgently needed to:

—Close an important gap in consumer information.

—Protect legitimate lenders against competitors who misrepresent credit costs.

The Truth-in-Lending Act of 1967 would strengthen the efficiency of our credit markets, without restraining them. It would allow the cost of credit to be freely determined by informed borrowers and responsible lenders. It would permit the volume of consumer credit to be fully responsive to the growing needs, ability to pay and aspirations of the American consumer.

THE INVESTING PUBLIC

With savings derived from an abundant economy, America has become a Nation of investors.

The landmark securities laws enacted during President Franklin Roosevelt's first term have provided important safeguards over the last three decades to the millions of Americans who invest in stock. The deposit insurance laws of the New Deal safeguard our checking and savings accounts.

Today new efforts are needed to assure that Federal protection of the investor keeps pace with the changing needs and growing wealth of the American economy. There are three areas of rapidly expanding investment that require the attention of the Congress in 1967—interstate land sales, private pension and welfare plans and mutual funds.

1. Interstate Land Sales

Many investors—particularly older Americans—are attracted to advertisements offering inexpensive retirement homesites. The interstate mail order sales of such land runs

into many millions of dollars each year.

Most buyers get what they pay for. But, according to evidence obtained by the Senate Subcommittee on Frauds and Misrepresentations Affecting the Elderly, "slippery language and omission of important facts" have given too many buyers grossly distorted impressions of the land they later purchased.

Some of our senior citizens have become victims of subtle and sharp sales practices. They have wasted much of their life savings on a useless piece of desert or a swampland.

A number of states have enacted legislation to deal with these abuses. But only the Federal Government can have effective authority over interstate mail order sales. Only the exercise of such authority can protect the buyer and legitimate seller alike against loss and injury.

I recommend the Interstate Land Sales Full Disclosure Act of 1967 to afford the public greater safeguards against sharp and unscrupulous practices.

Under the Act, developers engaged in interstate commerce, who offer to sell unimproved subdivided lots, would be required to disclose to potential buyers fully, simply, and clearly all of the material facts needed for an informed choice. This can be assured—without burdening the legitimate developer—through a Securities and Exchange Commission registration procedure. The procedure would be similar to the proven and effective disclosure technique used for public offerings of corporate stock.

2. Pension and Welfare Plans

More than 40 million workers on the payroll of American industry are now participating in private welfare and pension plans.

These plans are of vital importance to the worker and his family. They are a source of retirement income. They help meet the bills when illness or disability strikes. In combina-

tion with the Federal social security system, they provide a framework of protection for the American worker in his old age.

These private plans have grown sharply. Today, they account for assets of \$90 billion. The very size of these plans make it essential that they be soundly administered in the public interest. Because employer and worker alike rely upon them so heavily, they must be operated with unquestioned prudence and integrity.

The vast majority of welfare and pension plans are managed wisely by able officials, who follow the strictest code of fair dealing.

Yet our goal must be to guarantee to every American worker that the steward of his particular plan, just as any other trustee, follows the highest standards of responsibility. Federal law provides a number of safeguards—but there are serious gaps which must be closed.

The law, for example, does not bar conflicts of interest between the plan and its employer company. Nor does it now adequately prohibit a conflict between the private or personal interests of the plan's manager and the larger interests of the beneficiaries. There have even been cases where managers have obtained loans for themselves and their personal friends.

In some cases, serious abuses of trust have not been reached by the law. In other instances, a timely audit could have prevented fraudulent activity. But the law requires no such independent check.

I recommend the Welfare and Pension Plan Protection Act of 1967, to extend additional protection to the American worker, his family and his employer.

Under this Act:

—Time-tested standards of responsibility and fair dealing will be required of plan administrators.

—Yearly independent audits of welfare

and pension plans will be conducted by certified or licensed public accountants.

- Disclosure of the plan's financial activities will be made more complete.
- Maximum limits will be placed on the portion of the plan that may be invested in stock of the employer company.
- The enforcement and investigatory powers of the Secretary of Labor will be expanded.
- Legal remedies will be available to recover losses to the beneficiary resulting from breaches of faith by administrators of the plan.

This law will not interfere with the discretion of plan managers in making legitimate investment decisions. It will, however, insure the worker and his family that their welfare and pension plans will be administered fairly and honestly.

3. *Mutual Funds*

In 1940, President Roosevelt signed the Investment Company Act—and for the first time direct protection was extended to the investor in a mutual fund.

At that time, about 300,000 Americans held mutual fund shares, worth \$450 million. Today, mutual fund investors number more than 3.5 million. Their holdings are worth over \$38 billion. Many of these investors are families of modest means.

The spectacular growth of the mutual fund industry is an indication of its popularity and of the important role it plays in the economy. Through these funds, the small investor can obtain professional management and an interest in a diversified portfolio of securities. He expects to and is willing to pay reasonable fees for these services.

The vast expansion of mutual funds, particularly in the last decade, has brought to the fore new issues which were either non-

existent or of secondary importance when the Investment Company Act was passed over a quarter of a century ago. A wise and forward-looking Congress in 1940 authorized the Securities and Exchange Commission to conduct a study of mutual funds if "any substantial further increase in the size of investment companies creates any problem involving the protection of investors or the public interest."

Acting under this mandate, the Securities and Exchange Commission has made periodic studies of the mutual fund industry. Two months ago, the Commission submitted to the Congress a thoughtful and exhaustive 346-page analysis, "Public Policy Implications of Investment Company Growth."

The SEC report reaffirms the diligent manner in which the funds are managed and cites the proud record of the industry. However, it raises a number of serious questions when it states that:

- The great economies of size resulting from the growth of funds have brought vast profits to fund managers. But these economies have not been shared adequately with the investor.
- Sales charges for mutual funds may often be unnecessarily high.
- Investors of modest means have purchased "front end load" plans under which as much as 50% of their payments during the first year are deducted as sales commissions. They may face a substantial loss if financial difficulties force them to withdraw from the plan at an early date. In many cases the consumer is unaware of other forms of mutual fund investment which may be available at lower cost.

The Commission's study concludes that mutual fund shareholders need additional safeguards in the areas mentioned above and

that protections under present law should be extended.

I urge the Congress to give careful consideration to the Report and recommendations of the Securities and Exchange Commission. In my judgment, they provide a sound basis for measures which will be beneficial to the investing public and promote the health and stability of the industry itself.

PROTECTING THE PUBLIC'S HEALTH

Today, we have a network of safeguards protecting the public's health.

In 1938 the Congress strengthened the Food, Drug and Cosmetics Act to require that the safety of drugs be cleared prior to marketing. In 1962, the law was further reinforced to require that the effectiveness of drugs also be cleared prior to marketing.

The value of these laws is beyond question. Nonetheless, important gaps in the law remain which should be closed now.

1. *Insuring the Safety and Effectiveness of Medical Devices*

Under present law, dangerous and worthless devices may be marketed until the Government—sometimes by chance, sometimes by complaint—discovers them and gathers the necessary evidence to establish that they are hazardous or ineffective. This is a laborious process. It requires many months. It is costly.

In the meantime, the elderly and the seriously ill suffer most. Improper treatment with worthless devices can be the cruelest hoax of all.

We want to foster continued research and development of lifesaving devices. But we must be sure they have been adequately tested before they are put on the market. We cannot be sure today.

Congressional testimony has revealed that
—Defective nails and screws for bone repair have required repeated operations to correct the damage.

—Some artificial eyes have resulted in serious infection.

—Useless heating and vibrating devices have caused the ill to squander their money and delay the pursuit of effective treatment.

—X-ray machines, which could have been properly safeguarded at little cost, emitted excessive doses of radiation.

I recommend the Medical Device Safety Act of 1967.

Under this Act, the Food and Drug Administration would be required to pre-clear certain therapeutic materials—such as artificial organ transplants—used mainly on or in the body. In addition, the FDA will establish standards to assure the safety and performance of certain classes of widely used devices—bone pins, catheters, x-ray equipment, and diathermy machines.

In every case, the rights of the parties will be protected by fair hearings.

This new law will not apply to simple and ordinary patient care items which have withstood the test of time and are generally recognized as safe and reliable. It will not apply to an item specially ordered or designed by a surgeon or physician. Nor will it inhibit the research and development essential to the advancement of the medical arts. It will, however, protect physician and patient alike from devices which are dangerous and unreliable.

2. *Improving our Clinical Laboratories*

Most clinical laboratories render outstanding and dedicated services to patients and doctors. But the sub-standard clinical laboratory remains outside the reach of the law. There have been deeply disturbing revela-

tions of inaccurate medical tests performed by some of these laboratories. These tests have caused serious harm to the health and have threatened the lives of patients.

Consider the following:

- Expert studies indicate that one out of every four diagnostic tests conducted by clinical laboratories may be inaccurate.
- Mismatched blood transfusions have caused serious injury or death.
- Falsely low hemoglobin readings have resulted in transfusions patients did not need.
- Inaccurate tests have resulted in the needless prescription of highly toxic drugs.
- False tests have resulted in cruel anxiety to the patient and his family.

I recommend the Clinical Laboratories Improvement Act of 1967.

Under this Act, clinical laboratories engaged in interstate commerce would be licensed by the U.S. Surgeon General and required to comply with minimum performance standards set by him.

We will also provide, under the "Partnership for Health Act," a series of flexible matching grants to State and city health departments to strengthen their procedures for evaluating the skill and performance of clinical laboratories not in interstate commerce.

ASSURING WHOLESOME MEAT

For 60 years, the Federal meat inspection program has removed unwholesome and adulterated products from the Nation's meat counters. The American housewife knows she can count on the quality of inspected meat. Indeed, she may expect that all the meat she buys deserves her confidence.

Yet, millions of tons of meat are not subjected to these high standards of inspection.

Nearly 15 percent of the fresh meat supply and almost 25 percent of processed meat products do not enter into interstate commerce and are therefore not inspected under the Federal program. Although some of this meat is inspected under State and local programs, most of it receives no inspection at all.

It should be our goal to provide full assurance of the wholesomeness of all meat products offered for sale to the housewife. This assurance can best be developed through a Federal-State partnership for consumer protection.

I recommend the Wholesome Meat Act of 1967.

This legislation would modernize the present Federal Meat Inspection Act, a law which has been amended only once since its enactment in 1907. Under the strengthened legislation, the Secretary of Agriculture would be authorized to:

- Enter into cooperative agreements with States seeking to raise their standards of meat inspection.
- Furnish these cooperating States with up to half of the administrative cost of the inspection program and a major share of the cost of training personnel to man the program.

This legislation would greatly enhance the wholesomeness of our total meat supply.

PROTECTIONS AGAINST HAZARDS IN THE HOME

Time and again during the 20th Century, Congress has enacted new legislation to protect the health and safety of consumers. Our lawmakers have responded to changing needs and circumstances. Often they have been spurred by particular tragedies or specific disclosures.

News stories about young girls burned by flaming sweaters brought swift Congress-

sional action in 1953 to deal with certain flammable wearing apparel. The tragic deaths of children by suffocation in refrigerators led to the Refrigerator Safety Act.

It is right and gratifying that the national conscience responds vigorously to such events. But the result is a patchwork of frequently uncoordinated laws, incomplete and uneven in coverage, often containing loopholes and gaps unknown and unrecognized by the general public. The time has come to take an over-all look at our national safety legislation and to determine how it can best be streamlined to meet the needs of today.

1. *National Commission on Product Safety*

It is particularly urgent to review our safeguards against hazardous household products. Recent estimates indicate that over 400,000 accidents a year can be attributed to powermowers, washing machines, power tools, and cooking utensils.

Consumers must, of course, exercise proper caution in using equipment which inherently has some risk. But consumers should not be exposed to unnecessary risks resulting from improper design or defective manufacture. Today, too often, the consumer cannot be sure where such hazards lie.

The time has come for a comprehensive review of the:

- Scope and potential of voluntary industry efforts to develop safety standards and to engage in self-regulation.
- Relationship among Federal, State and local laws and regulations.
- Proper identification of products which present undue and unreasonable hazards to the health and safety of consumers.
- Question of responsibility and enforcement, particularly of manufacturers' liability for injuries caused by hazardous products.

When we have the answers to these ques-

tions, we can move from a patchwork of regulation to the comprehensive network of safeguards the American consumer deserves.

I recommend that the Congress enact legislation establishing a National Commission on Product Safety to insure prompt study of these questions by America's outstanding experts.

The entire Nation would look forward to a full report from the Commission, including proposals to establish uniform, comprehensive and effective safeguards in the area of household products.

2. *Strengthening the Flammable Fabrics Act*

There is one gap, however, in existing legislation which is so glaring that action should not be delayed. The Flammable Fabrics Act of 1953 has done much to keep extremely flammable clothing out of the Nation's stores.

But the standard of flammability established under that Act is deficient. The Act does not cover many articles of clothing which can be consumed by fire almost instantaneously. It is narrowly restricted to certain wearing apparel. It does not extend to such every day items as baby blankets, drapes, carpets and upholstery fabrics.

I recommend legislation to broaden and strengthen the Flammable Fabrics Act to close these gaps in the law.

3. *Fire Safety Act*

The strengthening of the Flammable Fabrics Act should be one early step in a major national effort to reduce our shameful loss of life and property resulting from fires. In 1965, some 12,000 lives and \$1.75 billion worth of property were lost to fire. Our per capita death rate through fire was about four times as great as that of the United Kingdom and over six times as great as that of Japan. We can do better, and we must.

We must begin by developing improved information about the number and causes of fires and their costs in terms of property, lives, and injuries.

The Federal Government must also begin to support and supplement private research efforts on fire-fighting and fire prevention. It should work to expand public education about fire prevention. It should extend a helping hand to communities willing to innovate and experiment in the field of fire control and prevention.

I recommend the Fire Safety Act of 1967.

This Act will authorize and support the:

- Collection, analysis, and dissemination of comprehensive, detailed fire information.
- Initiation of a fire safety research program.
- Improved education for those who prevent and control fire.
- Educational programs to inform the public of its opportunities and responsibilities for fire prevention.
- Pilot projects to improve and upgrade the efficiency of fire-fighting professions and to promote more effective application of fire safety principles in construction.

INCREASED ELECTRIC POWER RELIABILITY

The electric power industry, consisting of over 3,000 separately-owned systems—public, private, and cooperative—supplies a great and growing share of America's energy requirements. Electric power consumption in this country doubles every decade.

Electricity has helped to fulfill the promise of modern America. The electric power industry has provided this Nation with the most dependable and widespread electric service enjoyed by any people. Utilities have joined together to create systems that span

thousands of miles and operate at efficient and economical extra high voltages.

We have become almost totally reliant on electric power and on the systems that carry it to our homes, offices, factories and farms. The Northeast blackout in November 1965—affecting 30 million people in 6 States and Canada—was a spectacular reminder of how vital an uninterrupted flow of electric power is to our safety, defense, health and convenience. Subsequent power failures of lesser magnitude elsewhere in the country have intensified the concern of every citizen. The Nation's dependence on electric power requires further efforts to assure that service becomes even more reliable in the future.

Government and industry experts are now completing their assessment of the lessons of the Northeast power blackout. It is becoming increasingly clear that greater coordination is needed among the various utilities to reap the benefits of reliability and economy inherent in huge generating units and extra high voltage transmission lines.

It is also becoming evident that power systems must be carefully planned, coordinated, and strengthened to protect the consumer against cascading power failures. Much of this effort is already being voluntarily undertaken by America's great electric power industry. For example, in recognition of the importance of coordination 23 utilities in an eight-state area recently announced the formation of a regional council.

But more must be done. The final report of the Federal Power Commission on the Northeast blackout is now being completed. Recommendations for legislation will be carefully reviewed by the Executive Branch.

On the basis of this report and our review we shall recommend legislation to strengthen coordination among the electric power utilities. This coordination will promote the growth of an electric power supply system to

provide an even higher quality of electric service to the American consumer.

NATURAL GAS PIPELINE SAFETY

Nearly 800,000 miles of pipeline reach out across a continent, linking the Nation's natural gas producing fields to the consumer. This gas brings heat and convenience to millions of American homes. It is used increasingly in industrial processes.

The safe transmission and distribution of natural gas is essential to all of us.

The natural gas industry is among the most safety conscious in the nation. But natural gas is inherently dangerous when it is being transmitted. It travels through pipelines at enormous pressures. It is highly inflammable. When it burns, it can reach temperatures as high as 2500° Fahrenheit. In March 1965, a tragic pipeline failure near Natchitoches, Louisiana, killed 17 persons. The recent blaze in Jamaica, New York dramatically underscored how serious a gas pipeline failure can be.

As pipelines age and as more and more of the system lies under areas of high population density, the hazards of pipeline failures—and explosions—increase. Yet:

- 22 States have no safety regulations.
- Many of the remaining 28 States have weak or outmoded provisions.
- Although the gas industry has developed safety standards, they are not binding and in some instances not adequate.
- There is no Federal jurisdiction whatsoever over 80 percent of the Nation's gas pipeline mileage and no clear authority to set minimum safety standards for the remaining 20 percent.

With the creation of the Department of Transportation, one agency now has responsibility for Federal safety regulation of air, water and land transportation, and oil pipe-

lines. It is time to complete this comprehensive system of safety by giving the Secretary of Transportation authority to prescribe minimum safety standards for the movement of natural gas by pipeline.

I recommend the Natural Gas Pipeline Safety Act of 1967.

Under the Act, the Secretary of Transportation will develop minimum safety standards in consultation with the industry, the States, the Federal Power Commission and other government agencies.

These standards will cover the design, installation, operation, and maintenance of existing and proposed pipeline facilities, both interstate and intrastate, when the facilities are involved in the gathering, transmission or distribution of natural gas moving in interstate commerce. I am confident that the public can expect the full support of the industry for strengthened safety standards.

The Secretary of Transportation will also be given authority to investigate and determine the cause of accidents involving gas pipelines.

If we act now—in the public interest—we can reduce significantly the possibility of tragedy later on.

TO PROTECT THE AMERICAN CONSUMER

In this, my third message to the Congress on advancing the consumer interest, I speak in behalf of 200 million Americans.

I have set forth a series of demanding legislative proposals. They will require careful and deliberate consideration by the Congress and diligent efforts by the Executive Branch once they are enacted.

The cost to taxpayers of carrying out these proposals is very small. The savings to them as consumers will be great—in dollars, in safety and in peace of mind.

These proposals call for the united support

of business, labor and consumers.

Their purpose is to provide the greatest good for the greatest number.

They serve the objectives I set forth six years ago, almost to the day, before the National Industrial Conference Board:

"This Administration seeks no cold wars with—or among—those it serves; not with business or labor, not among producer and

consumer . . . With all—and among all—we seek warm and respectful alliances, so that in common purpose and joint effort we may assure success for freedom's cause."

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

The White House

February 16, 1967

NOTE: For remarks upon signing related legislation, see Items 499, 520, 539, 541.

58 Statement by the President on the Message on Consumer Protection. *February 16, 1967*

I HAVE today asked the Congress to enact a series of major proposals to protect our American consumer.

Nothing could be more vital to our system of free enterprise—for the consumer is every man, every woman, every child in this Nation.

The American consumer enjoys the highest standard of living of any time in our history. But there is important, unfinished business needed to strengthen the efficiency

and the fairness of our marketplace. We must act and I think we should act now to protect every American against unsafe products, against misleading information, against the deceitful practices of a few.

Our goal is to provide for the greatest good—for the greatest number. And we must never lose sight of that goal.

NOTE: The President recorded the statement for radio and television broadcast. It was not made public in the form of a White House press release.

59 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report of the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. *February 17, 1967*

To the Congress of the United States:

I am transmitting herewith the Sixth Annual Report of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. I do so with considerable satisfaction, since this year has seen significant progress in this Nation's twenty-year effort to bring under control the armaments which are the product of man's twentieth-century ingenuity.

In 1966 a significant link was added to the still slender chain of arms control agreements—a treaty banning weapons of mass

destruction in outer space and on celestial bodies. Its significance will grow as our mastery of space grows, and our children will remark the wisdom of this agreement to a greater degree than the present state of our own knowledge quite permits today.

The past year has also brought us close to another agreement, one of even greater immediacy—a treaty to prevent the further spread of nuclear weapons here on earth. Our hopes are high that this long effort will soon be crowned with success.

The United States has been trying to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons since 1946. At that time Bernard Baruch, speaking for the United States at the United Nations, said "If we fail we have damned every man to be the slave of fear." It is true that we failed then, but we did not become the "slaves of fear;" instead we persisted. In the Arms Control and Disarmament Act of 1961, Congress decreed that the search for ways to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war should become a matter of first emphasis for the United States Government. The establishment of an independent Agency to work out ways to bring the arms race under control was the act of a rational people who refused to submit to the fearful implications of the nuclear age.

Several things are evident from a reading of this Report. The first is that we are succeeding, after a few short years, in developing an integrated and highly expert attack on the problem of arms control and disarmament. Our security has two faces—strength and restraint; arms and arms control. We have come to the point where our thinking about weapons is paralleled by our thinking about how to control them. The Arms Control and Disarmament Agency plays a central role in this development.

The second is that despite the magnitude and complexity of armament imposed on the world by the cold war, the problem can be made to yield to imagination and determination, so that now we might legitimately begin to count up the score: we have cut down the danger of "accidental war" with the hot line, curtailed the injection of radioactive waste into the atmosphere with the limited test ban treaty, and joined in strengthening the system of safeguards designed by the International Atomic Energy Agency to close one of the doors to nuclear weapons.

The United States has anticipated the

future by putting all of Antarctica, and more recently outer space, off limits to weapons of mass destruction. Non-armament is easier than disarmament, and in these terms alone, the value of these latter treaties cannot be overestimated. In addition, however, we should not overlook the significance of this approach to the problems in arms control we face right now. A treaty to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons will have this same preventive element—without it we face the prospect of a world in which more than a dozen nations will possess nuclear weapons. If our hopes for success in a treaty are realized, the chances for still further agreements will be greatly enhanced. These next steps will also be more difficult, because they must involve the weapons we might otherwise add to our arsenals, or even those now on hand.

This brings me to my last observation, which is that this Report reveals the sobering reality of the immensity of the task we have undertaken. Read in the context of recent developments in the Soviet Union—the buildup of their strategic forces and the deployment of an antiballistic missile system around Moscow—we are reminded that our hard-won accomplishments can be swept away overnight by still another costly and futile escalation of the arms race.

It is my belief that the United States and the Soviet Union have reached a watershed in the dispiriting history of our arms competition. Decisions may be made on both sides which will trigger another upward spiral. The paradox is that this should be happening at a time when there is abundant evidence that our mutual antagonism is beginning to ease. I am determined to use all the resources at my command to encourage the reduction in tension that is in our mutual interest, and to avoid further, mutually-defeating buildup. The work of the Arms Control and Disarma-

ment Agency will continue to be of invaluable assistance in this urgent task.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

The White House

February 17, 1967

NOTE: The report is entitled "United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Sixth Annual Report to the Congress, January 1, 1966—December 31, 1966" (95 pp., processed).

60 Statement by the President Concerning the Report of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice. *February 18, 1967*

THE MEMBERS of the Crime Commission, its able staff and the hundreds of expert consultants and advisers who assisted them, have performed a great service to the Nation.

The report they have produced analyzes the tremendous complexity of modern crime:

—from the sad antics of a disorderly drunk to the terrifying violence of a demented killer

—from the first offense of a 15-year-old boy, to the corrupting schemes of a racketeer.

This report—and the supporting volumes that will follow it—is a major work of scholarship.

It is also a call to urgent action. It gives us the most comprehensive and detailed program for meeting the challenge of crime ever proposed in this country.

The basic message of this report is made clear in its final words: "Controlling crime in America is an endeavor that will be slow and hard and costly. But America *can* control crime *if it will*."

Earlier this month, in a special message on crime to the Congress, I expressed the will and the determination of this administration to act. I earnestly hope and expect Congress will respond by enacting legislation

against the challenge crime presents to every American—to his person, his pocketbook, or his peace of mind.

But—as this report again reminds us—while the crime crisis may have become a national concern, it will not yield only to Federal funds and technical assistance.

Governors and State legislatures must *act*.

Mayors, judges, police chiefs, prosecutors, and correctional officials must *act*.

Newspaper editors, clergymen, and civic leaders must *act*.

They must all be willing to examine the problem of crime, and the means their States and cities are taking to combat it. Where there is need for change, they must be willing to change. Where there is need for a greater commitment of men and resources, it must be made.

For too long, the public has listened to such martial phrases as the "challenge of crime" and has heard them only as platitudes. The challenge of this report—to all levels of government and to all citizens—is not one of platitudes but one of facts. It deals with a critical human problem—that, like poverty, disease, and ignorance, brings sorrow and economic loss to millions of our people.

And like those other enemies of mankind.

it can be controlled—if we will to do so.

NOTE: The report, dated February 1967, is entitled "The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society" (Government Printing Office, 340 pp.).

For the President's special message on crime in America, see Item 35 above.

The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice was established on July 23, 1965, by Executive Order 11236 (30 F.R. 9349; 3 CFR, 1964-1965 Comp., p. 329). A statement by the President upon establishing the Commission appears in the 1965 volume, this series, Book II, Item 382. See also Item 422.

61 Presidential Unit Citation Awarded to the 21st Tactical Air Support Squadron, USAF. *February 20, 1967*

BY VIRTUE of the authority vested in me as President of the United States and as Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the United States I have today awarded

THE PRESIDENTIAL UNIT CITATION

TO

THE 21ST TACTICAL AIR SUPPORT SQUADRON

The 21st Tactical Air Support Squadron, Pacific Air Forces, distinguished itself by extraordinary gallantry in connection with military operations against an opposing armed force in Southeast Asia, from 1 August 1965 to 1 February 1966. During this period, personnel of the 21st Tactical Air

Support Squadron repeatedly risked their own lives by exposing themselves to hostile ground fire while flying unarmed aircraft in order to effectively identify enemy targets and direct air strikes. Their actions resulted in the success of major ground operations and the saving of hundreds of friendly lives. The extraordinary heroism displayed by this unit in the pursuit of its mission is in keeping with the highest standards of performance and traditions of the United States military service. By their gallantry and untiring devotion to duty, the personnel of the 21st Tactical Air Support Squadron reflect great credit upon themselves and the United States Air Force.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

62 Statement by the President on the Death of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer. *February 20, 1967*

I AM greatly saddened by Dr. Oppenheimer's death.

America knew him best, of course, as the technical leader of the great wartime effort which led to the successful development of the atomic bomb. From the work he directed, there has resulted not only the nuclear might on which our security rests, but also the great flood of peaceful applications of atomic energy which we are now learning how to

use fully for mankind's benefit. He well deserved the Enrico Fermi Award, presented to him in 1963 for these outstanding contributions.

Dr. Oppenheimer was not only a great scientist, but a great humanitarian. He understood fully the implications of his work and did what he could to assure that the world would be a better place in which to live. The world will miss his genius.

63 Remarks at a White House Luncheon for Farm Leaders.

February 20, 1967

Secretary Freeman, distinguished Members of Congress and particularly those who have dedicated their lives to the cause of agriculture, and my farmer friends and fellow Americans:

Mrs. Johnson and I are very happy that you could come to Washington and that you could meet here with us today in the White House. I hope that the exchange of information has been helpful to you and to us.

Not long ago I watched a television program on the Indian food problem. The first part of it showed how many millions of tons of wheat are being shipped to India. It took us through the midwestern fields and their amazing mechanization. It took us to the great grain terminals. It took us through the ports in the United States and India.

Then began the long, arduous work of moving the wheat to distribution centers inland in that great country, to the villages and to the stores of the back country, and finally into the homes and stomachs of the people themselves.

The program went on to describe the state of American agriculture and Indian agriculture and the efforts that we have both made in an attempt to improve it by using better machinery, better farming techniques, better fertilizers, and better research and technical assistance.

I came away with many impressions, but uppermost was a renewed respect for the tremendous productive capacity of American agriculture.

Last night I was reading a speech that our foreign policy adviser is making in England next week. He says, in that speech, that our present population of 3 billion 400 million will increase in the next 13 years to 4½ bil-

lion, and that our average production increase in the developing countries that now runs 2 percent per year, for the last 5 years, will have to increase more than 4 percent per year, if we are not to have famine in the world.

Those figures, those times, and those dates are just around the corner out there. So I think it is good that all segments of this great basic industry can, from time to time, forget their sections, their religions, and their politics and come together to try to think and plan and work for the future of humanity throughout the world.

For no matter what decisions are made here in Washington about the dimensions of our food for freedom program, none of those decisions are going to have any meaning, unless we have the ingenuity, unless we have the commitment, and unless, above all, we have some good luck and a lot of hard work from the American farmer.

I have been worrying ever since last August when I had my last rain down where I live.

I think the same thing is true of the programs that we are interested in that have helped us to feed and to strengthen the diets of at least 25 percent of all the people in the United States. Today, 45 million Americans benefit from the school lunch program, the special milk program, the food stamp program, and others.

Millions of poor children will be stronger and healthier in later life, because of what the basic industry does and because of these programs themselves.

Thanks to the farmer's skill, his efficiency, and his know-how the average American consumer at this moment has abundant food

for his family that costs him less of his take-home pay. For instance, in 1949 he spent 25 percent of what he made to feed his family. Today, his food bill amounts to about 18 percent of his take-home pay.

Finally, the wheat and feed grains, poultry, and other products we are shipping in the world commerce are now providing this Nation a very vital part of our export earnings.

The last thing I did before coming here was spend more than an hour with the Secretary of the Treasury talking about our international monetary situation and the critical problem that lies ahead of us in our dealings with France and some of our other neighbors across the sea.

Exports of our farms produced a record of about \$7 billion last year. For one industry that is so well represented in this White House room today, that is quite a record. I think it deserves the recognition that we are paying it and I think it merits the gratitude of not only the 200 million people who live in our country, but the 3 billion 400 million who live in the world.

As an American who is interested in his country's foreign policy, as one who is deeply concerned with our domestic programs, as a consumer who pays some food bills, and as a part-time, unsuccessful rancher, I want each of you to know that the representatives of this great industry are always in my thoughts and always welcome in this house.

I think I know the debt that the country owes to the farmer. I know, too, that his share in the growth and prosperity of our economy is not what it should be and not what I would like it to be.

Parity of income between the farmer and the rest of the country is the constant goal of this administration. I believe we are making some progress toward reaching it.

Despite a recent decline, farm prices are

still about 4 percent higher than they were a year ago. Gross farm income in 1966 was 30 percent higher than it was in 1960. It was 18 percent higher than it was in 1963.

Net farm income was 31 percent over 1963 and per capita income of farm people has increased at a better rate than the income of others. But it is still—and this is important that we all bear in mind in every decision—two-thirds as large as that of the nonfarmer.

Farmers were still about \$900 short of equality with the rest of the country last year.

I have talked about farm income throughout this Nation—in more than 30 States last year. I have talked to the Members of Congress from the farm States almost daily. I have talked with farmers themselves and those in government who are charged with improving farm income and farming conditions.

I know that farmers have been caught in a bind between higher prices, increased cost of living, higher implement prices, higher interest rates, and stable or lowering prices for their farm commodities. I do hope there are some signs of hope for a substantial improvement in this situation.

We do have some things that we think are important. We have a 4-year farm bill that the Congress has passed. We have the security that a long term program like this permits us to plan for.

With our surpluses gone already in many commodities, the market is now operating more freely than it has generally in many years. The strong world demand, both in the commercial market and in countries receiving our food aid, gives us good prospects for, we hope, improving farm income.

The marketing skill of farmers will have a lot to do with farm income. Increased efficiency will have a lot to do with it. I believe

so will governmental policy in many areas, both foreign and domestic.

For my part, I can promise you that parity of income for farmers is and will be the goal of our agricultural policy. I believe there is a good future for farmers. In the past few years the outlook has grown brighter.

As one who carries a considerable responsibility for the general welfare of our whole people, I know that I want very much for it to be better—and it had better be better, for on your shoulders the well-being of millions of your brothers rests and always will.

I know of no particular industry in time of peace or war that has more nearly lived up to its responsibilities or to the expectations of the American people than the agricultural industry.

I wish that I could promise you more and deliver on those promises. I genuinely feel that at this period in our national history when last year alone we added 2,900,000 jobs, when our gross national product is at an alltime high, when we are doing more in the field of education, health, and conservation than has ever been done in our national history, that we ought to have as fine a record as we can in agriculture and I am working toward that end.

In our system of checks and balances, we have three branches. The executive proposes and the Congress disposes—and if it doesn't, the court does. It is pretty difficult to get us all three on the same wavelength at the same time.

I came here in 1931 in a period of great unrest in agricultural sections. While I don't want to ever go back to that period, I don't want to use it as a standard of measurement today, except to say that I genuinely believe that most of our dangers are from without and not from within.

I doubt that there has ever been a time

when there is more patriotism, more judgment, and more cooperation evidenced between the Congress and the executive than there is now.

So in the days ahead when there will be much testing and when our trials and tribulations will bear heavily upon all of us, I want to appeal to the farm industry in advance to give us your suggestions, your ideas, your counsel, and your patience.

There is much I would like to say to you today, but I know that you have been talked to and talked out, as people always are when they come to Washington.

I am reminded of a story that Mr. Rayburn told of one time when he went back to the place where he taught school and the old part-time farmer and part-time blacksmith asked him to stay all night with him. After they had talked until midnight, the wife and daughter went to bed and the men went out on the porch and sat there until a little after 2. They then went out in the yard.

As they came back to the rock steps and porch, Mr. Rayburn said, "Listen, Lee, I am going to have to go to bed. I am going to have to make seven speeches tomorrow in my campaign."

He said, "I guess that is right, Sammy. I just been down here using the hammer and riding the cultivator and trying to keep up with you and what you are doing there in Washington and I guess you do have to go on. It is 2:30 and," he said, "this is past my bedtime. But," he said, "I just shore wish I could talk to you all night long."

When I think about what is waiting for me over in my office now, I just wish I could talk to you all night long.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:12 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House to a group of delegates to a conference sponsored by the Depart-

ment of Agriculture. In his opening words he referred to Orville L. Freeman, Secretary of Agriculture. Later he referred to Sam Rayburn, Representative from Texas 1913-1961, who served as Speaker of the

House of Representatives 1940-1947, 1949-1953, 1955-1961.

As printed above, this item follows the text of the White House press release.

64 Message to the Delegates to the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee. *February 21, 1967*

THE Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee reconvenes today in a time of renewed hope. Conclusion of a treaty banning weapons of mass destruction in outer space and a treaty for a Latin American nuclear free zone give new impetus to the effort to bring the arms race under control.

The Disarmament Committee now faces a great opportunity—a treaty to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons. I earnestly hope that it will soon be possible to recommend draft provisions of a nonproliferation treaty for the consideration of the Committee.

As I pointed out to the Congress in my State of the Union Message, the world is “in the midst of a great transition, a transition from narrow nationalism to international partnership; from the harsh spirit of the cold war to the hopeful spirit of common humanity on a troubled and threatened planet.”

Our deepest obligation to ourselves and to our children is to bring nuclear weapons under control. We have already made considerable progress. The next step is to prevent the further spread of these weapons. If we fail to act now, nation after nation will be driven to use valuable resources to acquire them. Even local conflicts will involve the danger of nuclear war. Nuclear arms will spread to potentially unstable areas where open warfare has taken place during the last decade. Indeed, all the progress of the past few years toward a less dangerous world may well be undone.

A nonproliferation treaty must be equitable as between the nuclear and the non-

nuclear-weapon powers. I am confident that we can achieve such equity and that the security of all nations will be enhanced.

Such a treaty will help free the nonnuclear nations from the agonizing decision of whether to pursue a search for security through nuclear arms. Freed from the fear that nonnuclear neighbors may develop such weapons, nations can devote their efforts in the field of atomic energy to developing strong, peaceful programs.

I have instructed our negotiators to exercise the greatest care that the treaty not hinder the nonnuclear powers in their development of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. We believe in sharing the benefits of scientific progress and we will continue to act accordingly. Through IAEA, through EURATOM, and through other international channels, we have shared—and will continue to share—the knowledge we have gained about nuclear energy. There will be no barrier to effective cooperation among the signatory nations.

I am sure we all agree that a nonproliferation treaty should not contain any provisions that would defeat its major purpose. The treaty must, therefore, cover nuclear explosive devices for peaceful as well as military purposes. The technology is the same. A peaceful nuclear explosive device would, in effect, also be a highly sophisticated weapon.

However, this will not impose any technological penalty on the participating nations. The United States is prepared to make

available nuclear explosive services for peaceful purposes on a nondiscriminatory basis under appropriate international safeguards. We are prepared to join other nuclear states in a commitment to do this.

More generally, we recommend that the treaty clearly state the intention of its signatories to make available the full benefits of peaceful nuclear technology—including any benefits that are the byproduct of weapons research.

To assure that the peaceful atom remains peaceful, we must work toward a broad international system of safeguards satisfactory to all concerned. The treaty provides a unique opportunity for progress to this end.

Agreement on a treaty to stop the spread of nuclear weapons will be an historic turning

point in the long effort to bring the atom to heel. It will, I am confident, permit further cooperative steps to reduce nuclear armaments. Plain sanity calls for a halt to the competition in nuclear arms.

There is nothing to choose here between the interests of the nuclear and the nonnuclear nations; there is a terrible and inescapable equity in our common danger. I wish you Godspeed in your work.

NOTE: The President's message was read by William C. Foster, U.S. Representative to the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee, following resumption of discussions in Geneva.

For a statement by the President preceding a news conference held by Mr. Foster on August 11, and for a later statement on the occasion of the submission to the Committee of a draft treaty on the nonproliferation of nuclear arms, see Items 340, 367.

65 Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House Transmitting a Proposal To Modernize the Patent System. *February 21, 1967*

Dear Mr. President: (Dear Mr. Speaker:)

I have the honor to transmit the Patent Reform Act of 1967. This important measure is designed to aid America's economic growth by strengthening the U.S. Patent System.

From the earliest days of our Republic, the patent system has played an indispensable role in stimulating the Nation's progress and prosperity. It has spurred the creative work of inventors and scientists. It has fostered the most far-reaching technological advances in the history of civilization. It has helped American businesses to translate "the fire of genius" into the products and processes that have enriched the lives of all of us.

But we have learned that institutions must change to meet the demands of the times.

Modernization of the patent system is long

overdue. This nation which has reached unparalleled industrial and technological heights is still operating under a patent system that has remained unchanged for the past 130 years.

That system is not equipped to deal with today's problems and tomorrow's challenges. Consider the following:

- It sometimes takes an inventor 2½ years and more often much longer to receive a patent.
- The inventor is often faced with time consuming, costly and unnecessary legal action to enforce his rights.
- The expense of securing a patent is needlessly high, particularly when there are competing claims to the same invention.
- New technological advances take far too

long before they benefit the public.

—International trade is hindered by inconsistent patent practices from one country to another which increase costs to American businessmen.

America's patent system must be strengthened so that it can serve the technological advances it was designed to foster. I recommend the Patent Reform Act of 1967. Its purposes are threefold:

1. To raise the quality and reliability of U.S. patents.

2. To reduce the time and expense of obtaining and protecting a patent.

3. To speed public disclosure of scientific and technological information.

These changes will accomplish another important objective—they will bring the U.S. patent system more closely into harmony with those of other nations.

This Act was shaped from the recommendations of the Commission on the Patent System. I appointed this Commission of leading American citizens in July 1965 to study ways "to insure that the patent system will be more effective in serving the public interest." When I received the Commission's report last December, I directed the Commerce Department, the Justice Department and my Science Advisor to consider it carefully and, if necessary, to develop legislative proposals to carry out its objectives. The Patent Reform Act of 1967 is the result of that intensive review.

TO IMPROVE THE QUALITY AND RELIABILITY OF U.S. PATENTS

Today, inventors and businessmen alike are faced with uncertain and conflicting standards in obtaining and enforcing a patent. Under the Patent Reform Act the standards would be clarified and in every case the inventor would be required to show that his

invention is really new.

In addition, we should take action to reduce the likelihood of issuing patents which are later declared invalid by the courts. This would eliminate needless expense by the public, the business community, and the inventor. For the first time, under the Act, third parties will be permitted to prove—before a patent is issued—that an invention does not meet the required standards.

The Patent Office's information and retrieval systems are at the heart of the patent examination process. They supply the vital technical background against which inventions must be judged before a patent can be issued. As the world's library of scientific and engineering information increases and as inventions become more complex, conventional information retrieval systems are becoming roadblocks to rapid and effective patent searches. These roadblocks must be eliminated through expanded research and development and increased international cooperation.

TO REDUCE THE TIME AND EXPENSE OF OBTAINING AND PROTECTING A PATENT

One of the most burdensome aspects of the present patent system lies in the resolution of a dispute between two persons who claim that they have invented the same product or process. These disputes are costly and protracted. They are judged against standards that are often vague and sometimes unfair.

Most nations resolve those disputes by a simple and clear standard: "the first to file." Under this standard the inventor who first recognizes the worth of the invention and files a patent application is awarded a patent. It is now time to apply the "first to file" rule to the U.S. patent system.

But more can be done to streamline our patent procedures. An inventor should be

able to file an informal disclosure of his invention and establish an early legal filing date. This new "preliminary application" can help the small inventor by giving him time to test and perfect his ideas.

TO SPEED PUBLIC DISCLOSURE OF SCIENTIFIC
AND TECHNOLOGICAL INFORMATION

Patent applications are now kept secret until the patent is granted. This may take up to five years or more.

As a result:

—Public disclosure of new technology is delayed.

—Businessmen are unaware of new inventions and may invest substantial sums in developing a product that has already been patented by a competitor.

The legislation I am proposing provides that most pending patent applications must be published no later than 24 months after they are filed, regardless of how long it takes to issue the patent.

The Patent Reform Act contains a series of far-reaching and fundamental proposals. They will benefit businessmen, scientists and inventors. They will bring our patent system into harmony with those of other nations. But more important, they will serve the interest of all Americans, as the Constitution mandates, by promoting "the progress of science and the useful arts" in the decades ahead.

The Congress, I believe, will want to give favorable and prompt consideration to this important and long overdue legislation.

Sincerely,

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

NOTE: This is the text of identical letters addressed to the Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey, President of the Senate, and to the Honorable John W. McCormack, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

For a statement by the President on releasing the report of the President's Commission on the Patent System, see 1966 volume, this series, Book II, Item 637.

The proposed Patent Reform Act of 1967 was not enacted during the first session of the 90th Congress.

66 Statement by the President Announcing the New Freedom Share Savings Notes. *February 21, 1967*

ON May 1st the United States Treasury will offer a new savings note. It is called a Freedom Share. It carries a higher rate of interest. It is a cheerful companion to the popular Series E savings bond. Introducing this Freedom Share to the American people is the key thrust in our 1967 Share in Freedom bond campaign.

Freedom must be at all times defended, because it is at all times besieged. Not all of us are called to fight on the battlefield. Many of us must quietly and firmly do what we can and all that we must here at home. Buying bonds, regularly, is as important to this Nation in the long reach of history as

almost anything we can do.

We can do no less than those who fight and die for our freedoms. Last year, American servicemen bought almost \$350 million worth of savings bonds—close to \$90 million in the last quarter alone. Battle honors come hard in Vietnam, because the price of honor is often the price of life. Yet in jungle and hamlet—on shipboard and airfield—there is one trophy that every American unit prizes. It is not the enemy's flag. It is the Minute-man Flag that symbolizes 90 percent or better participation in the payroll savings plan.

Throughout Vietnam, there are scores of units who fly those flags for all our country-

men to see. I have seen them in Vietnam. They are declarations of our faith, and they declare that we are still the people that the poet saw—with “the flash of freedom in their souls and the light of knowledge in their eyes.”

NOTE: The President's statement was made on a closed-circuit telecast to meetings of volunteer savings bond salesmen throughout the Nation. It was made public as part of a White House press release which pointed out that the Freedom Share notes would be sold only in combination with sales of Series E savings bonds through regular payroll savings and bond-a-month plans (3 Weekly Comp. Pres. Docs., p. 295).

67 Statement by the President on the 50th Anniversary of the Smith-Hughes Vocational Education Act. *February 23, 1967*

FIFTY YEARS ago today—February 23, 1917—President Woodrow Wilson signed into law the Smith-Hughes Vocational Education Act—an act which has provided a firm foundation for significant developments in public vocational and technical education in the United States.

One of the most important accomplishments of the Smith-Hughes Act was the establishment of cooperative activities between the Federal Government and the States. Financial support is provided to our country's most worthwhile endeavor, the education and development of its youth.

Congress has passed a number of other

acts to provide for the expansion and further development of vocational and technical education. The Vocational Education Act of 1963 is helping to make possible an effective nationwide system of vocational and technical education programs. Over the 50-year period, approximately \$1.7 billion has been made available to the States under Federal vocational education laws.

Our goal must be to develop high quality programs of vocational and technical education related to the changing needs of the economy and readily accessible to all youths and adults.

68 Remarks at Ceremony Marking the Ratification of the Presidential Inability (25th) Amendment to the Constitution.

February 23, 1967

Mr. Vice President, Members of the Cabinet, Senator Bayh, Congressman Celler, Members of the Congress, distinguished Governors, ladies and gentlemen:

It was 180 years ago, in the closing days of the Constitutional Convention, that the Founding Fathers debated the question of Presidential disability. John Dickinson of Delaware asked this question: “What is the extent of the term ‘disability’ and who is to be the judge of it?” No one replied.

It is hard to believe that until last week our Constitution provided no clear answer. Now, at last, the 25th amendment clarifies the crucial clause that provides for succession to the Presidency and for filling a Vice Presidential vacancy.

Two years ago I urged Congress to initiate this amendment. I said that only our very amazing good fortune and the remarkable stability of the American system, have prevented us from paying the price that “our

continuing inaction so clearly invites and so recklessly risks."

Twice in our history we have had serious and prolonged disabilities in the Presidency. In 1881 President Garfield lingered near death for 80 days before succumbing to Guiteau's bullet. President Woodrow Wilson was virtually incommunicado for many months after a stroke, yet dismissed his Secretary of State for attempting to convene a Cabinet meeting. In each case there was controversy, but the Constitution provided no mechanism for installing the Vice President in the Chief Executive's empty chair while the President himself was disabled.

Sixteen times in the history of the Republic the Office of Vice President—the Office created to provide continuity in the Executive—itself has been vacant. Seven men have died while Vice President, John C. Calhoun resigned, and eight others left the Office vacant when succeeding to the Presidency. Again our American Constitution was silent on the selection of a new Vice President.

Once, perhaps, we could pay the price of inaction. But today in this crisis-ridden era there is no margin for delay, no possible justification for ever permitting a vacuum in our national leadership. Now, at last, through the 25th amendment, we have the means of responding to these crises of responsibility.

We pay tribute here in the East Room today to some of those who have worked to

provide those means—and thus to assure prompt and orderly continuity in the executive branch of the Government. Herbert Brownell, J. Lee Rankin, and Nicholas Katzenbach were among those who helped to develop this vital reform in the Department of Justice. Senator Birch Bayh of Indiana and Representative Emanuel Celler of New York introduced the measure in the Congress, carried it through exhaustive hearings and many negotiations, and presided over its passage. Many of the Members of Congress who contributed to its passage are here as our guests today. Many private citizens and organizations, and particularly the leaders of the American Bar Association, helped to gain broad public approval for it. And finally the legislatures of three-quarters of our States have made it the law of our land.

By this thoughtful amendment, they have further perfected the oldest written constitution in the world. They have earned the lasting thanks of the American people, for whom it has so long secured the blessings of liberty.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:18 p.m. in the East Room at the White House. In his opening words he referred to Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey, Senator Birch Bayh of Indiana, and Representative Emanuel Celler of New York. Later he referred to Herbert Brownell, Jr., Attorney General from 1953 to 1957, J. Lee Rankin, Solicitor General from 1956 to 1961, and Under Secretary of State Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, Attorney General in 1965 and 1966.

The 25th amendment to the Constitution is printed in the Federal Register (32 F.R. 3287) and in the United States Statutes at Large (81 Stat. 983).

69 Statement by the President on the Death of Roy Roberts.

February 24, 1967

ROY ROBERTS was a true friend. He was my friend, but more than that, he was America's friend.

His ideals were America's ideals. His pub-

lic service was performed in the loftiest tradition.

Americans who knew him will mourn his death. All of us join in thoughts and prayers

for his wife and family. But all of us are sustained in our sadness by the living legacy he leaves.

NOTE: The statement was read by George E. Christian, Special Assistant to the President, at his news

conference at 11:18 a.m. on Friday, February 24, 1967. It was not made public in the form of a White House press release.

Roy Roberts was former president and chairman of the board of the Kansas City Star and past president of the American Society of Newspaper Editors.

70 The President's News Conference of *February 27, 1967*

THE PRESIDENT. I will take any questions you have.

QUESTIONS

VIETNAM

[1.] Q. Sir, over the weekend we have had reports from Saigon about three new kinds of military actions—shelling by the Navy, the mining, and the long-range artillery fire into North Vietnam.

Can you give us a reading on whether this represents a step-up in U.S. activities? Do you regard it as any change in the level of the war?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, I would say that there is some activity taking place that we would not say has been normal through the past weeks, particularly the truce period. I think you could, if you searched, find some comparable action here and there, some similar actions.

I wouldn't want to put my credibility in doubt by saying it never had happened before and then have somebody do a little research and find that on occasion something had happened that was at least comparable.

But I think it is fair to say that this is action over and above what has been taking place over the last few weeks. Certainly it is more far-reaching.

The step-up may connote something that I wouldn't want to embrace, but I would say it is more far-reaching.

Q. Would you say, sir, you would characterize it as just keeping the pressure on? You have spoken of that kind of an approach.

THE PRESIDENT. I would say we don't need to label it, really. I think what we would want to conclude, really, is that our military and civilian leaders are doing what they believe is best to do to protect the safety, the lives of our men there and to try to bring about a halt to the war and the aggression.

I don't mean that it necessarily follows that we ought to have a slogan for it. But it does represent the reasoned judgment of our military and civilian men that this is desirable and essential in the context of our situation there, namely, their infiltration and their buildups and so forth.

Q. Sir, I was going to ask if they consulted with you before or after the action.

THE PRESIDENT. What action?

Q. This action they have just taken now. Did they make you aware of it before?

THE PRESIDENT. Sure, we are always in touch with them on the situation out there; that is through our military people, our Ambassador, and sometimes direct, and through the Secretary of State and Secretary of Defense.

Q. Mr. President, there were reports out of Saigon that there is a military victory psychologically there now. Is that reflected in the reports you have been getting?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think we ought to speculate on that. I would have to be explain-

ing whatever I said ad infinitum if I did.

I think we are doing the best we can to bring about peace in the area, to deter aggression and to bring an end to the hostilities. I think the men are giving a very good account of themselves.

APPOINTMENT OF ATTORNEY GENERAL

[2.] Q. Mr. President, can you give us any idea of how soon you expect to appoint an Attorney General?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, I would think very soon. If I didn't think you would criticize me I would appoint one now. You like to get it mimeographed, don't you?

Q. No, sir.

THE PRESIDENT. Can I get a commitment it will be all right with you if I name one now?

Q. Yes, sir.

THE PRESIDENT. I will very shortly.

VIETNAM

[3.] Q. Mr. President, this stepped-up action or far-reaching action—

THE PRESIDENT. I didn't embrace that. You and Bailey¹ get together on those slogans.

Q. You did say it was far-reaching, did you not? Does this make the situation more ominous? Are we moving far away from hopes of peace to come?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I don't think so.

Q. Mr. President, does it represent a recognition of failure of political or diplomatic efforts to bring peace?

THE PRESIDENT. None whatever. We have fired from ships before. We have done what we could to stop supplies coming down before.

As I said, I believe it is more far-reaching than some of the actions before, but I

¹ Charles W. Bailey 2d of the Minneapolis Star and Tribune.

wouldn't interpret it beyond that.

Q. Mr. President, last week Congressman Laird said, in effect, that you should give the American people and the Congress the report on the Vietnam war, the Vietnam situation that you mentioned in your State of the Union Message. Do you intend to give them anything like that or some similar report in the near future?

THE PRESIDENT. I do that almost daily. I did it at such length in the State of the Union that some of you felt that the message was too long because I had to go into some of my views on Vietnam there.

Some of the reporters said we spent too much time just talking on one subject in the last press conference. We do plan, from time to time, in our testimony and in our statements, to review that with the various Congressmen and with the people.

As a matter of fact, one Cabinet officer spent over 50 hours on that subject this year. He has released statements, I believe, almost 200 pages on Vietnam. It will be necessary for us to do some more of it as we go along. It will be present in all of our exchanges and speeches and testimony on different things. I think it should be.

I don't know of anything new that I can say that I haven't said. I met with the joint leadership of the Congress this morning at breakfast at 8:30. I reviewed with them some of these subjects in some detail.

I will be doing that with the American people from time to time. Secretary Rusk and Secretary McNamara also will.

INTER-AMERICAN MEETING IN BUENOS AIRES

[4.] Q. Mr. President, can you give us at this point any views on the inter-American meeting in Buenos Aires and your own plans in that respect?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes. We discussed that

this morning. I met with the bipartisan leadership to have a general exchange of views. It lasted approximately 2½ hours. Mr. Christian² can give you the exact timing.

Secretary Rusk reported in some detail on his meeting with the foreign ministers. He told them the date of the conference, the conference first suggested by a Latin American President.

We were asked if we could attend. We told them we would try to do so. Subsequently, in Mexico in our trip there, you will remember I said we would be glad to attend if they decided they wanted to have a conference.

Since then I have met with the President of Mexico on two occasions. We have discussed it. The foreign ministers have met and we have all concluded that if an agenda can be worked out that would meet with the approval of the Latin Americans that they would evolve an agenda and the foreign ministers go over it and reach conclusions on it, that we would be glad to attend and be available and participate. We plan to do that.

I believe the place is Punta del Este. I believe the dates are April 12 through 14.³ We did review the agenda, the economic matters, and others that we will discuss there.

The Secretary said, in effect, that the conference was very serious and very successful; it concentrated on the problems of economic integration. There will be five or six items on the agenda.

PLANS TO VISIT OTHER LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES

[5.] Q. Mr. President, could you tell us whether your plan, at this time, includes

² George E. Christian, Special Assistant to the President.

³ See Items 171, 173, 175-178.

visiting any other Latin American areas on this trip?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I could not. I do not have any plans at this time to do so. I do not anticipate doing so, but would not want to foreclose that possibility.

We might have to touch down and get gas somewhere and we might want to, if the time allowed, go some other place. But we have no plans now to do so.

THE ECONOMY

[6.] Q. Mr. President, do the signs, somewhat, of the slowdown in the economy demand more of you this moment than the release of the highway funds? Are you planning to step up to an earlier time the lifting of the investment credit or any other action on money?⁴

THE PRESIDENT. We will follow this very closely on a day-to-day basis. There is not anything unusual. The Council of Economic Advisers have reported their views and my views to the country. That is where we stand as of this time. We did that last September.

We said that we felt that if we could take these series of actions—several were contemplated as you recall. One was to ask the States and the cities and other public bodies to share with the business people of the country the responsibility of cooling some and of resisting inflationary pressures by not putting gasoline on the fire.

⁴ On February 20, 1967, the White House had made public a report to the President from Alexander B. Trowbridge, Acting Secretary of Commerce, on the impact of investment tax credit suspension. The report stated that capital spending programs planned for 1967 had been trimmed \$2.3 billion below what private industry would have spent in the absence of the legislation, and that 1966 capital expenditures had been reduced by over \$300 million.

The complete report is printed in the *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* (vol. 3, p. 288).

We called the Governors, the mayors, the businessmen, and the Federal Government in for a series of meetings. Thirty-four of the leaders of the Congress asked us not to put all the responsibility for restraint either on the Federal Reserve, through monetary restraints, or private business, through plant and equipment expenditures.

So we pledged to them then, when we sent that message in September, that we would attempt to defer, stretch out, hold back a series of allotments there to the extent of \$3 billion in programs—emphasize, capitalize programs—and to have the Federal Government share some of that responsibility.

In addition to that, we had withholding action of \$600 million on soldiers' housing at that time. The housing has waited about 18 months. We have released that because we felt, first, the economy could take it, and second, that the soldiers shouldn't have to take it any longer. They had waited 18 months.

Two, we released \$250 million in private housing, because housing dropped from a rate of 1,200,000 to 800,000 plus. We thought that had gone far enough and that we should do something to help that field. They had been restrained enough so we released \$250 million.

Third, I suggested to the Secretary of Transportation over the weekend—and we have consulted the Governors—that we would release \$175 million of the \$1.1 billion in highway allocations, in authorizations, that had been temporarily withheld. This will permit them to do some planning, particularly in connection with safety, right of way, bids and things of that nature. It will equalize some of the hardships that have taken place. We said we would move the date that would end it up to July from October.

There is not a great deal of difference

there. But it would provide 2 or 3 months so they could plan, could see, could get in the work in the summer months when weather is not such a big problem in construction. We are going to release \$175 million immediately. We are speaking of allocations.

I think I had better break this up. The whole expenditure is only \$400 million. We are going to try to bring the \$400 million expenditure back in line by the end of the fiscal year. That is what our commitment was originally. I don't think that is because of the economic condition. But it is taken in the light of the economic condition.

We think it is a good time. We think it won't heat up things like it did last September. The plant equipment that was 18 percent over last year when we took these series of actions—Governor Rockefeller took some very excellent ones in New York, Governor Hughes in New Jersey took some good measures, and the other Governors did, too—but when some other Governors and mayors did defer, it had the effect of bringing it down where they are estimating 6 or 7 rather than 18.

Q. Down to rather than off the top?

THE PRESIDENT. An increase of 6 or 7 over last year instead of 18.

VIEWS OF SECRETARY RUSK AND SECRETARY MC NAMARA

[7.] Q. There was surprise last week when Secretary McNamara felt obliged to say that he had never disagreed with Secretary Rusk on the bombing in the North.

Can you elaborate on why he felt so obliged?

THE PRESIDENT. The reports, you know, back and forth, from the testimony said: "Doesn't this involve a difference of opinion? It seems to us, when you are testifying here that you intimate that this is the situa-

tion and the Secretary seems to intimate this way. Do we concede that to be a difference in viewpoint? And does it actually exist?"

I haven't discussed this with him, but from what I have seen and read—what was the word you used?

Q. Obligated.

THE PRESIDENT. He did feel obliged to protect his credibility. That is the truth. These are facts. I am unaware at any time that we have ever met and discussed these high policy matters when we didn't leave the room in general agreement on general decisions.

That not only applies to the Secretary of State and the Secretary of Defense, but it applies to other civilians in the Government.

I have never observed two men who I thought could represent the State and Defense Departments more successfully and also the national interest more cooperatively.

Secretary Rusk is a man with some background in not only diplomatic matters, but in military, too. Secretary McNamara is a man with some civilian diplomatic background. He understands Secretary Rusk's problems and Secretary Rusk understands Secretary McNamara's problems.

We are very fortunate in the respect that they not only understand each other, but that we have men of such high caliber in high places, men who have had 6 years experience in their jobs.

Their experience is a great asset to this country. They have gone through a great many trials together.

VIETNAM

[8.] Q. Are these far-reaching steps being taken because the bombing has not halted the infiltration into the South, and do you have any better reading than you did a few weeks ago on that rate of infiltration?

THE PRESIDENT. I want to reconstruct your statement a little bit. Rather than put a slogan on it of some kind, I would say that the action itself is more far-reaching than it was the day before or something. That is what I mean. I don't mean to imply that these are in themselves a far-reaching thing. That is clear?

Q. Yes, sir.

THE PRESIDENT. I don't want to get that connotation in that context.

No, I don't think that we can state with any great precision how many individuals are in South Vietnam because we didn't bomb or did bomb during a period. We were very careful about that. Some people will put up a strawman sometimes and say bombing hasn't done what you said it would do.

Well, if you will go back to what we said it would do when we started there—and what we said in Baltimore in April—generally speaking, we feel that it has done those things that we expected it to do.

No one has ever expected, except those who want us to stop it, that bombing would stop infiltration. So that is my comment on your question. We never thought it would stop infiltration.

We do think that there are hundreds of thousands of people who are busy trying to put the bridges back and the railroad ties back, and the other things back. I would estimate we have lost less than 500 men in our bombing experiences. Probably we have lost a billion dollars in planes. We thought that we could make them pay a rather heavy price in manpower.

They may have a hundred thousand busy on air defense. They may have a hundred thousand or so busy on coastal defense. I don't want to be held to these figures.

I am just illustrating there are a substantial number of people engaged in these activities. Some have estimated as many as

300,000 additional on roads, rails, and these other things—if they were busy in cleaning up after them, repairing the roads, bridges, and railroad ties.

So you have a labor force of 500,000 there busy doing these things that the 500 men who lost their lives brought about.

If they weren't doing that they would be down there with some of your cousins and brothers doing other things or bringing in other things. Their efforts in this direction now would be doing something else. We know that. We do think it has cost them. We do think from their own voices and their sympathizers and their friends in the world that there are good indications that they would like to see the bombing stopped. They would like to see these men unrestrained and let them go on to doing other things that our men over there, our 500,000, would have to defend.

I don't know how much more ammunition these people would be down there using and fighting if they weren't building bridges. You can't be precise on all of those things.

I think the proof is in their own statements, how they feel about stopping this activity. Just as I would like all of you to write and talk and speak on the stopping of the bombing of Danang yesterday. I assume there will be a good many speeches today, a good many editorials tomorrow, and a good many columns from the press that will really say that the bombing of Danang yesterday was a very bad thing because it killed a number of Americans, wounded a number of Americans. It destroyed a lot of things on that airbase. The hand grenades and mortars they fired did this.

We know it hurts us. We assume it hurts them. We believe it does.

Does that answer what you want me to say?

Q. Yes.

PROSPECTS FOR PEACE

[9.] Q. Mr. President, you answered a question a few minutes ago as to whether the present moves in Vietnam were ominous and were leading away from peacemaking and the conference table by saying no. I would like to turn the question around, if I could.

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think I can predict exactly what is in somebody else's mind or heart. It is not our purpose or our belief that this is what is happening.

I have a quotation here that someone sent me in a letter signed yesterday from one of the great men that America has produced, General Stimson,⁵ Secretary of War and State. It says:

"The sinfulness and weakness of man are evident to anyone who lives in the active world. But men are also good and great, kind and wise. Honor begets honor; trust begets trust; faith begets faith; and hope is the mainspring of life. I have lived with the reality of war, and I have praised soldiers; but the hope of honorable faithful peace is a greater thing and I have lived with that, too.

"That a man must live with both together is inherent in the nature of our present stormy stage of human progress, but it has also many times been the nature of progress in the past, and it is not reason for despair . . .

"We have been late in meeting danger, but not too late. We have been wrong, but not basically wicked. And today with that strength and soundness of heart we can meet and master the future . . .

"Let them learn from our adventures what they can. Let them charge us with our failures and do better in their turn. But let them

⁵ Henry L. Stimson, Secretary of War under Presidents William Howard Taft, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Harry S. Truman, and Secretary of State during the administration of President Herbert Hoover.

not turn aside from what they have to do, nor think that criticism excuses inaction. Let them have hope, and virtue, and let them believe in mankind and its future, for there is good as well as evil, and the man who tries to work for the good, believing in its eventual victory, while he may suffer setback and even disaster, will never know defeat. The only deadly sin I know is cynicism."

I don't say that all of that is pertinent to your immediate question. But I think that each day the big road we follow is a search for peace. Everything we do is in that direction.

I believe that what I am doing—the course open to me now—is best calculated to bring that about. I don't mean that I can do that tomorrow. I don't think I can. But I don't see any other alternative.

I think doing nothing would take me much further away from it. Our principal objective there is to provide the maximum deterrent to people who believe aggression pays with a minimum cost to us and to them.

Do you want to follow through on that?

Q. No.

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think we have to be limited in this conference. One of the things I think about in an exchange of questions like this, if you ask a question you can follow through, which you don't always get to do on TV.

Q. I wanted to be sure we got a positive rather than a purely negative answer to whether in your judgment you consider the moves in Vietnam are positive in the direction of peacemaking. I think you have answered that.

THE PRESIDENT. I don't want to predict that they are going to bring that about and be held up to scorn next week for being a poor prophet. But I do believe this is the best course.

I have evaluated a good many options. As

you see, a good many are suggested from time to time.

TACTICS IN VIETNAM

[10.] Q. Mr. President, sir, in view of these new moves in Vietnam, what do you say to those who say you haven't gone far enough, especially in light of the mining of the waterways? You have still left Haiphong untouched.

THE PRESIDENT [*quoting from Lincoln*]. "I will do the very best I know how—the very best I can; and I mean to keep on doing it until the end. If the end brings me out all right, what is said about me won't amount to anything.

"If the end brings me out wrong, ten angels swearing I was right would make no difference.

"If I will try to read, much less answer, all the attacks made on me, this shop might as well be closed for any other business."

That is generally the way I approach these suggestions that I have from day to day. I think they are indispensable to the democratic form of government. They are very good.

I went around the table this morning and asked every man there to make his comments. I heard expressed some views I considered extreme one way or the other. I am sure they can pay me the same compliment.

But after all those exchanges—as President Truman says, "The buck stops here"—I finally have to do what I believe is right. Even when you put it off as long as you can and you do it then a few hours later, there is some strange something that will wake you up and say, "Did you think of these two points?" Then you consider them.

But we have taken the actions that we think are best calculated to protect the na-

tional interest of this country, freedom in the world, and humanity everywhere.

From time to time we will make mistakes and we will make decisions that will be open to question. We try to get all the information we can.

We try to hear all the experts we can. We try to get all the civilian advice we can. One time last year the congressional leadership said that we were consulting too much. After these consultations, then we make the decision.

One of the great men in the country said to me a few weeks ago, "Call in all of your civilians and listen to them. Then call in your Joint Chiefs of Staff and listen to them. Then call in all your scientists and listen to them. Get representatives of all groups of various administrations. Then," he said, "go over there to that bedroom and pray, pray. You may be wrong with what you do then."

That is what we try to do with these things. Some of the decisions, people think, are very late in coming. That is true.

But in my judgment, if they weren't wise we wouldn't have made them. I may be wrong in that. I know I am in some instances, but I don't see some of the things that other people think ought to be done now nor do my advisers. That is why we haven't done them.

POLITICAL CRITICISM

[11.] Q. Mr. President, some of the criticism of our situation in Vietnam has been

political rather than strategic. For example, Governor Romney has said political expediency has led us to where we are now. Do you have any response?

THE PRESIDENT. I do not want to get into that.

AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG'S TRIP

[12.] Q. Would you be surprised if Ambassador Goldberg turned up in Burma now with the North Vietnamese committee there which is meeting with U Thant?

THE PRESIDENT. Ambassador Goldberg, I think, had intended to visit Burma originally. If my memory serves me correctly, it is one of the countries I asked him to visit. Because of the hearings he had to divide his trip.

I have not been informed just where that division will be. I don't think you should place any unusual significance on whether he did it in the first trip or the second trip, or the second or the first trip.

Q. I meant at this particular time when the North Vietnamese are supposed to be there.

THE PRESIDENT. He is not on any peace mission. He is visiting some of the areas.

Alvin A. Spivak, United Press International: Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: President Johnson's ninety-sixth news conference was held in his office at the White House at 11:25 a.m. on Monday, February 27, 1967. As printed above, this item follows the text of the Official White House Transcript.

71 Special Message to the Congress: The Nation's Capital. *February 27, 1967*

To the Congress of the United States:

Our goal for the Nation's Capital is a city of which all Americans can be proud.

As I said two years ago, this city and its government must be, for its residents and the entire world, "a living expression of the

highest ideals of democratic government." It should be a city of beauty and inspiration, of equal justice and opportunity. It should be a model for every American city, large and small. It should be a city in which our citizens and our friends from abroad can live and work, visit our great National monuments, and enjoy our parks and walk our streets without fear.

The District of Columbia is the Nation's ninth largest city. It is the center of the fastest growing metropolitan area in the country, with a population today of 2.5 million. As such, its citizens have all the problems—and are entitled to all the rights—of the citizens of any large city in this country.

The District of Columbia is also the capital of our Nation, and the seat of every major agency of the federal government. As such, there is a significant Federal interest in the affairs of this city.

Since I have been President, I have addressed myself to the difficult problem of balancing the interest of the residents of the District as citizens of a large city with that of the National government as representative of the people of the entire country.

The actions of the 89th Congress demonstrate that it shares my concern that both these interests be fairly served. While the 89th Congress did not move forward in every field as many of us would have preferred, its accomplishments do illustrate our mutual interest in making the District of Columbia a place in which we can all take pride:

- A new four-year college and a technical institute were authorized to bring better education and training to our young.
- A mass transit system was authorized to serve the city and its suburbs and an interstate agency was created to plan and build the system.
- A comprehensive minimum wage law

was enacted.

- Urban renewal was started for the commercial area in the heart of the city.
- Two new Museums, the Hirshhorn and the Air and Space, were authorized.
- A Commission to plan a Visitor's Center was established.

These actions are an important, and a very historic beginning.

The District's programs for housing, education, health, welfare and recreation must be expanded and improved. Its war against crime must be sharply stepped up.

The 1968 Budget for the District calls for increased efforts in each of these areas. The budget would finance long-delayed school construction projects. It would provide the personnel and equipment needed to enhance the quality of education. It would provide resources vitally needed by the police and it would enable us to combat crime at its source with improved housing, education, training, health and rehabilitation services.

But prompt action on the 1968 Budget alone is not enough.

The citizens of the District are entitled to:

- Elect the Government which serves them.
- Efficient and effective Government machinery.
- Representation in the Congress of the United States.
- Streets and homes that are free from crime and the fear of crime.

The citizens of our Nation, as well as those of the District, are entitled to a Capital that is:

- Inspiring, dignified and beautiful.
- A place where the great scholars of the Nation and the world can come to work, study and learn.
- A hospitable location for the scores of foreign governments which are represented here.

—Accessible by transportation convenient to all who visit here.

I. A BETTER GOVERNMENT FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

The District of Columbia, as a major American city and the center of a large metropolitan area, faces all the problems of explosive urbanization—a rising crime rate, traffic congestion and parking shortages, decaying buildings and homes and inadequate health and education services. To meet these needs, the District must have the most responsive and efficient government we are capable of providing.

I recommend a three-point program to bring new vitality and strength to the District's government:

—Home rule.

—Reorganization and strengthening of the District government.

—Representation in the Congress.

HOME RULE

To provide a system of government appropriate for the people who live here and worthy of our heritage, the residents of the District of Columbia must be given a voice in the selection of their local officials.

The citizens of the District today have no voice in the Government of their city. Despite the principle so long cherished in this country, they are taxed without representation. They are asked to assume the responsibilities of citizenship and at the same time denied one of its most fundamental rights.

This continuing denial of democracy is an affront to our traditions and to the citizens who make the District their home.

The need for home rule stems from practical considerations as well. Management of

any large metropolitan center, in this era of rapid technological and social change, must be promptly responsive to new demands and new conditions. The Congress, preoccupied as it should be with the problems of this great Nation, cannot be expected to provide the day-to-day management that should be provided by locally elected officials. The 535 members of Congress should not be expected to serve as city councilmen for the city of Washington.

The bill to provide self-government for the District, which I transmitted to the 89th Congress, was designed to afford local citizens a full voice in their affairs and at the same time provide adequate safeguards for the legitimate interest of the Federal government in our Nation's capital. The Senate passed that bill. While the House of Representatives did not pass the bill I submitted, a majority of its members clearly went on record in support of the principle of home rule.

I again endorse the home rule bill.

As I said in my Message on the District of Columbia Budget, "I believe that the last Congress should have granted home rule to the citizens of the District, and I urge the present Congress to give them home rule."

REORGANIZATION OF THE DISTRICT GOVERNMENT

Improvements in District government need not await the passage of home rule legislation. Interim action under the Reorganization Act can bring urgently needed improvements to make the present unwieldy structure into an efficient and effective instrument of municipal government.

I will shortly transmit to the Congress a reorganization proposal to strengthen and modernize the government of the District of Columbia.

The present District government organization was established almost a century ago. The District was then a community of 150,000 people. Less than 500 persons were employed by its government.

Today the District has 800,000 residents. Its government employs some 30,000 people. Its 1968 budget is more than half a billion dollars. This major metropolis cannot be properly governed with the cumbersome machinery of an archaic and obsolete structure.

The District is entitled to have the best and most efficient municipal government we can provide. The Nation's Capital should lead the country in applying the techniques of modern management to the organization and administration of its programs.

The reorganization plan I propose would create a mayor-council form of government—the form which has been found most successful in the Nation's 27 largest cities.

Under the reorganization plan, the President, subject to Senate confirmation, would appoint from among District residents a single Commissioner as chief executive and a Council of nine Members.

The single Commissioner would serve at the pleasure of the President. Council members would serve two-year terms, five to be appointed one year and four the next. The staggered terms would insure continuity of experience on the Council.

The powers and responsibilities which the three-man Board of Commissioners presently have would be apportioned between the single Commissioner and the Council. The Commissioner would be assigned the executive functions now vested in the Board of Commissioners. Like most mayors, he would be given responsibility and authority to organize and manage the District Government, to administer its programs and to prepare its budget of revenues and expenses.

The Council would be responsible primarily for making local rules and regulations—the District's city ordinances. This would include the quasi-legislative functions which are now performed by the Board of Commissioners, such as licensing rules, the issuance of police regulations and the establishment of rates for property taxation. It would also review and approve the Commissioner's budget for submission to the President.

This reorganization would unify executive and administrative authority in a single Commissioner. While the District has been fortunate in the caliber and dedication of men who have become Commissioners, divided executive authority cannot provide effective management for the municipal affairs of a city of almost one million people.

The Capital City of this Nation can no longer afford government by three heads—each wearing several hats. To achieve their maximum potential, District programs—and Federally-assisted programs in the District—require clear-cut executive authority and flexible government machinery at the local level—not divided authority which too often produces prolonged negotiations and inaction. A single executive can bring effective management, direction and control to the task of meeting increasingly complex needs.

But reorganization alone will not assure the Nation's Capital the best municipal government. The District must also be able to attract and hold top men in the widely varying fields required for effective city government.

I recommend legislation to give the District Government an ample quota of its own top executive level positions—supergrades and Levels IV and V. The District government must be able to offer attractive salaries and opportunities for career advancement if it is to draw the caliber of person which the

government of the Nation's Capital deserves.

As these fundamental changes are made, it will be possible to effect further improvements, both in the structure of the District government and in its relationships to other agencies serving the Nation's Capital.

These proposals in no way substitute for home rule. The single Commissioner and the nine-man Council will give the District a better organized and more efficient government, but they will have no functions beyond those the three Commissioners now possess. The new structure will make the transition to self-government easier, but only home rule will provide the District with a democratic government—of, by and for its citizens.

REPRESENTATION IN THE CONGRESS

A proper complement to locally elected District officials is locally elected voting representation in the Congress.

I recommend that the Constitution be amended to authorize one representative for the District of Columbia in the House and such additional representation in the House and the Senate as the Congress may from time to time provide.

Upon ratification, this would give the District of Columbia at least one sure voice—the minimum possible voting representation—in the Congress. At the same time, it would provide, through the Congress, the ability to adjust the representation for the District as population increases and as other changes make such adjustments appropriate and fair.

Ratification by the States and enactment of the necessary implementing legislation will take some time. But District citizens should not be left completely without a voice in the Congress during this vital interim period. They are entitled to some representation in the Congress now.

I recommend legislation to permit the citizens of the District to elect a non-voting delegate to the House of Representatives. Such a delegate would be comparable to the delegates who formerly represented Hawaii and Alaska and to the present Resident Commissioner for the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico.

A delegate from the District in the House of Representatives would be of benefit to both the Congress and the District in providing a more adequate line of communication on District matters. A collateral benefit would be the opportunity for District citizens, through the experience of biennial elections, to develop additional local leadership and more effective political organizations responsive to the citizens who live here.

II. THE WAR ON CRIME

In my message to the Congress on Crime in America, I said:

“Lawlessness is like a plague. Its costs, whether economic, physical or psychological, are spread through every alley and every street in every neighborhood. It creates a climate in which people make choices, not out of confidence, but out of fear.”

That plague has struck our Nation's Capital. But, as I said in that same message:

“We can control crime if we will. We must act boldly, now, to treat ancient evils and to insure the public safety.”

In my 1965 Message on the District of Columbia, I announced the establishment of the Commission on Crime in the District of Columbia and asked for:

- Additional policemen.
- Special incentives to attract and hold first-rate policemen.
- Improvements in our courts to handle the growing criminal case load.
- New correctional techniques to break

the cycle of crime, prison, release and crime.

The Congress responded and in the past two years there have been significant advances. Working together, we have increased police salaries, authorized overtime compensation for police officers, provided additional judgeships in the Court of General Sessions, established a work release program for misdemeanor offenders and created the District of Columbia Bail Agency.

Through the Law Enforcement Assistance Act, the Department of Justice has provided funds to support:

- Development of a model police radio communications system.
- A police planning bureau.
- An in-service police training program for all staff levels.
- A computerized law enforcement information system for the metropolitan area.
- Additional mobile units.

The District of Columbia Commissioners have issued orders reorganizing the Police Department and the Department of Corrections to increase their efficiency and effectiveness.

These are significant steps forward. But more—much more—remains to be done.

In December 1966, the President's Commission on Crime in the District of Columbia submitted a comprehensive report on the nature and extent of the District's crime problem and on the quality of the District's response to it. The report assembled facts, carefully explored alternatives and presented a broad and practical program for action.

The Crime Commission reported that since 1960:

- The rate of homicides and housebreakings in the District has doubled.
- The rate of robberies and auto thefts has almost tripled.
- The rate of grand larcenies has increased

by more than 50 percent.

The Commission's Report emphasizes that any meaningful attack on crime involves comprehensive and persistent action over a period of several years. The Report makes the priorities clear. We must:

- Develop new programs to deal with juvenile delinquency.
- Develop and use the most effective law enforcement machinery available.
- Strengthen our courts and prosecutors so that persons charged with crime can be tried quickly and fairly.
- Guarantee that our rehabilitative efforts reflect the wisest experience in the field of corrections, so that we can break the vicious cycle of crime, prison and more crime.
- Develop an information and evaluation system which permits rapid appraisal of our efforts to control crime.

Measured against the demands of these goals, piecemeal efforts will not suffice. Crime will not be controlled by strengthening just one or two agencies in the field. All parts of the government with law enforcement and criminal justice responsibilities must be strengthened. Private citizens must participate at every level—from support for the police and promptly reporting crimes, to testifying in court and employing good risk offenders.

THE COMMITMENT

Crime in the sixties and seventies can no more be fought with inadequate budgets and obsolete tools than with words of public indignation. The District of Columbia needs financial resources to provide the manpower, training, new facilities and equipment and information systems—to prevent crime before it occurs, to process offenders swiftly and to develop programs which prevent

repetition of crime by offenders and return them to useful lives.

Equally important, the police and government officials of the District need the personal support of every citizen who lives here and of the Congress. So long as I am President, I will take every step necessary to control crime in the District and to make it a community of safe streets and homes, free from crime and the fear of crime.

My message on the District's Budget described some of the efforts we must make:

- A further increase in police salaries.
- Additional funds to improve police planning, communications and transportation.
- More police officers, particularly sergeants to improve supervision.
- Additional funds for our efforts to curb juvenile delinquency.
- Expanded assistance for the planning, construction and modernization of our courts and correctional facilities.

To support these efforts, I am requesting \$11.6 million—a 20% increase—in the Fiscal 1968 appropriations for the District police, courts and correctional activities. I urge the Congress to act promptly on this vital request.

LAW ENFORCEMENT

Action on the District's Budget alone is not enough. Our laws—and the weapons of those who enforce our laws—must be strengthened. I propose a ten-point program to achieve this objective.

1. *Gun control*

Pistols are relatively easy to *purchase* in the District of Columbia. As the Crime Commission found, "almost anyone who is willing to fill out a form and wait for 48 hours can buy a hand gun." The only persons who

may not purchase hand guns are minors, the mentally ill, drug addicts and convicted felons. It makes no difference whether the individual has any need to purchase a pistol. Pistols may also be purchased by mail without restriction.

Any person who is not a felon or drug addict may *possess* a pistol in the District. It makes no difference whether he is mentally ill, a minor or a chronic alcoholic, whether the weapon was obtained legally or illegally or whether there is any need for possession of the weapon.

Between July 1, 1965, and June 30, 1966, 1,850 major crimes were committed in the District of Columbia with pistols:

- 73 homicides.
- 640 assaults.
- 1,137 robberies and attempted robberies.

No civilized community in the Twentieth Century should permit a situation such as this to exist. Experience in cities that regulate the purchase and possession of hand guns and the studies of the Crime Commission clearly show that strict controls can strengthen our efforts to reduce violent crimes. Such controls cannot eliminate the danger of violence in our society. But they can help keep lethal weapons out of dangerous and irresponsible hands.

As the District Crime Commission emphasized, New York City, with the most stringent pistol control law in the country, has many crimes committed with hand guns, but the relative number of such crimes is significantly less than in the District.

The District had a hand gun murder rate of 9.1 per 100,000 of population in fiscal 1966. New York City had a rate of only 1.7. The hand gun assault rate was 79.8 in the District, but only 20.0 in New York. The hand gun robbery rate was 141.7 in the District, but only 45.4 in New York.

I recommend legislation to:

- Prohibit possession of firearms by minors, chronic alcoholics and the mentally ill, as well as felons and drug addicts who are covered by existing law.*
- Prohibit purchase of firearms by chronic alcoholics, as well as minors, the mentally ill, felons and drug addicts who are now covered.*
- Require that any person desiring to purchase, possess or carry a pistol in public obtain a license which will be granted only if he can show that he needs the weapon to protect his person or property.*
- Prohibit anyone from carrying rifles and shotguns in public, unless unloaded and properly encased.*
- Authorize the Courts to impose increased penalties where a firearm is used in the commission of a robbery.*

2. *Power to arrest without a warrant*

At present District police officers are authorized to arrest without a warrant only when they have reason to believe that the person has committed an armed robbery, murder or some other felony, or one of a limited number of misdemeanors, such as possession of narcotics or carrying a concealed weapon. The police today may not arrest a person whom they believe has committed other serious offenses, such as an assault or unlawful entry, without first obtaining a warrant for his arrest.

I recommend legislation to extend the authority of police to arrest without a warrant to additional serious offenses, such as assault, unlawful entry and attempted housebreaking. This will allow the police to respond more quickly and effectively to criminal acts threatening serious harm to our citizens.

3. *Witnesses*

Of vital importance to crime control and

any criminal prosecution is the availability of witnesses and their freedom from threats and intimidation.

Existing laws provide ample protections against intimidation of witnesses—but only after charges have been filed. It is not a crime to bribe or threaten persons with vital information before charges have been filed.

I recommend that the obstruction of justice statute be extended to cover interference with criminal investigations before charges have been filed.

In addition, the power of police to take custody of material witnesses at the scene of a crime must be clarified.

I recommend that the police of the District of Columbia be given authority to take custody of a material witness whenever there is reason to believe that he will not be available to testify in court. After the witness has been taken into custody, he would be promptly brought before a judicial officer who could either set conditions upon his release to insure reappearance or make arrangements for taking his deposition prior to release.

4. *Citations before and after arrest for certain offenses*

District police today spend enormous amounts of time guarding and transporting persons arrested for minor offenses. Even where the offense is minor and identity of the offender clear, the police must in each case arrest the offender and take him to the stationhouse before he can be released with orders to reappear for trial or a hearing to determine whether a trial should be held. This must be done even if the offense involves nothing more than annoying a neighbor or refusing to move on when asked by some local official. This results in an inexcusable waste of police time and energy and often prevents the police from fulfilling more

important duties.

New York, California and several other states have resolved this problem by authorizing the police to issue citations to persons they consider reliable to require a subsequent appearance in court or at the police station.

I recommend legislation to give the police discretion to issue citations for certain minor offenses requiring subsequent appearance by the suspect.

Under this proposal, the Court of General Sessions would determine the types of offenses which would fall within this procedure. The proposal would enable the police to release reliable persons at the place of arrest or the stationhouse, thus conserving valuable police time for more important crime detection and protection duties.

5. *Bail supervision*

Much can—and should—be done to improve our bail practices.

We are now making every effort to speed up the judicial process, to shorten the periods between arrest and trial and between conviction and appeal. This would limit the period during which the suspect is at large pending trial or appeal.

In addition, we must minimize the risk to society created by releasing persons before their trial.

I recommend legislation to permit the Department of Corrections to supervise persons released pending trial. This legislation would make possible more careful supervision of persons released on bail and would help the released person obtain needed counseling and assistance.

6. *Procedures upon plea of insanity*

Existing procedures governing the defense of insanity contribute neither to judicial efficiency nor to protection of the rights of criminal defendants. A criminal defendant

need not notify the prosecution or the court that he intends to raise the defense of insanity. He can wait until the prosecution has completed the presentation of its case and then submit this complex defense.

As a result the prosecutor must either make extensive and costly preparations which may not be necessary or enter the trial unprepared to deal with the issue. If the prosecution is not prepared and insanity is raised, a delay in the trial is unavoidable. But even where the trial is delayed, the Government may not have sufficient time to prepare its case properly.

I recommend that counsel for a defendant who proposes to plead insanity be required to give advance notice to the prosecution.

This would protect the public against needless expense, where insanity is not in issue. It would protect the courts, the prosecution and the defendant against needless delay, where insanity is unexpectedly raised.

7. *Civil commitment for narcotics offenses*

Last year I proposed the Narcotic Addict Rehabilitation Act to permit civil commitment of certain narcotic addicts. As I said at that time:

“Our continued insistence on treating drug addicts, once apprehended, as criminals is neither humane nor effective. It has neither curtailed nor prevented crime.”

I now recommend legislation to broaden the Act's applicability in the District of Columbia.

Full criminal sanctions must be retained against the pushers who peddle narcotics—those who corrupt our children and destroy the lives of the young on whom they prey. But we must begin to provide treatment for those who are addicted to drugs. We must attempt “to eliminate the hunger for drugs that leads so many into lives of crime and degradation.”

8. *Alcoholic offenses*

In fiscal 1965 there were 44,000 arrests for intoxication in the District of Columbia. This represents 50% of all non-traffic arrests. A few of these arrests were accompanied by assaults or other serious offenses. Most, however, involved nothing more than intoxication—and often just the intoxication of a chronic alcoholic.

This represents a tremendous waste of resources—police, courts and prisons. Alcoholism, as both the National and District Crime Commissions pointed out, is not a criminal problem. It is a health problem. Alcoholics should not be arrested. They should be treated.

I recommend that the laws of the District be clarified so that police and Health Department personnel can take intoxicated persons not to a jail, but to a medical facility where they can receive proper treatment. Intoxication would be a criminal offense only when accompanied by conduct which endangers other persons or property.

9. *Criminal law and procedure*

The criminal code of the District needs complete modernization and revision. It was last codified three quarters of a century ago. The District Crime Commission cites many examples of vague, confusing, archaic and conflicting provisions of substance and procedure. The District should have a coherent and consistent framework for the arrest and punishment of offenders and the control of crime.

I recommend the establishment of a Commission on Reform of Criminal Laws of the District of Columbia to review, modernize and clarify the District's Criminal Code. The eleven-man Commission would be composed of representatives from the House and Senate, from the Courts of the District and from the public at large.

10. *Criminal statistics*

The District must have a reliable means of discovering the effectiveness of its efforts to control crime. The report of the Crime Commission points out substantial gaps in the criminal information system. Police, courts, and correctional and juvenile institutions maintain separate and uncoordinated records, often creating conflicts in statistics and leaving the community without a comprehensive view of its criminal process. More significant, the policy makers in the District and the senior police officials lack the information essential to evaluate new and lasting crime control programs.

I have asked the District Commissioners to create a Bureau of Criminal Statistics. The Bureau would supply crime control agencies in the District with accurate data essential to their planning and evaluation functions and would end duplication of effort in data collection.

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

The District must be given the total resources necessary to mount an effective attack on crime. Its laws—and law enforcement officers—must be strengthened. But we must also improve our techniques for crime prevention, for processing offenders and for rehabilitating the convicted.

We must make additional efforts to stop crime where it most frequently begins—with the young offender:

—In the sixteen years from 1950 to 1965, nearly one-third of the persons arrested in the District for serious crimes were under 18.

—In 1965 arrests of youth offenders under 18 for serious crimes increased by 53 percent over 1960; adult arrests decreased 11 percent during this same period.

—In 1965, children 15 years and younger accounted for 36 percent of all house-breaking arrests and 27 percent of all robbery and auto theft arrests.

—In January 1967, there were more youth offenders referred to the Juvenile Court than in any prior month.

The Crime Commission's report stresses the need for improving our efforts to rehabilitate our young offenders and restore them to useful and productive lives. But as the Commission stated, "The most productive approach for both the potential offender and the community is to prevent delinquency before it begins."

It will be neither simple nor cheap to halt the growth of juvenile crime. But we must commit the necessary resources. I have recommended in the budget urgently needed funds to strengthen and improve a variety of District programs—education, recreation, health and welfare, and the Juvenile Court.

I have requested funds for a major summer program which will provide recreation, training and employment for disadvantaged youth.

I have also asked for funds to expand the Roving Leader program which has had such marked success in dealing with gangs and delinquency-prone youth. These funds will permit the expansion of programs removing the causes of delinquency as well as the improvement of the various rehabilitative services afforded the youth in trouble.

Consistency in these efforts, coordination of present youth programs, public and private, and development of new prevention techniques are essential. The Crime Commission proposed that a Youth Services Office be established to carry out these responsibilities.

I recommend legislation to establish a District Youth Services Office to plan and direct all the services needed to combat

juvenile delinquency.

This Office, recommended by the District Crime Commission, would encourage maximum efforts by public and private agencies, as well as by private individuals. It would make available through one source all the specialized services—counseling, remedial education, vocational training, employment assistance, and health and recreational services—needed by the young, their parents, school personnel and other persons working with the youth of the District. It would test new ways to prevent and control delinquency and to restore the troubled youth to a satisfying and productive life.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

We must make improvements in the administration of justice in the District of Columbia.

The report of the Crime Commission's study of the District courts is particularly disturbing. The Commission points out that offenders are released and not tried—not from any deliberate policy of leniency or softness, but rather from the pressure of sheer numbers and impossible caseloads.

—In fiscal 1966, the number of felony prosecutions was substantially less than it was 15 years ago—in the face of a substantial increase in the amount of crime and the number of arrests.

—In fiscal 1965, only 15 percent of the adult felony charges filed by the police resulted in felony prosecutions in the District Court.

An efficient police department is not enough. We must have a judicial system fully capable of dealing swiftly and fairly with persons arrested by the police.

The courts and the bar are already engaged in serious efforts to find solutions. The District Court and the Court of General

Sessions have made significant strides in improving their procedures for handling criminal cases.

The Judicial Council of the District of Columbia Circuit is preparing recommendations on ways to handle the staggering—and increasing—caseload of the Court of General Sessions, and to improve the processing of criminal cases in all of our courts. One promising method being explored is a program for round-the-clock processing of arrested persons and night sessions of court.

The Judicial Council is also at work on another recommendation of the Crime Commission—the proposal for a Family Court which would assume the responsibilities of the Juvenile Court, the Domestic Relations Branch of the Court of General Sessions, and the Mental Health Commission.

The need to find solutions remains urgent. I pledge the continuing cooperation and assistance of the Executive Branch to these efforts. I have asked the District Commissioners and the Acting Attorney General to review promptly any recommendations for improving the administration of justice in the District of Columbia made by the courts or the Judicial Council and to take appropriate action to implement them.

CORRECTIONS

We must make improvements in the rehabilitation of the convicted offender. The report of the Crime Commission makes clear that the problem which the District faces is not too much probation and parole.

The Crime Commission's report revealed that two-thirds of those convicted of felonies in the District have already served at least one prison term. In addition, the Commission found that more than one-half of the felony offenders were unemployed when they committed their most recent crime.

No matter how long the sentences, most prisoners will eventually be returned to the community. The quality of the help they receive in prison and after release in building new lives for themselves makes the critical difference.

The District's correctional system is in need of modern facilities, more specialized personnel to provide counseling and vocational training, "halfway" houses to provide support during the critical release period and community support to provide employment for persons with criminal records.

The Budget I have recommended to the Congress will permit the District to begin to overcome these deficiencies and to plan to meet the needs of the future. It will:

- Permit planning of a modern detention, diagnostic and treatment facility to replace the District jail and the District Receiving Home.
- Allow closer supervision and improved counseling, training and employment services for prisoners before and after release.
- Provide greater services for youth offenders and an expanded work-training program to assist in the transition from jail to meaningful employment.

I strongly urge prompt and favorable action on these recommendations.

I also recommend that the Federal Prison Industries be authorized to manage and operate the industrial program of the District's correctional institutions. This agency, which has an enviable record of success in Federal prisons, will provide valuable assistance to the District in improving prison vocational training and employment opportunities.

This is the immediate battle plan in a total campaign to assure law and order for

the District. Some parts require legislation. Some require funds. Some require improvements in procedures that courts, agencies and administrators can themselves put into effect. A failure on any front in this war weakens the efforts on all the others. Every course must be pursued. We must not fail.

I pledge myself—and I urge the Congress—to take every step which is necessary to ultimate success in our drive against crime. We must pursue every avenue and use every weapon which holds promise of advancing this effort. We will need the total commitment and cooperation of every man and woman in the District, if we are to have a city where civic order and social justice prevail.

As I said in my message on Crime in America, "Public order is the first business of government."

III. THE DISTRICT AS THE CAPITAL

The District, as the Nation's Capital, must be able to serve the national purpose for which it was founded. Its great avenues must be preserved as a tribute to the past and an inspiration for the future. It should afford unparalleled opportunities for the great scholars of the country and the world. It must make every effort to meet the needs of emissaries from abroad. It must continually explore new ways to improve its overloaded transportation facilities.

PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE COMMISSION

Pennsylvania Avenue, the District's most important thoroughfare, is the symbolic link between the White House and the Capitol. Throughout our history it has been the scene of ceremonies celebrating our triumphs and our tragedies.

Yet it has been allowed to wear down and become unworthy of its role. A temporary

Commission created by Executive Order¹ is now engaged in bringing to the Avenue the dignity and grandeur which it should have.

I recommend that the Congress support these efforts by prompt approval of the bill establishing a statutory Commission on Pennsylvania Avenue.

WOODROW WILSON CENTER FOR SCHOLARS

The Woodrow Wilson Memorial Commission, created by the Congress in 1961,² recently recommended the establishment of a Center for Scholars at Market Square as a living memorial to that great President.

The proposal of the Woodrow Wilson Commission has much to commend it. Because of its broad educational aspects, I am appointing the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to the Temporary Commission on Pennsylvania Avenue. I am asking him, in consultation with the Commission, to conduct a study to develop a detailed proposal for the Center. When that study is completed, I will make further recommendations to the Congress.

It is my hope that the Center will serve as a place for bringing together scholars and students from other countries to increase understanding among peoples of the world, as well as an important educational institution.

INTERNATIONAL CENTER

For the District to serve its purpose as the Nation's Capital, it must provide for the representatives of foreign governments and international organizations. Increasingly, the unavailability of space for the legitimate

¹ Executive Order 11210 of March 25, 1965 "Establishing a Temporary Commission on Pennsylvania Avenue" (30 F.R. 4051; 3 CFR, 1964-65 Comp., p. 294).

² 75 Stat. 783.

needs of foreign governments is becoming a matter of concern.

Many new countries require but have been unable to secure adequate space for their chanceries. Many older countries which are seeking larger quarters are having similar difficulties. The problem has become an unnecessary irritant in our international relationships.

I recommend legislation which, consistent with the legitimate interests of District citizens, would specify an area northwest of Washington Circle to be available for foreign chanceries and the offices of international organizations. The bill would authorize the Federal Government to acquire land in this area for appropriate disposition, as the Secretary of State may determine, to foreign governments and international organizations.

TRANSPORTATION CENTER

Last year, important decisions by the Congress and by local government agencies cleared the way for the development of highway and mass transit systems required to handle the growing transportation needs of the national capital region. Meanwhile, the National Capital Planning Commission is recommending that a major transportation center be developed in the vicinity of the Union Station, where railroads, mass transit

and highways will come together.

I am asking the Planning Commission to take the lead, in cooperation with other agencies, to conduct a detailed study of this recommendation and to determine how such a center might be designed and brought into being. This study will be closely coordinated with the planning for the Visitors Center which the Congress has already authorized.

CONCLUSION

It will not be easy to achieve our goal for the Nation's Capital—a city in which all Americans can take pride. The problems to which this message is primarily directed—better government and crime—will not be solved over night. Dedicated and persistent efforts by private citizens, private organizations, private businesses and by the District and Federal government will be required.

The task is difficult and success will take time. We must—and we will—succeed.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

The White House

February 27, 1967

NOTE: For a statement by the President upon signing the District of Columbia crime bill, see Item 575.

For the President's message to the Congress on June 1, 1967, transmitting Reorganization Plan 3 of 1967 on the District of Columbia Government, see Item 247. See also Items 337, 339, 341, 377, 406, 466.

72 Special Message to the Congress Transmitting Reorganization Plan 1 of 1967, Functions Relating to Ship Mortgages.

February 27, 1967

To the Congress of the United States:

I am transmitting Reorganization Plan No. 1 of 1967.

This plan would transfer from the Secretary of Commerce to the Secretary of Transportation authority to approve the surrender

of certain ship documents. These documents include certificates of ownership, declarations of citizenship and related ship papers issued for commercial vessels covered by preferred mortgages or owned by the U.S.

Under the Act establishing the Depart-

ment of Transportation, the Secretary of Transportation, acting through the Coast Guard, will have responsibility for recording bills of sale, transfers and mortgages of ships; for issuing new marine documents; and for retaining custody of preferred mortgages on vessels.

The Secretary of Transportation will not, however, have the authority to approve the surrender of documents for vessels covered by preferred mortgages. That authority still resides with the Secretary of Commerce.

As a result, shipowners will have to deal with two separate Departments of the Federal Government every time a ship's name is changed, its structure is modified, or it is sold or transferred.

In each of these and other cases, the shipowner must first seek the approval of the Secretary of Commerce to surrender the ship's documents and then request the Secretary of Transportation to issue new documents.

The reorganization plan is designed to

eliminate this duplication of effort, and to save time and expense for shipowners.

This is not a major reorganization plan. But it is important. It is part of our larger effort to streamline the Government, to make its operations as efficient as possible, and to enable it to provide better service to the citizens and businessmen of this country.

This plan has been prepared in accordance with Chapter 9 of Title V of the United States Code. I have found, after investigation, that the reorganization is necessary to accomplish one or more of the purposes set forth in section 901(a) of that title.

I recommend that the Congress allow the reorganization plan to become effective.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

The White House

February 27, 1967

NOTE: Reorganization Plan 1 of 1967 became effective on May 9, 1967. The text is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents, the Federal Register, and Title 3 of the Code of Federal Regulations (3 Weekly Comp. Pres. Docs., p. 330; 32 F.R. 7049; 3 CFR, 1967 Comp., p. 344).

73 Remarks at a Press Briefing by David Lilienthal and Robert Komer Following Their Return From Vietnam. *February 27, 1967*

YOU all know Mr. David Lilienthal.

For a good, long time I have been wanting Mr. Lilienthal to spend some time in Vietnam in connection with our "other war" out there. From the early stage of the TVA I have looked forward to and admired the novel, constructive, and far-reaching thoughts and programs which he has inaugurated on behalf of people in a democratic way and in a democratic society.

We finally prevailed on him to go out and do some studying there. I have asked him for his counsel. He has given it to me—just as General Westmoreland has and as the Ma-

rines that are out there at Danang have. He has given us his help. I think it will have far-reaching results and effects. It is going to be essential to our success in that area.

This goes back to what was said in Baltimore in April of 1965, if you want to take that platform.

Mr. Komer and Mr. Lilienthal have just come back. They have just finished reporting to me. In case you are interested in any of their thoughts or their recommendations or their views, they are available to you.

[At this point Mr. Lilienthal stated that after visiting 15 provinces and talking with

a "wide range of people," he found the Vietnamese confident "that the long term future of the country is in their hands. . . . They, themselves, by their own conduct, by the way they invest in their farms and the way they are electing village leaders, the way the industrialists are spending money, indicate that they think they know how this is all going to come out. . . . These are extraordinary people. To have been through 20 years of war and still have this amount of 'zip' almost insures their long term economic development."

[Mr. Lilienthal told members of the press that he had gone to Vietnam as head of the Development and Resources Corporation, a private enterprise founded by him "some 12 years ago, engaged in the development of various parts of the world." Under a 3-year contract with the U.S. Government, and in cooperation with a group of Vietnamese planners, the Development and Resources Corporation would make recommendations for the development of the resources of Vietnam, beginning with the Mekong Delta area.

[At this point the President resumed speaking.]

Some of this thinking is reflected in the Baltimore speech of April of 1965. That will be brought up to date. We have worked some with some of the United Nations people and some of our own economic people since that time. Of course we talked to Mr. Black about the agreed deal with the Asian Development Bank, and the economic development of that whole part of the world.

Q. Mr. Komer, would you tell us something about your report?

[At this point Robert W. Komer, Special Assistant to the President for Peaceful Reconstruction in Vietnam, summarized the main conclusions he had drawn from his trip. They enabled him, he said, to make his most encouraging report to date.

[Favorable factors as he saw them were: progress in opening surface transportation facilities—highways, railroads, and coastwise shipping—as alternatives to airlift; political progress in drafting a constitution and in the holding of national and local elections; improvement in the economic outlook resulting from the slowing of inflation, the increased availability of import financing, the rise in tax collections, the prospects for an adequate 1967 rice crop, and the easing of congestion in the port of Saigon; progress in pacification achieved by the reorganized U.S. Office of Civil Operations and the increasing effectiveness of the South Vietnamese Army which had assigned progressively more of its units to pacification after training by mobile training teams, as well as the increasing role in such work by retrained regional and popular forces. As a result it would be difficult, Mr. Komer believed, for the Vietcong to maintain its strength in the South in 1967. He added that the return rate of South Vietnamese impressed into Vietcong forces is high, as is the refugee flow from insecure to secure areas.

[Concluding his summary Mr. Komer said that, like Mr. Lilienthal, he sensed a growing mood of confidence in South Vietnam that the outcome of the conflict was no longer in doubt. He acknowledged, however, that a long, hard fight might still be ahead and that pacification was still lagging behind the military effort. Specifically he pointed out that the Vietcong still to a large extent controlled the roads at night.

[At this point the President resumed speaking.]

Before you leave, there are two things. I don't know whether you have the messages or not, but this week we are trying to move our appointments and messages as soon as we can.

I told the leadership I would work toward

getting the health and education message, two reorganization orders and the draft, and maybe an additional message, sometime within the next week—I would say through maybe Tuesday of next week. We don't want to be limited to that, but that is our goal.

I brought Mr. Lilienthal in and I will be bringing in others that I had scheduled to see a little later between now and Thursday.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:10 p.m. in his office

at the White House. As printed above, this item follows the text released by the White House Press Office.

The text of the questions by members of the press and of the replies by Mr. Lilienthal and Mr. Komer is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 3, p. 330).

On December 6, 1967, Mr. Lilienthal held a news briefing with reporters following a meeting with the President and members of the Cabinet on the situation in Vietnam. See the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 3, p. 1664).

74 Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House on Executive Order 11322 "Trade and Other Transactions Involving Southern Rhodesia." February 27, 1967

Dear Mr. President: (Dear Mr. Speaker:)

By virtue of my authority under Section 5 of the United Nations Participation Act of 1945, as amended, I issued on January 5, 1967 Executive Order No. 11322 relating to trade and other transactions involving Southern Rhodesia.

A copy of the Order is attached.

It prohibits the importation into the United States of Rhodesian asbestos, iron ore, chrome, pig iron, sugar, tobacco, copper, meat and meat products, and hides, skins and leather, as well as dealings by United States nationals or in U.S. territories in such products originating in Southern Rhodesia. It also embargoes shipments to Southern Rhodesia from the United States of arms, military equipment, aircraft, motor vehicles, and petroleum and petroleum products.

I have delegated to the Secretaries of State, Commerce and the Treasury the authority to promulgate such regulations as are necessary to carry out the Order.

The Executive Order implements the action of the United Nations Security Council reflected in its Resolution No. 232, adopted

on December 16, 1966, on which the Representative of the United States voted affirmatively. In this resolution the Security Council determined that the situation in Southern Rhodesia constitutes a threat to peace under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter and decided that all states should apply selective mandatory economic sanctions against that territory in accordance with Article 41 of the Charter. A copy of the Security Council resolution is attached.

I am submitting this report to the Congress under Section 4 of the United Nations Participation Act, as amended. The Secretary of State will submit a subsequent letter providing additional background about the United States position.

Sincerely,

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

NOTE: This is the text of identical letters addressed to the Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey, President of the Senate, and to the Honorable John W. McCormack, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Executive Order 11322 is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 3, p. 8), the Federal Register (32 F.R. 119), and in Title 3 of the Code of Federal Regulations (3 CFR, 1967 Comp., p. 243).

75 Statement by the President on the Death of Henry Luce.
February 28, 1967

HENRY LUCE was a pioneer of American journalism.

He penetrated the surface of events to interpret their meaning, their causes and effects.

A man of perception himself, his insight into developments of the 20th century was reflected on the pages of his publications.

He had a sense of history in the making, and so helped millions of men and women in this country and abroad to understand the forces that shape the society in which they live.

He also possessed an intense concern for the spiritual and educational well-being of his fellow men. Born in China, he retained an active personal interest in the Far East—its people and its progress.

The magazines that bear his stamp are an authentic part of life in America. They are living memorials to a man of great courage, farsighted vision, and strong convictions. His enlightened judgments will live and grow despite his passing.

NOTE. Henry R. Luce was the founder and publisher of Time-Life, Inc.

76 Statement by the President Upon Recommending Development of a Nuclear-Powered Rocket Engine and New Nuclear Research Facilities. *February 28, 1967*

I HAVE today sent to Congress a 1968 budget amendment totaling \$149.8 million for three significant scientific projects:

- The development of a nuclear powered rocket engine, the "Rover."
- A meson physics laboratory for basic physical and biomedical research.
- A specialized facility for further exploration into controlled thermonuclear fusion as a potential source of electricity.

These projects will advance America's ability to harness atomic energy for the peaceful exploration of space. They will also help us chart new courses in nuclear science.

The additional appropriations I have recommended for the Atomic Energy Commission and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration will not increase my total fiscal 1968 budget.

NUCLEAR POWERED ROCKET ENGINE

In my 1968 Budget Message I said that consideration was being given to the development of a new atomic-powered engine. It is my belief that the development of such an advanced engine should begin during the coming fiscal year.

This engine will substantially increase our Nation's space capabilities, and will give our larger rockets and spacecraft immensely increased power and versatility.

In the nuclear rocket program which has been moving forward during the last decade, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration and the Atomic Energy Commission have successfully tested reactors and engines with 55,000 pounds of thrust.

Government scientists and engineers have

now concluded that a much more powerful nuclear engine would have distinct advantages over rockets now in use. I am recommending that the United States Government move ahead with the development of a nuclear engine having a potential of 200,000 to 250,000 pounds of thrust.

Such an engine could be used for a new and much more powerful third stage for our Saturn V launch vehicle. Because of its very high efficiency, it could:

- permit us almost to double the weight of the present payload of the Saturn V vehicle.
- increase our ability to maneuver spacecraft.
- be used in future manned landings and explorations of far distant planets.

We know that the development of such a nuclear powered engine will take time. Plans now call for delivery of the first test engine about 1971. A number of flight and ground tests will precede full use of the engine in our space programs. That is why I have asked the Congress to appropriate funds this year to lay the groundwork for this important program.

I am, therefore, recommending appropriations of \$91 million in the coming fiscal year for nuclear rocket development. Forty-one

million dollars will be used by the Atomic Energy Commission. The remaining \$50 million will be used by NASA—with \$27.5 million for work on engine systems, and \$22.5 million for design and initial construction of special testing facilities.

NUCLEAR SCIENCE FACILITIES

It is also our intention to develop two new research facilities at a total cost of \$58.8 million.

One will be used in basic physical and medical research. Congress has already appropriated \$4.7 million for this facility.

The other facility will serve as a center for advanced research into controlled thermonuclear fusion as a possible new power source for the future.

Both of these research facilities will be built at the Atomic Energy Commission's Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory in New Mexico.

These projects are not theoretical adventures. They are the practical results of basic scientific research, and their fruits will prove of the highest value to a nation seeking new and peaceful keys to unlock the powers of man and the universe.

77 Special Message to the Congress: "Education and Health in America." *February 28, 1967*

To the Congress of the United States:

In Edmonds, Washington, three new evening classes today are helping 150 high school dropouts finish school and gain new job skills.

In Detroit, a month ago, 52,000 children were immunized against measles, during a campaign assisted by Federal funds.

In 25 states, Federal funds are helping

improve medical care for 6.4 million citizens who get public assistance.

Over 8 million poor children are now getting a better education because of funds provided under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. Nineteen million older citizens enjoy the protection of Medicare.

Three years ago, not one of these programs

existed.

Today, they are flourishing—because a concerned people and the creative 89th Congress acted. They are the result of twenty-four new health laws and eighteen new education laws.

But even the best new programs are not enough.

Today, we face major challenges of organization and evaluation. If our new projects are to be effective, we must have the people to run them, and the facilities to support them. We must encourage states and localities to plan more effectively and comprehensively for their growing needs and to measure their progress towards meeting those needs.

Above all, each community, each state, must generate a spirit of creative change: a willingness to experiment.

In this, my fourth message to Congress on Health and Education, I do not recommend more of the same—but more that is better: to solve old problems, to create new institutions, to fulfill the potential of each individual in our land.

Nothing is more fundamental to all we seek than our programs in health and education:

Education—because it not only overcomes ignorance, but arms the citizen against the other evils which afflict him.

Health—because disease is the cruelest enemy of individual promise and because medical progress makes less and less tolerable that illness still should blight so many lives.

I. EDUCATION

I believe that future historians, when they point to the extraordinary changes which have marked the 1960's, will identify a major movement forward in American education.

This movement, spurred by the laws of the last three years, seeks to provide equality of educational opportunity to all Americans—to give every child education of the highest quality, no matter how poor his family, how great his handicap, what color his skin, or where he lives.

We cannot yet fully measure the results of this great movement in American education. Our progress can be traced partially by listing some of the extraordinary bills I have signed into law:

—The Higher Education Act of 1965.

—The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965.

—The Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963.

—The Vocational Education Act of 1963.

The scale of our efforts can be partially measured by the fact that today appropriations for the Office of Education are nearly seven times greater than four years ago. Today we can point to at least one million college students who might not be in college except for government loans, grants and work-study programs, and to more than 17,500 school districts helping disadvantaged children under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

This breakthrough is not the work of Washington alone. The ideas for these programs come from educational leaders all over the country. Many different communities must supply the energy to make these programs work. Yet they are national programs, shaped by national needs. Congress has played a vital role in reviewing these needs and setting these priorities.

The new Federal role in education is, in reality, a new alliance with America's states and local communities. In this alliance, the Federal Government continues to be a junior partner:

—Local school districts will submit, and

state governments will approve, the plans for spending more than one billion dollars this year to improve the education of poor children.

- Federal funds for vocational education are administered through state plans controlled by state, not Federal, officials.
- The recommendations of the states have been sought and followed in more than 95 percent of the projects for centers and services which are funded by the U.S. Office of Education.

The education programs I recommend this year have three major aims:

- To strengthen the foundations we have laid in recent years, by revising, improving, and consolidating existing programs.
- To provide special help to those groups in our society with special needs: the poor, the handicapped, victims of discrimination or neglect.
- To build for the future by exploiting the new opportunities presented by science, technology and the world beyond our borders.

The budget proposals I am making for 1968 will carry forward our efforts at a new level. The total Federal dollar expenditures for educational purposes, including health training, which I have proposed for fiscal 1968 will amount to \$11 billion—an increase of \$1 billion, or 10 percent, over 1967 and \$7 billion, or 175 percent, over 1963.

STRENGTHENING EDUCATION PROGRAMS

State and community education leaders have shouldered heavy new burdens as a result of recent increases in Federal programs. If these officials are to develop wise and long-range plans for education, they must have more help.

The Elementary and Secondary Education

Act has provided funds to strengthen state departments of education. But additional funds are needed—money to improve community, state, and regional educational planning. Nothing can do more to ensure the effective use of Federal dollars.

I recommend legislation authorizing \$15 million to help state and local governments evaluate their education programs and plan for the future.

A Better Education Timetable

One condition which severely hampers educational planning is the Congressional schedule for authorizations and appropriations. When Congress enacts and funds programs near the end of a session, the Nation's schools and colleges must plan their programs without knowing what Federal resources will be available to them to meet their needs. As so many Governors have said, the Federal legislative calendar often proves incompatible with the academic calendar.

I urge that the Congress enact education appropriations early enough to allow the Nation's schools and colleges to plan effectively. I have directed the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to work with the Congress toward this end.

Another way to ease this problem is to seek the earliest practical renewal of authorization for major education measures.

I recommend that Congress this year extend three major education measures now scheduled to expire in June 1968:

- The National Defense Education Act of 1958.*
- The Higher Education Act of 1965.*
- The National Vocational Student Loan Insurance Act of 1965.*

Improving Program Evaluation

Most of our education programs have been operating too short a time to provide con-

clusive judgments about their effectiveness. But we should be heartened by the evaluations so far.

Recently, the National Advisory Council on the Education of Disadvantaged Children reported:

"The morale of teachers and administrators in schools with many poor children—their will to succeed and their belief in the possibility of succeeding—is perceptibly on the rise in many of the schools visited. More teachers than ever are involved in an active search for paths to success. The paths are not all clearly visible as yet, but decidedly the search has taken on a new vigor."

The council did identify problems and weaknesses in the school districts. Our efforts to identify shortcomings and to assess our progress can never be fully effective until we provide sufficient resources for program evaluation.

I have requested \$2.5 million to assure careful analysis of new programs so that we can provide a full accounting to the Congress and the American people of our successes and shortcomings.

The Education Professions Act of 1967

Our work to enrich education finds its focus in a single person: the classroom teacher, who inspires each student to achieve his best.

Next year, more than 170,000 new teachers will be needed to replace uncertified teachers, to fill vacancies and to meet rising student enrollments. Moreover:

- There are severe shortages of English, Mathematics, Science and elementary school teachers.
- More teachers are needed for our colleges and junior colleges.
- Well trained administrators at all levels are critically needed.
- New kinds of school personnel—such as

teachers aides—are needed to help in the schools.

—By 1975, the nation's schools will need nearly two million more new teachers.

To help meet this growing demand, the Federal government has sponsored a number of programs to train and improve teachers.

These programs, though they have been effective, have been too fragmented to achieve their full potential and too limited to reach many essential sectors of the teaching profession. Teacher aides and school administrators have not been eligible to participate.

We must develop a broader approach to training for the education professions. At the state and local level, education authorities must have greater flexibility to plan for their educational manpower needs.

I recommend the Education Professions Act of 1967 to:

- Combine and expand many of the scattered statutory authorities for teacher training assistance.
- Provide new authority for the training of school administrators, teacher aides, and other education workers for schools and colleges.

Improving Student Loan Programs

In the Higher Education Act of 1965, Congress authorized a program to support state guarantees for student loans made by banks and other lending institutions. For students of modest means, the Federal Government also subsidizes the interest cost.

The program has become an example of creative cooperation between the Federal Government, the states, private financial institutions and the academic community.

Though it began in a time of tight credit, the program is off to a promising start. This year, it is expected that loans totalling \$400 million will be made to nearly 480,000 stu-

dents. By 1972, outstanding loans are expected to total \$6.5 billion.

I have asked all of the government officials concerned with the program—the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Director of the Budget, and the Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers—to review its operations in consultation with state and private organizations concerned.

If administrative changes in the program are necessary, we will make them. If any amendments to the legislation are in order, we will submit appropriate recommendations to the Congress.

SPECIAL PROGRAMS FOR SPECIAL NEEDS

Educating Poor Children

Over the past two years, we have invested more than \$2.6 billion in improving educational opportunities for more than ten million poor children. This has been an ambitious venture, for no textbook offers precise methods for dealing with the disadvantaged. It has also been rewarding: we have generated new energy, gained new workers and developed new skills in our effort to help the least fortunate.

Dollars alone cannot do the job—but the job cannot be done without dollars.

So let us continue the programs we have begun under Head Start and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

Let us begin new efforts—like the Head Start Follow Through program which can carry forward into the early grades the gains made under Head Start.

The Teacher Corps

Young as it is, the Teacher Corps has become a symbol of new hope for America's poor children and their parents—and for

hard pressed school administrators.

More than 1200 interns and veteran teachers have volunteered for demanding assignments in city and rural slums. Teacher Corps volunteers are at work in 275 schools throughout the country: helping children in 20 of our 25 largest cities, in Appalachia, in the Ozarks, in Spanish-speaking communities.

The impact of these specialists goes far beyond their number. For they represent an important idea: that the schools in our Nation's slums deserve a fair share of our Nation's best teachers.

Mayors and school officials across the country cite the competence, the energy, and the devotion which Teacher Corps members are bringing to these tasks.

Perhaps the best measure of the vitality of the Teacher Corps is the demand by school districts for volunteers and the number of young Americans who want to join. Requests from local schools exceed by far the number of volunteers we can now train. Ten times as many young Americans as we can presently accept—among them, some of our brightest college graduates—have applied for Teacher Corps service.

The Teacher Corps, which I recommended and which the 89th Congress established, deserves the strong support of the 90th Congress.

I recommend that the Teacher Corps be expanded to a total of 5,500 volunteers by the school year beginning in September 1968.

I propose amendments to enhance the role of the states in training and assigning Teacher Corps members.

Finally, to finance next summer's training program, I strongly recommend early action on a supplemental appropriation request of \$12.5 million for the Teacher Corps in fiscal year 1967.

Educating the Handicapped

One child in ten in our country is afflicted with a handicap which, if left untreated, severely cripples his chance to become a productive adult.

In my Message on Children and Youth, I proposed measures to bring better health care to these children—the mentally retarded, the crippled, the chronically ill.

We must also give attention to their special educational needs. We must more precisely identify the techniques that will be effective in helping handicapped children to learn.

We need many more teachers who have the training essential to help these children. There are now only 70,000 specially trained teachers of the handicapped—a small fraction of the number the Nation requires. In the next decade, five times that number must be trained and put to work.

I recommend legislation to:

- Establish regional resource centers to identify the educational needs of handicapped children and help their parents and teachers meet those needs.*
- Recruit more men and women for careers in educating the handicapped.*
- Extend the service providing captioned films and other instructional materials for the deaf to all handicapped people.*

Ending Discrimination

Giving every American an equal chance for education requires that we put an end once and for all to racial segregation in our schools.

In the Civil Rights Act of 1964, this Nation committed itself to eliminating segregation. Yet patterns of discrimination are still entrenched in many communities, North and South, East and West.

If equal opportunity is to be more than a slogan in our society, every state and com-

munity must be encouraged to face up to this legal and moral responsibility.

I have requested \$30 million—nearly a four-fold increase over this year's appropriation—to provide the needed resources under Title IV of the Civil Rights Act to help states and communities face the problems of school desegregation.

Education for the World of Work

Three out of ten students in America drop out before completing high school. Only two out of ten of our Nation's young men and women receive college degrees.

Too few of these young people get the training and guidance they need to find good jobs.

I recommend legislation to aid secondary schools and colleges to develop new programs in vocational education, to make work part of the learning experience and to provide career-counseling for their students.

A number of our colleges have highly successful programs of cooperative education which permit students to vary periods of study with periods of employment. This is an important educational innovation that has demonstrated its effectiveness. It should be applied more widely in our schools and universities.

I recommend an amendment of the College Work-Study Program which will for the first time permit us to support cooperative education projects.

I am also requesting the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Secretary of Labor to use Neighborhood Youth Corps funds at the high school level for this purpose.

Combating Adult Illiteracy

At least three million adults in America cannot read or write. Another 13 million have less than an eighth grade education.

Many of these citizens lack the basic learning to cope with the routine business of daily life.

This is a national tragedy and an economic loss for which each one of us must pay.

The Adult Education Act, enacted last year, is our pledge to help eliminate this needless loss of human talent.

This year, I am requesting \$44 million—an increase of nearly fifty percent—for adult basic education programs.

These funds will help new projects, sponsored by both public agencies and non-profit private groups, to train volunteers for work in adult literacy programs and to establish neighborhood education programs reaching beyond the formal classroom.

BUILDING FOR TOMORROW

Public Television

In 1951, the Federal Communications Commission set aside the first 242 television channels for non-commercial broadcasting, declaring:

“The public interest will be clearly served if these stations contribute significantly to the educational process of the Nation.”

The first educational television station went on the air in May 1953. Today, there are 178 non-commercial television stations on the air or under construction. Since 1963 the Federal Government has provided \$32 million under the Educational Television Facilities Act to help build towers, transmitters and other facilities. These funds have helped stations with an estimated potential audience of close to 150 million citizens.

Yet we have only begun to grasp the great promise of this medium, which, in the words of one critic, has the power to “arouse our dreams, satisfy our hunger for beauty, take us on journeys, enable us to participate in

events, present great drama and music, explore the sea and the sky and the winds and the hills.”

Non-commercial television can bring its audience the excitement of excellence in every field. I am convinced that a vital and self-sufficient non-commercial television system will not only instruct, but inspire and uplift our people.

Practically all non-commercial stations have serious shortages of the facilities, equipment, money and staff they need to present programs of high quality. There are not enough stations. Interconnections between stations are inadequate and seldom permit the timely scheduling of current programs.

Non-commercial television today is reaching only a fraction of its potential audience—and achieving only a fraction of its potential worth.

Clearly, the time has come to build on the experience of the past fourteen years, the important studies that have been made, and the beginnings we have made.

I recommend that Congress enact the Public Television Act of 1967 to:

—Increase federal funds for television and radio facility construction to \$10.5 million in fiscal 1968, more than three times this year's appropriations.

—Create a Corporation for Public Television authorized to provide support to non-commercial television and radio.

—Provide \$9 million in fiscal 1968 as initial funding for the Corporation.

Next year, after careful review, I will make further proposals for the Corporation's long-term financing.

Non-commercial television and radio in America, even though supported by federal funds, must be absolutely free from any federal government interference over programming. As I said in the State of the Union

Message, "we should insist that the public interest be fully served through the public's airwaves".

The board of directors of the Corporation for public television should include American leaders in education, communications and the creative arts. I recommend that the board be comprised of fifteen members, appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate.

The Corporation would provide support to establish production centers and to help local stations improve their proficiency. It would be authorized to accept funds from other sources, public and private.

The strength of public television should lie in its diversity. Every region and every community should be challenged to contribute its best.

Other opportunities for the Corporation exist to support vocational training for young people who desire careers in public television, to foster research and development, and to explore new ways to serve the viewing public.

One of the Corporation's first tasks should be to study the practicality and the economic advantages of using communication satellites to establish an educational television and radio network. To assist the Corporation, I am directing the Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration and the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to conduct experiments on the requirements for such a system, and for instructional television, in cooperation with other interested agencies of the government and the private sector.

Formulation of long-range policies concerning the future of satellite communications requires the most detailed and comprehensive study by the Executive Branch and the Congress. I anticipate that the appropriate committees of Congress will hold hearings to consider these complex issues of

public policy. The Executive Branch will carefully study these hearings as we shape our recommendations.

Instructional Television

I recommend legislation to authorize the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to launch a major study of the value and the promise of instructional television which is being used more and more widely in our classrooms, but whose potential has not been fully developed.

Computers in Education

In my 1968 Budget, I propose that the National Science Foundation be given new resources to advance man's knowledge and serve the Nation. Its endeavors will help our scholars better to understand the atmosphere, exploit the ocean's riches, probe the behavior and the nature of man.

The Foundation will also step up its pioneer work to develop new teaching materials for our schools and colleges. The "new math" and the "new science" are only the first fruits of this innovative work.

One educational resource holds exciting promise for America's classrooms: the electronic computer. Computers are already at work in educational institutions, primarily to assist the most advanced research. The computer can serve other educational purposes—if we find ways to employ it effectively and economically and if we develop practical courses to teach students how to use it.

I have directed the National Science Foundation working with the U.S. Office of Education to establish an experimental program for developing the potential of computers in education.

Enriching the Arts and the Humanities

Our progress will not be limited to scientific advances. The National Foundation on

the Arts and the Humanities, established in 1965, has already begun to bring new cultural and scholarly spirit to our schools and communities. State arts councils, museums, theaters, and orchestras have received not only new funds but new energy and enthusiasm through the National Endowment for the Arts.

The National Endowment for the Humanities has made grants to support new historical studies of our Nation's heritage, to encourage creative teaching in our colleges, to offer outstanding young scholars opportunities for advancement.

I recommend that Congress appropriate for the National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities \$16 million—an increase of nearly one-third.

Higher Education for International Understanding

For many years, America's colleges and universities have prepared men and women for careers involving travel, trade and service abroad. Today, when our world responsibilities are greater than ever before, our domestic institutions of higher learning need more support for their programs of international studies.

The 89th Congress, in its closing days, passed the International Education Act—an historic measure recognizing this Nation's enduring belief that learning must transcend geographic boundaries. Through a program of grants under the Act, America's schools, colleges, and universities can add a world dimension to their students' learning experience.

I urge the Congress to approve promptly my forthcoming request for a supplemental appropriation of \$350,000 for the International Education Act, to permit necessary

planning for next year's program, as well as an appropriation of \$20 million for fiscal 1968.

II. HEALTH

No great age of discovery in history can match our own time. Today, our wealth, our knowledge, our scientific genius give us the power to prolong man's life—and to prevent the erosion of life by illness.

In 1900, an American could expect to live only 49 years. Today, his life expectancy has been increased to 70 years.

These advances are the result of spectacular progress in research, in public health, in the medical arts. We have developed:

- Sufficient knowledge to end nearly all of the hazards of childbirth and pregnancy.
- Modern nutrition to wipe out such ailments as rickets, goiter, and pellagra.
- Vaccines, antibiotics and modern drugs to control many of the killers and crippers of yesterday: polio, diphtheria, pneumonia.
- New medical and surgical techniques to combat cancer and cardiovascular disease.
- Life-saving devices: plastic heart valves, and artificial artery transplants.

In 1967, to pursue this vital work, the Federal Government is investing more than \$440 million in the construction of health facilities, \$620 million for health manpower education and training, \$1.3 billion in biomedical research, \$7.8 billion to provide medical care.

But each gain, each victory, should focus our attention more sharply on the unfinished business facing this Nation in the field of health:

- Infant mortality is far higher than it need be.
- Handicaps afflicting many children are discovered too late or left untreated.
- Grave deficiencies remain in health care for the poor, the handicapped and the chronically ill.
- American men between the ages of 45 and 54—which should be the most productive years of their lives—have a death rate twice that of men of the same age in a number of advanced countries.
- We still search in vain for ways to prevent and treat many forms of cancer.
- Many types of mental illness, retardation, arthritis and heart disease are still largely beyond our control.

Our national resources for health have grown, but our national aspirations have grown faster. Today we expect what yesterday we could not have envisioned—adequate medical care for every citizen.

My health proposals to the 90th Congress have four basic aims:

- To expand our knowledge of disease and our research and development of better ways to deliver health care to every American;
- To build our health resources, by stepped up training of health workers and by improved planning of health facilities;
- To remove barriers to good medical care for those who most need care;
- To strengthen our Partnership for Health by encouraging regional, state, and local efforts—public and private—to develop comprehensive programs serving all our citizens.

HEALTH RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT: THE FOUNDATION OF OUR EFFORTS

Supporting Biomedical Research

Our progress in health grows out of a research effort unparalleled anywhere in the world. The scientists of the National Institutes of Health have shaped an alliance throughout the nation to find the causes and the cures of disease.

We must build on the strong base of past research achievements, exchange ideas with scholars and students from all parts of the world, and apply our knowledge more swiftly and effectively.

We must take advantage of our progress in targeted research as we have done in our vaccine development program, in the heart drug study, in artificial kidney and kidney transplant research, and in the treatment of specific types of cancer.

In the 1968 budget, I am recommending an increase of \$65 million—to an annual total of almost \$1.5 billion—to support biomedical research.

I am seeking funds to establish an International Center for Advanced Study in the Health Sciences and to provide scholarships and fellowships in the Center.

I am directing the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to appoint immediately a lung cancer task force, to supplement the continuing work of existing task forces on leukemia, cancer chemotherapy, uterine cancer, solid tumor and breast cancer.

Health Services Research and Development

America's annual spending for health and medical care is more than \$43 billion. But despite this investment, our system of pro-

viding health services is not operating as efficiently and effectively as it should.

- In some U.S. counties infant mortality rates, one yardstick of health-care, are 300 percent higher than the National average.
- Seventy percent of automobile accident deaths occur in communities of less than 2500 people, where medical facilities are often poorest.
- Even though we have good techniques for detecting and curing cervical cancer, eight thousand women die each year for lack of proper care.
- Emergency rooms in U.S. hospitals are seriously overcrowded, not with actual emergency cases, but with people who cannot find normal outpatient care anywhere else.

Research and development could help eliminate these conditions by pointing the way to better delivery of health care. Yet the government-wide total investment in health service research amounts to less than one-tenth of one percent of our total annual investment in health care.

We have done very little to mobilize American universities, industry, private practitioners, and research institutions to seek new ways of providing medical services.

There have been few experiments in applying advanced methods—systems analysis and automation, for example—to problems of health care.

Our superior research techniques have brought us new knowledge in health and medicine. These same techniques must now be put to work in the effort to bring low cost, quality health care to our citizens.

We must marshal the nation's best minds to:

- Design hospitals, nursing homes and group practice facilities which provide effective care with the most efficient use

of funds and manpower;

- Develop new ways of assisting doctors to reach more people with good health services;

- Devise new patterns of health services.

To begin this effort, I have directed the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to establish a National Center for Health Services Research and Development.

I recommend legislation to expand health services research and make possible the fullest use of Federal hospitals as research centers to improve health care.

I also recommend an appropriation of \$20 million to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in 1968, for research and development in health services—nearly twice as much as in 1967.

DEVELOPING MANPOWER AND FACILITIES FOR HEALTH

Health Manpower

The United States is facing a serious shortage of health manpower. Within the next decade this nation will need one million more health workers. If we are to meet this need, we must develop new skills and new types of health workers. We need short-term training programs for medical aides and other health workers; we need programs to develop physicians' assistants, and speed the training of health professions. We also need to make effective use of the thousands of medical corpsmen trained in the Armed Forces who return to civilian life each year.

Last May, I appointed a National Advisory Commission on Health Manpower to recommend how we can:

- Speed the education of doctors and other health personnel without sacrificing the quality of training;
- Improve the use of health manpower both in and outside the government.

Meanwhile, I directed members of my Cabinet to intensify their efforts to relieve health manpower shortages through Federal programs. This week they reported to me that federally-supported programs in 1967 will train 224,000 health workers—an increase of nearly 100,000 over 1966. Thirty thousand previously-inactive nurses and technicians will be given refresher training this year.

Through the teamwork of Federal and state agencies, professional organizations and educational institutions, we have launched a major effort to provide facilities and teachers for this immense training mission.

To maintain this stepped-up training already started in fiscal year 1967, I am recommending expenditures of \$763 million—a 22 percent increase for fiscal year 1968—to expand our health manpower resources.

Planning for Future Health Facilities

Over the past two decades, the Hill-Burton program has assisted more than 3,400 communities to build hospitals, nursing homes and other health care centers. Hill-Burton funds have helped to provide 350,000 hospital and nursing home beds, and to bring modern medical services to millions of Americans. The authorization for this program expires on June 30, 1969. The contribution of the Federal Government in financing construction of health facilities has changed, especially with the beginning of Medicare, Medicaid, and other new programs. It is timely, therefore, that we take a fresh look at this area.

I am appointing a National Advisory Commission on Health Facilities to study our needs for the total system of health facilities—hospitals, extended care facilities, nursing homes, long-term care institutions, and clinics. In addition to considering the

future of the Hill-Burton Program, the Commission will make recommendations for financing the construction and modernization of health facilities.

ELIMINATING BARRIERS TO HEALTH CARE

In previous messages to Congress this year, I have made recommendations to:

- Extend Medicare to 1.5 million seriously disabled Americans under age 65.
- Establish new health services through broader maternal and child health programs; a strengthened Crippled Children's program, and new projects in child health and dental care.
- Improve medical services for the needy under Medicaid.
- Combat mental retardation by supporting construction of university and community centers for the mentally retarded, and for the first time, helping to staff the community centers.
- Guarantee the safety of medical devices and laboratory tests by requiring Food and Drug Administration pre-clearance of devices, and by requiring licensing of clinical laboratories in interstate commerce.

We must act in other ways to overcome barriers to health care.

The Office of Economic Opportunity has developed a program of Neighborhood Health Centers which not only bring modern medical care to the poor but also train citizens for jobs in the health field.

Last year, Congress endorsed this new approach and authorized funds for 24 such centers. More are needed.

I am requesting the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity to encourage communities to establish additional centers. Our goal will be to double the number of centers in fiscal 1968.

In the past four years, we have launched a new program to attack mental illness through community mental health centers. This program is now well underway. More centers are needed, and we must strengthen and expand existing services.

I recommend legislation to extend and improve the Community Mental Health Centers Act.

Among the most tragically neglected of our citizens are those who are both deaf and blind. More than 3,000 Americans today face life unable to see and hear.

To help reach the deaf-blind with the best programs our experts can devise, I recommend legislation to establish a National Center for the Deaf and Blind.

Ending Hospital Discrimination

With the launching of the Medicare program last July, the Nation took a major step toward ending racial segregation in hospitals.

More than 95 percent of the Nation's hospitals have already complied with the anti-discrimination requirements of the Medicare legislation. They are guaranteeing that there will be no "second-class patients" in our health-care institutions; that all citizens can enter the same door, enjoy the same facilities and the same quality of treatment.

We will continue to work for progress in this field—until equality of treatment is the rule not in some, but in all of our hospitals and other health facilities.

Rising Medical Costs

In 1950, the average cost per patient per day in a hospital was \$14.40. In 1965, this cost more than tripled to over \$45. Other health costs have also risen sharply in recent years.

Last August, I asked the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to initiate a

study of medical costs. This study, now completed, indicates that medical costs will almost certainly continue to rise. It emphasizes the absolute necessity of using medical resources more efficiently if we are to moderate this increase in the cost of health care.

This is a job for everyone who plays a part in providing or financing medical care—the medical profession, the hospital industry, insurance carriers, state and local governments and many other private and public groups. Federal programs must also play a role in promoting cost consciousness in medical care.

The new National Center for Health Services Research and Development will develop ways to make our medical systems more efficient. The Center's first assignment will be to develop new ways to improve the use of professional and auxiliary health workers—a key factor in reducing hospital costs.

We can take other steps.

I am directing Secretary John Gardner to convene at the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare a National Conference on Medical Costs.

This conference will bring together leaders of the medical community and members of the public to discuss how we can lower the costs of medical services without impairing the quality.

In the weeks and months ahead, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare will consult with representatives of the medical profession, universities, business and labor to:

- find practical incentives for the effective operation of hospitals and other health facilities.
- reduce the costs of construction and speed the modernization of hospitals, nursing homes and extended care facilities.
- support those innovations in medical

education which will lead to better training programs and promote the efficient practice of medicine.

OUR PARTNERSHIP FOR HEALTH

The Partnership for Health legislation, enacted by the 89th Congress, is designed to strengthen state and local programs and to encourage broad gauge planning in health. It gives the states new flexibility to use Federal funds by freeing them from tightly compartmentalized grant programs. It also allows the states to attack special health problems which have special regional or local impact.

I recommend that Congress extend the Partnership for Health legislation for four years; provide supplemental appropriations for planning in fiscal 1967 and total appropriations of \$161 million—an increase of \$41 million—in fiscal 1968.

Our Regional Medical Programs for heart disease, cancer, and stroke depend on a second partnership, involving doctors, medical schools, hospitals, and State and local health departments. These programs will bring to every citizen the fruits of our Nation's research into the killer diseases. They will also promote the continuing education of the Nation's doctors, nurses and other health workers.

To sustain these nationwide programs, I recommend an appropriation of \$64 million for fiscal 1968—an increase of \$19 million over 1967.

Occupational Health and Safety

Occupational health and safety is another area in which we need to strengthen our partnership with labor, industry, medicine and government.

In 1965, more than 14,000 job-connected deaths and 2 million disabling work injuries caused untold misery and privation to workers, 239 million lost man-days of production, and billions of dollars in lost income.

We must learn more about the nature of job-connected injuries, so we can set effective safety standards and develop better protective measures.

I am recommending in the 1968 budget an appropriation for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare of \$8.1 million—a 25% increase over this year—to expand research and training programs in occupational health, and to strengthen state and local public health programs in this field.

I am directing the Secretary of Labor to improve and strengthen health protection and safety standards for workers through cooperative Federal-State programs.

III. TO FULFILL THE INDIVIDUAL

As a people, we have wanted many things, achieved many things. We have become the richest, the mightiest, the most productive nation in the world.

Yet a nation may accumulate dollars, grow in power, pile stone on stone—and still fall short of greatness. The measure of a people is not how much they achieve—but what they achieve.

Which of our pursuits is most worthy of our devotion? If we were required to choose, I believe we would place one item at the top of the list: fulfillment of the individual.

If that is what we seek, mere wealth and power cannot help us. We must also act—in definable and practical ways—to liberate each individual from conditions which stunt his growth, assault his dignity, diminish his

spirit. Those enemies we know: ignorance, illness, want, squalor, tyranny, injustice.

To fulfill the individual—this is the purpose of my proposals. They present an opportunity—and an obligation—to the Ninetieth Congress.

I hope and believe this Congress will live

up to the high expectations of a progressive and humanitarian America.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

The White House

February 28, 1967

NOTE: For statements or remarks upon signing related legislation, see Items 285, 292, 378, 413, 474, 503, 507, 517, 520.

78 Statement by the President on His Message on Education and Health. *February 28, 1967*

TODAY the Congress has received my fourth message on education and health.

This message does not recommend more of what we have, but more that is better:

- better teachers for our poor,
- better use of educational television,
- better training for dropouts and for the handicapped,
- better health and safety standards for all of our workers,

- better research to combat cancer, and
- better facilities to protect the health of all Americans.

America's goal is the healthiest and the best educated society the world has ever known. These proposals reflect our determination to succeed in that quest.

NOTE: The President recorded the statement for radio and television broadcast. It was not made public in the form of a White House press release.

79 The President's Remarks to the Press Upon Announcing His Intention To Nominate Ramsey Clark as Attorney General. *February 28, 1967*

THE PRESIDENT. I have asked the Deputy Attorney General and the Acting Attorney General, Mr. Clark, to serve as Attorney General. His name will go to the Senate this afternoon.

Mr. Christian will give you a biographical sketch.

I think the things you will be primarily interested in are: He was born December 18, 1927. I think all of you know that he is the son of Justice Clark and Mary Ramsey Clark. His mother's father, Judge Ramsey, was one of the great lawyers from our State for many years. I think you know about his father.

He was nominated Assistant Attorney General in February 1961 by President Kennedy. He served in that capacity until February 1965. He was nominated Deputy Attorney General on January 28, 1965, and is still serving as Acting Attorney General.

Q. Mr. President, does the fact that his father is on the Supreme Court present any problem?

THE PRESIDENT. It is a problem for his father. I haven't discussed it with his father or with his son.

Reporter: Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:40 p.m. in his office at the White House. During his remarks he referred

to Judge William F. Ramsey of the Texas Supreme Court. Ramsey Clark was present when the President made the announcement.

Shortly after the President's announcement, As-

sociate Justice Tom C. Clark stated that he would retire from the Supreme Court in order to avoid any semblance of conflict of interest.

80 The President's News Conference of *March 2, 1967*

THE PRESIDENT. [1.] For your information, prior to visiting with HEW, I am going to drop by Howard University. Today is the 100th anniversary of the signing of the legislation that brought Howard University into existence.¹

I have been requested to appear there at a brief ceremony that they are holding. I shall go out a little earlier.

For any of you who may want to go, there will be transportation for you. If you don't want to go, there will be a pool that can report to you on it.

DISCUSSIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION

[2.] I have a brief announcement to make. I have received a reply from Chairman Kosygin to my letter of January 27.² This reply confirmed the willingness of the Soviet Government to discuss means of limiting the arms race in offensive and defensive nuclear missiles.

This exchange of views is expected to lead to further discussions of this subject in Moscow and with our allies. It is my hope that a means can be found to achieve constructive results.

I will be glad to take any questions in the time allotted to me.

¹ See Items 81 and 82.

² The text of the letters was not made public.

QUESTIONS

Q. Mr. President, this applies, did I understand correctly, to offensive weapons as well as the establishment of an antimissile system?

THE PRESIDENT. Offensive and defensive.

Q. Mr. President, on what level will these discussions be?

THE PRESIDENT. They will be in Moscow with Ambassador Thompson. Then we will see how they progress.

Q. Mr. President, will these Moscow discussions be concurrent with the ones going on in the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Conference going on in Geneva?

THE PRESIDENT. Not necessarily. They are not timed in connection with any other conferences.

As you know, I sent Chairman Kosygin a letter and asked him to consider the desirability of an exchange of views in this regard. He has responded. We would assume that the discussions would be initiated with Ambassador Thompson. I wouldn't go further than that at this time.

Q. Mr. President, do you see an interconnection between Senate passage of the consular treaty, the space treaty, East-West trade, and a nonproliferation treaty? Do you see these as kind of one movement?

THE PRESIDENT. I think they are all very desirable moves in the national interest of

the United States.

When I became President, one of the first steps I took in the first few weeks I was President was to communicate with Chairman Khrushchev and suggest that we explore together certain agreements that would be beneficial to both nations in promoting peace in the world.

Exchanges between our two countries resulted in: the signing of the civil air agreement; the signing of the consular agreement, which I devoutly hope will be ratified by the Senate, and about which I have had innumerable conversations with the leaders of this Congress of both parties; the progress that has been made in the non-proliferation agreement—although we have not come to a complete meeting of the minds with all of the individuals involved, we have made progress; the space agreement, which we hope the Senate will act favorably upon; the East-West trade, which is being considered.

We have recommended all of those. We hope that the Congress will confirm our judgment that they are in the best interests of the United States. They were not made as a package move. They were made as individual recommendations.

But I do think that what your question implies is: Does that reflect a policy on the part of this Government of attempting to find areas of agreement with the Soviet Union?

The answer is, yes. We are exploring, with every means at our command, every possible way of relieving tensions in the world and promoting peace in the world.

HOUSE ACTION ON REPRESENTATIVE ADAM CLAYTON POWELL

[3.] Q. Mr. President, do you have any reaction to the House action denying Mr.

Powell a seat?

THE PRESIDENT. No. I would have no comment on that matter, other than what you have been given before, that it is a matter for the Members of the House that is reserved to them by the Constitution.

The President doesn't engage in internal affairs of the House or the Senate.

VIETNAM

[4.] Q. Mr. President, sir, the Prime Minister of North Vietnam is quoted in a dispatch from Hanoi this morning as saying there is no present possibility of talks and the NLF representative in Hanoi is quoted in the same dispatch as saying now there is one way open to us—to struggle until final victory.

In the light of these comments, could you comment on our objectives at this point?

THE PRESIDENT. We are in Vietnam because of the violation of two solemn international agreements.

In 1954 Hanoi agreed that North Vietnam should not be used for the resumption of hostilities or to further an aggressive policy.

In 1962 Hanoi agreed to withdraw all of its military forces from Laos, to refrain from reintroducing such forces, and not to use the territory of Laos to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries.

If I had the time, I would go in some detail into the recommendations that General Maxwell Taylor made to President Kennedy in his report of November 3, 1961, after Hanoi had violated the Geneva Declaration of 1954, but before the Geneva Declaration of 1962 was finally completed.

Referring to that report General Taylor said, among other things, that his recommendation that he made at that time was not "the final word." Then he went on to add that it might be necessary to attack the

sources of supply at their source if they continued to insist on aggression.

We have made it abundantly clear that we were willing to have a complete cease-fire at any time they were willing to cease attack and cease aggression.

They have made it abundantly clear that they are not willing to do that, notwithstanding the "reports" that you refer to from time to time.

It is very clear to us that if they are going to bomb Pleiku as they did and kill our men in the middle of the night, if they are going to bomb Danang as they did just a few days ago, if they are going to lob their mortar shells into the backs of our soldiers as they did last night, you must, if you are at all fair to those men who are defending you there, permit them to respond.

They will respond, they are responding, and they will continue to respond, I believe, successfully.

I think that the American people should know that this is a question between their President, their country, their troops, and Mr. Ho Chi Minh and the troops that he is sending in from the North. Everyone can take whatever side of the matter that he wants to.

As far as this Government is concerned, we have, from the very beginning, tried to keep our hand out and our guard up. We have tried to extend the hand of peace and say that we are willing to cease fire, for unconditional discussions, for 4 points, or 14 points, or any points, but if they were unwilling to do that and they insisted on carrying on their offensive, our men had to be in a position to respond.³

³ On the previous day Secretaries Rusk and McNamara held a press briefing during which they summarized their reports to the President on the diplomatic and military situation in Vietnam. The text of their remarks is printed in the *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* (vol. 3, p. 351).

DISCUSSIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION

[5.] Q. Mr. President, may I go back to your statement on the Soviet willingness to limit the arms race? Is it your understanding from Chairman Kosygin's letter that they will now cease the construction of anti-ballistic missile systems while we discuss the problem?

THE PRESIDENT. My understanding of his letter is reflected in seven simple sentences. There will be a transcript available to you. I wouldn't go beyond that.

I don't think there is any implication that is not made clear.

Q. Mr. President, if you have told us this, I missed it: Can you give us some idea as to when the conversations are going to start?

THE PRESIDENT. We don't have a date on that. It will be at a mutually satisfactory time. We will be very glad for them to start at the earliest possible date.

Q. Mr. President, can you give us the date on the Kosygin letter?

THE PRESIDENT. My letter was January 27, and I don't have the date of his at the moment.

NEW ORLEANS CHALLENGE OF WARREN COMMISSION CONCLUSIONS

[6.] Q. Mr. President, you appointed the members of the Warren Commission, sir. I believe at a news conference recently you said you saw no reason from stories that had been written to doubt the conclusions of the Commission.

The District Attorney in New Orleans⁴ is attracting worldwide attention with statements now. First of all, he challenges the Warren Commission's conclusions and he does not want to cooperate, it appears, with

⁴ James Garrison.

the Federal Government in a case that involves a matter of very severe national importance. How do you feel about this?

THE PRESIDENT. I do not have any information from New Orleans, other than what I have seen in the newspapers. I would not have any comment to make with the limited information I have seen in the newspapers at this time. I know of no reason to change anything that I have said before.

FURTHER QUESTIONS ON DISCUSSION WITH SOVIET UNION

[7.] Q. Mr. President, Chairman Kosygin's letter refers to offensive and defensive nuclear missiles. Did your letter go so far or was your proposal limited to defensive?

THE PRESIDENT. My letter was prompted by the desire to raise the question of defensive weapons. We had previously raised the question of offensive weapons.

The Chairman's reply to us is agreeable to us. We are very glad to have the opportunity to discuss both, as we had indicated previously, although not in the same channels.

Q. Mr. President, was your January 27 letter prompted primarily by the Soviet anti-missile system being deployed around Moscow, the one you mentioned recently?

THE PRESIDENT. The January 27 letter was prompted by two primary reasons. First, the desire to have a discussion involving the limitation of arms, whenever possible, that might lead to an agreement. We are constantly pursuing any courses that might lead to an agreement that would be in the interest of the people of the world.

Second, before reaching a final decision on the course this Government would follow in connection with a defensive system,

I think we would like to explore an agreement.

In any event, we would like to have some discussions and be sure we couldn't get an agreement before we made a very basic decision that was far-reaching, comprehensive, and one on which we could not turn back.

Q. Mr. President, during the discussion, what will be the status of the research and development on the antiballistic missile? Will it continue or be suspended?

THE PRESIDENT. I assume both countries will continue with whatever efforts they think are desirable. I would see no reason for us to suspend work that we have underway.

Q. Mr. President, I didn't understand what you said earlier, referring to six sentences about the transcript. Could we have the texts of the exchange of the two leaders?

THE PRESIDENT. I think at this time I will limit you to my statement on the subject. That will be in the transcript. I will read it again, if you have the time and if I have the time. If not, it will be in the transcript.

Q. Sir, can you tell us exactly when you received the letter?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't have that.

Q. Not when it was dated, when you received it.

THE PRESIDENT. I don't have the date of the letter or the time it was received.

Q. Mr. President, is there any possibility of you and Mr. Kosygin meeting in the near future?

THE PRESIDENT. I see nothing in this that would indicate that now.

Merriman Smith (UPI): Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: President Johnson's ninety-seventh news conference was held in the Fish Room at the White House at 11:25 a.m. on Thursday, March 2, 1967. As printed above, this item follows the text of the Official White House Transcript.

81 Remarks at a Ceremony Marking the 100th Anniversary of
Howard University. March 2, 1967

Dr. Nabrit, members of this distinguished faculty, distinguished alumni, students:

This day is for prayers of thanksgiving. It is a day for remembrance and wonder.

One hundred years ago, out of the embers of a terrible war, this university was born to serve a people who had been liberated—liberated from the “peculiar institution” of slavery.

Another Johnson—the 17th President of the United States—signed his name to a law establishing Howard University, in the District of Columbia, as “a university for the education of youth in the liberal arts and sciences.” The first four students were white. They were the living witnesses to a faith in our human dignity that has united men and women of both races until this very hour.

But the purpose of those who founded Howard University was not merely to create one more institution of higher learning. It was to fulfill the promise of Abraham Lincoln that had been made 4½ long years before:

“That on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State or designated part of a State . . . shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free.”

Emancipation was a proclamation, but it was not a fact.

Howard University was created to help make the promise of the proclamation a fact of life.

I do not need to tell you that the purpose of the founders was not wholly achieved in their time—nor in the century that followed. Howard sent forth into the world trained

teachers, doctors, artists, theologians, lawyers, and businessmen—but for millions, the promise of freedom remained unfulfilled. For them, the ordinary fact of life was enslavement—to poverty, to ignorance, to second-class citizenship.

In our time—nearly a century after the war that brought an end to official slavery—we have begun the long-delayed process of liberation. We have struck off most of the bonds of discrimination that bound the Negro to the tragic past. The fundamental rights of citizenship are his: to vote, to use public accommodations, to attend school, to seek a job, to receive hospital care—without discrimination because of color.

These rights had to be secured, not only to give life to Abraham Lincoln’s proclamation, not only to render justice to Negro Americans, but because the conscience of humanity demanded that they be secured. They were not handed down from above, as a reward for good behavior. They were a legacy acquired by birth—and finally passed on to their rightful heirs.

Yet even they did not suffice. I came here 20 months ago, on a late afternoon in June, to say “Freedom is not enough. You do not wipe away the scars of centuries by saying: Now you are free to go where you want, and do as you desire, and choose the leaders as you please. . . .

“The task is to give 20 million Negroes the same chance as every other American to learn and grow, to work and share in society, to develop their abilities—physical, mental and spiritual, and to pursue their individual happiness.”

I have come back here to Howard today

to renew my commitment to that task, and to remind you and to tell you again that so long as I live, in public or private life, I shall never retract or retreat or amend that commitment.

I have seen with my eyes what can be done when hundreds of thousands of children are given a Head Start in life;

—when 8 million others begin to receive a better education in elementary and secondary schools;

—when millions of men can find work in a thriving economy;

—when millions of older people have the haunting fear of medical costs lifted from them;

—when young men and women are given the chance to take hold of their lives in Neighborhood Youth Corps and Job Corps programs;

—when those without skills can acquire them;

—when 9 million workers—the forgotten ones at the bottom of the economic ladder, the elevator operators, the charwomen, the waitresses—are assured a decent minimum wage for the first time this year.

I have seen these things happen the last 3 years, and much more I have seen happen. I do not want to and I never expect to turn back.

I know that millions of men and women—Negro and white—are still trapped in poverty, in dark city slums and in depressed rural areas. I know that results are slow in coming in from the best efforts men can make, for our adversaries—ignorance, discrimination, and the despairing conviction of failure—are old, well-entrenched, and tough.

But despite the shortcomings of what we have done so far, despite the stubbornness of the problems we face, I cannot bring myself

today to bewail our fate. The last few years have convinced me that we have the will, the knowledge, the integrity, the resources—and the stubbornness, too—to remain dedicated to this task until it is accomplished.

It was less than 10 years ago as a Senator that I struggled through the night to pass the first civil rights bill through the Congress in almost 85 years. It was a frail instrument indeed and we so recognized it—but it did pass. It was only the first. Seven years later as President, I signed into law a measure that had the power to change the conditions of life for Negro Americans. One year after that we opened the voting booths for good.

This is the work of less than 10 years: four civil rights measures striking at the last chains of enslavement after we had waited almost a century. This was the task of every man and woman who worked, and who prayed, and who legislated to bring it about.

Because we have come so far, I know and you know that we have the power to go further; to make the past 10 years only a prologue, and the next 10 years the time when the Negro in America can say at last “I am a free man.” I believe it will be so. I shall bend my will to make it so.

It is not hard to feel this way, here at Howard.

This campus has been the home, and is the home today, of men and women who knew their mission in life was far greater than service to themselves. Many of them have been my friends. Some of them have been called to the Federal service during my Presidency:

—the great lawyer, Solicitor General Thurgood Marshall;

—three distinguished jurists, Judge Spottswood Robinson of the Court of Appeals, Judge William Bryant and Judge Joseph Waddy of the United States District Court;

- Ambassador Patricia Harris;
- Mr. Hobart Taylor, Director of the Export-Import Bank;
- Mr. Andrew Brimmer, member of the Federal Reserve Board;
- Commissioner John Duncan, of the District of Columbia;
- Mrs. Frankie Freeman, of the United States Civil Rights Commission;
- Dr. John Hope Franklin, of the Board of Foreign Scholarships.

These sons and daughters of Howard—together with Under Secretary Ralph Bunche of the United Nations, and Senator Ed Brooke of Massachusetts, whom, I am sorry to say, I did not appoint—are a testimony to Howard's maturity far more compelling than the passing of a hundred years.

For they represent the fruition of an ideal: that as men become free themselves, they assume responsibility for the freedom and well-being of others, regardless of race. These men and women are devoting themselves to the affairs of our Nation. They are not devoting themselves to Negro problems alone, but rather to the problems of our entire society.

That is your challenge, you who follow them. For the work that lies ahead is de-

manding, and it involves far too many lives in urgent need of help, to be parceled out by race. Tomorrow's problems, which will be placed squarely in your hands, will not be divided into "Negro problems" and "white problems." There will be only human problems, and there will be more than enough to go around.

I said at the beginning that this day is for prayers of thanksgiving, for remembrance, and wonder.

Our prayers are to the God who has strengthened the will of a grateful people. Our remembrance is of those who created and sustained this great university, and brought here thousands of young men and women from all over the world, and gave them the power to serve their fellow man.

Our wonder—our very great wonder—is for the human spirit, that having endured infinite wrongs, can yet hold to its faith in the dignity of life.

For one hundred years, that spirit has prevailed here at Howard University. May it always prevail.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:08 p.m. in the physical education building at Howard University in Washington, D.C. In his opening words he referred to Dr. James M. Nabrit, Jr., president of the university.

82 Remarks on the Occasion of the Centennial of the United States Office of Education. *March 2, 1967*

Secretary Gardner, Commissioner Howe, ladies and gentlemen:

I have come here today not to call attention to the advancing age of the Office of Education, but rather to celebrate its next 100 years.

It was back in 1867, when another man named Johnson was President, that the Office of Education was set up in two small rooms and its first budget was \$13,000. Congress

soon decided that this was wasting the taxpayer's money and it voted to cut the Commissioner's pay by 25 percent. He was to get the princely salary of \$3,000 per year.

Today your office space, your budget—and your Commissioner's salary—have all grown somewhat.

Your responsibilities have grown, also.

A long time ago, a colonial Governor of Virginia declared, "Thank God there are

no free schools in America and I hope we shall not have them."

Well, we have raised our sights somewhat since then. We are no longer satisfied simply with free public education. We have declared as our national goal that every child shall have the chance to get as much education as he or she can absorb—no matter how poor they are, no matter what color they are, and no matter where they live.

You who are here today celebrating this birthday—this 100th birthday—must play a very big part in helping us all reach that goal.

Dr. Hornig, my Science Adviser, tells me that if we were using the new mathematics—the base 9 system—this anniversary should have been held in 1948. I am glad that we didn't because there is so much that we would not have been celebrating then. Besides, I was a candidate for the Senate in that year and I couldn't have been here.

In 1948, we would not be celebrating the education revolution that has transformed America. In 1948, the latest data would have shown that the typical American adult had only a little more than elementary schooling. Today we are fast approaching the time when the typical adult has completed his high school education.

In 1948, we would not be celebrating a nation where college education is already within the reach of most young people who desire it and who seek it.

In 1948, all the colleges and universities in America conferred 317,000 degrees. This year they will grant not 317,000 but 722,000 degrees—more than twice as many as they did in 1948. And over one million college students are being helped by the scholarships, loans, and work-study programs of the Office of Education.

So one million students are going to college this year who otherwise could not have

gone except for the work that the Office of Education and the United States Government are doing in the higher education field.

In 1948, less than 25 percent of Americans aged 18 and 19 were in school. Today more than 4 out of every 10 that age are still in school or college.

In 1948, we would not be celebrating Federal aid to education—because we had just begun the long hard struggle in Congress to meet this great national need.

Two days ago, I sent a message to Congress requesting \$4 billion for the Office of Education in the coming fiscal year. This \$4 billion is 122 times as much as we asked for in 1948. It is nearly twice the entire Federal budget in 1948 for all of its social welfare and health, housing and community facilities, labor and education.

Education has become big business in America. This year the schools and colleges of our country will operate at a cost of \$50 billion—about 50 percent more than the entire Federal budget in 1948.

According to the new mathematics—the base 11 system—the next important birthday of the Office of Education should occur in 1988. So, I think it would be good if we started asking ourselves what kind of a celebration we are going to have in 1988.

Will those who join that birthday party feel as much hope as we do?

Will they claim that America is continuing to meet its education goals?

Will school children be finally free from the scars of racial discrimination in our land?

Will our country's classrooms be open to new ideas and new instruments of education?

Will our best college graduates be attracted to the teaching profession?

Will the partnership for education between Federal, State, and local government

continue to grow stronger?

In large measure, the answers to these questions will be supplied by many of you who are in this audience today. Because of the men who lead you—John Gardner and Harold Howe—I have great faith and confidence in the answers you will give. You cannot work with these two men without catching some of their enthusiasm, some of their passion for education, and some of their dedication to making this a better land in which to live.

This is a happy moment for an ex-school-teacher from Cotulla, Texas. Even though

I have not mastered the new mathematics, I understand the basic equation of education: As we give in this generation, so will we receive in the next. Those who serve our Nation's schools are helping to shape our Nation's destiny.

So, I wish the Office of Education many, many more happy birthdays.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:48 p.m. in the Office of Education Plaza. In his opening words he referred to John W. Gardner, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, and Harold Howe II, Commissioner of Education.

83 Letter to Senator Jackson Concerning the Bombing of North Vietnam. *March 2, 1967*

[Released March 2, 1967. Dated March 1, 1967]

Dear Senator Jackson:

In further reference to our discussions at dinner on the evening of the 18th concerning the reasons for and effects of bombing, I wish to review for you the following.

We are bombing North Viet Nam because it is violating two solemn international agreements. In 1954 Hanoi agreed that North Viet Nam would not be "used for the resumption of hostilities or to further an aggressive policy."

In 1962 Hanoi agreed to withdraw all its military forces from Laos; to refrain from reintroducing such forces; and not to use the territory of Laos to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries.

Let me quote to you the recommendation made by General Maxwell Taylor to President Kennedy in his report of November 3, 1961, after Hanoi had violated the Geneva Declaration of 1954 but before the Geneva Declaration of 1962 was finally negotiated.

"While we feel that the program recommended represents those measures which

should be taken in our present knowledge of the situation in Southeast Asia, I would not suggest that it is the final word. Future needs beyond this program will depend upon the kind of settlement we obtain in Laos and the manner in which Hanoi decides to adjust its conduct to that settlement. If the Hanoi decision is to continue the irregular war declared on South Viet Nam in 1959 with continued infiltration and covert support of guerrilla bands in the territory of our ally, we will then have to decide whether to accept as legitimate the continued guidance, training and support of a guerrilla war across an international boundary, while the attacked react only inside their borders. . . .

"It is my judgment and that of my colleagues that the United States must decide how it will cope with Khrushchev's 'wars of liberation' which are really para-wars of guerrilla aggression. This is a new and dangerous Communist technique which bypasses our traditional political and military responses. While the final answer lies be-

yond the scope of this report, it is clear to me that the time may come in our relations to Southeast Asia when we must declare our intention to attack the source of guerrilla aggression in North Viet Nam and impose on the Hanoi Government a price for participating in the current war which is commensurate with the damage being inflicted on its neighbors to the south."

Not for one day after the Geneva Declaration of 1962 was signed did Hanoi meet its commitment or honor its earlier commitment of 1954. Aggression against South Viet Nam was continued throughout 1962, 1963, and 1964. Its forces were never withdrawn from Laos and Laos was violated in order to attack South Viet Nam.

When I became President and surveyed the problem faced by our nation, I reserved judgment on the decision which General Taylor forecast in 1961 we might have to make. But the fact was that the North Vietnamese continued illegally to infiltrate arms and men across international frontiers. And in 1964 they radically expanded this course of action. The trails became roads. Bands of infiltrators became regular military units.

Neither of the co-chairmen of the Geneva Conference—Great Britain and the Soviet Union—proved able to stop this violation; nor did the three members of the International Control Commission—India, Canada, and Poland.

With this failure of the international machinery designed to enforce the Geneva agreements we were thrown back, therefore, on our treaty responsibilities. Under the SEATO Treaty, presented to the Senate by President Eisenhower and ratified overwhelmingly, we had agreed that in the face of "armed attack in the treaty area" we

would "act to meet the common danger."

By February 1965 it was unmistakably clear there was armed attack in the most literal sense: South Viet Nam was almost lost to that armed attack. And in that month, on the recommendation of the National Security Council, I decided that we had to "meet the common danger" by bringing our air power to bear against the source of the aggression.

We never believed aerial attack on North Viet Nam would, alone, end the war. We did, however, have three objectives.

The first was to back our fighting men and our fighting allies by demonstrating that the aggressor could not illegally bring hostile arms and men to bear against them from the security of a sanctuary.

Second, we sought to impose on North Viet Nam a cost for violating its international agreements.

Third, we sought to limit or raise the cost of bringing men and supplies to bear against the South.

All three of these important objectives have been achieved.

First, you should note that the military leaders now responsible for the safety and morale of our men in the field, without exception, back our bombing of the North. The same is true of the military and political leaders of those fighting side by side with us; that is to say, the leaders of Australia, Korea, New Zealand, Philippines, Thailand, and Viet Nam. They all know that it is right and necessary for us to refuse to accept North Viet Nam as a sanctuary at a time when the government in Hanoi is explicitly violating its international commitments and conducting aggression across international borders.

Second, we are, with remarkably limited

cost in civilian lives, imposing a major cost on North Viet Nam for its violation of international agreements.

Our attacks on military targets in North Viet Nam have diverted about half a million men to cope with effects of our attacks. They are repairing the lines of supply and are engaged in anti-aircraft and coastal defense. This figure approximates the total number of men we now have fighting in Southeast Asia. It is not much less than the number of men South Viet Nam has had to mobilize to deal with the guerrilla attack in the South.

At the cost of about 500 gallant American airmen killed, captured, or missing, we are bringing to bear on North Viet Nam a burden roughly equivalent to that which the Communists are imposing through guerrilla warfare on the South—and we are doing it with far fewer civilian casualties in the North.

Finally, the bombing of North Viet Nam has raised the cost of bringing an armed man or a ton of supplies illegally across the border from the North to the South. Substantial casualties are inflicted on infiltrators and substantial tonnages of supplies are destroyed en route. Those who now reach the South arrive after harassment which lowers their effectiveness as reinforcements.

The bombing in the North is an action undertaken by your Government only after the most careful reflection. It is a response to a serious and systematic and protracted violation of international agreements. It is having significant consequences for those who chose to violate the agreements. It is an integral part of our total policy which aims not to destroy North Viet Nam but to force Hanoi to end its aggression so that the people of South Viet Nam can determine

their own future without coercion.

Both the reasons for—and the results of—the bombing of North Viet Nam make it imperative that we continue to use this instrument of support for our men and our allies. It will end when the other side is willing to take equivalent action as part of a serious effort to end this war and bring peace to the people of Southeast Asia.

I take no satisfaction from the number of infiltrators killed on their way to South Viet Nam, from the number of trucks or of boats or of railroad cars destroyed or the tons of supplies destroyed. I take no satisfaction from the suffering of the people of North Viet Nam. I take no satisfaction from the fact that they have had to abandon their plans for economic and social development. I repeat what I said in Baltimore in April 1965—I look forward to the day when the government and people of North Viet Nam can join, in peace, their fellows in Southeast Asia in developing and modernizing that region so full of energy and resources and promise. And on that day they will have—if they wish—the support of the United States in providing for their people an environment of progress. But right now I wish friend and neutral and adversary to know that we shall persist with our operations in the South—we shall persist with our operations in the North—until those who launched this aggression are prepared to move seriously to reinstall the agreements whose violations has brought the scourge of war to Southeast Asia.

Sincerely,

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

[Honorable Henry M. Jackson, United States Senate, Washington, D.C.]

84 Message to the People of Puerto Rico on the 50th Anniversary of the Granting of United States Citizenship. *March 2, 1967*

TODAY marks the 50th anniversary of the granting of United States citizenship to the people of Puerto Rico by the Congress of the United States.

The cause of justice and human dignity for which the people of the United States and the people of Puerto Rico share an equal dedication is embodied in our common citizenship. It has formed a strong foundation

for our present association, and it gives us confidence that our future relationship will be even more rewarding to both island and mainland.

I am confident that I speak for the people of all the United States when I extend to you felicitations and warmest congratulations on this historic occasion.

85 Statement by the President Announcing the Appointment of a Commission To Study the Federal Budget. *March 3, 1967*

I AM TODAY appointing a commission of 15 distinguished American citizens to make a thorough study of the Federal budget and the manner in which it is presented to the Congress and the public.

Mr. David M. Kennedy, chairman of the board of the Continental Illinois National Bank & Trust Company of Chicago, will be chairman of the commission. The chairmen and the ranking minority members of the Senate and House Appropriations Committees have also agreed to serve on the commission. In addition, the commission will include the Secretary of the Treasury, the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, and the Comptroller General. The other members are private citizens, all recognized experts in the fields of finance and economics, some of whom have served previously in high Government positions. I may appoint one or two other private citizens to the commission in the near future.

In my Budget Message last January, I pointed out that:

"For many years—under many administrations—particularly aspects of the overall budget presentation, or the treatment of in-

dividual accounts, have been questioned on one ground or another.

"In the light of these facts, I believe a thorough and objective review of budgetary concepts is warranted. I therefore intend to seek advice on this subject from a bipartisan group of informed individuals with a background in budgetary matters."

It is my hope that the group I am appointing today—outstanding and informed men with wide-ranging experience in business, government, economics, and budgetary matters—can advise me on the best approaches to the presentation of the Federal budget.

Tradition and precedent have played an important role over the years in the shaping of our budgetary rules and presentation. The fact is that today all are agreed that some of our traditional budget concepts do not adequately portray how the Federal Government's activities affect the health of the American economy and the lives of the American people.

The Federal budget is a vital document. The Federal budget is a complex document. It is vital because it affects the lives of every

man, woman, and child in this Nation. It is complex because it encompasses the full scope of the Federal Government's activities. Yet, because of its complexity and scope, there are few who understand it. The study this group is to undertake should assist both public and congressional understanding of this important document.

I am asking the commission to prepare its recommendations by September. If it appears necessary to extend the deliberations beyond this date, the September report can be in the nature of a progress report. It is my hope that at least some of the recommendations of the commission can be incorporated in my next year's budget.

We are fortunate in having assembled so able and distinguished a group of citizens to undertake this task.

NOTE: A list of the commission members, made public with the statement, follows: Senator Carl Hayden of Arizona, Chairman, Senate Appropria-

tions Committee; Senator Milton R. Young of North Dakota, ranking minority member, Senate Appropriations Committee; Robert B. Anderson, partner, Carl M. Loeb, Rhoades & Co., New York City, former Secretary of the Treasury; Paul W. McCracken, professor of economics, Graduate School of Business Administration, University of Michigan, former member, Council of Economic Advisers; Robert C. Turner, professor of business and government, School of Business, Indiana University, former Assistant Director, Bureau of the Budget; Leonard S. Silk, economist and vice chairman of the editorial board, *Business Week*, New York City; Henry H. Fowler, Secretary of the Treasury; Charles L. Schultze, Director, Bureau of the Budget; Representative George H. Mahon of Texas, Chairman, House Appropriations Committee; Representative Frank T. Bow of Ohio, ranking minority member, House Appropriations Committee; Winthrop C. Lenz, executive vice president, Merrill, Lynch, Pierce, Fenner & Smith; Theodore Yntema, Department of Economics, Oakland University, Rochester, Minn.; Carl Shoup, professor of public finance, Columbia University, New York City; Elmer B. Staats, Comptroller General; Robert Trueblood, senior partner, Touche, Ross, Bailey, and Smart, Chicago, Ill.

The statement was released at San Antonio, Texas.

86 Statement by the President Announcing the Appointment of Miss Betty Furness as Special Assistant for Consumer Affairs. *March 4, 1967*

I AM pleased to announce the appointment of Miss Betty Furness as Special Assistant for Consumer Affairs. She will also serve as Chairman of the Committee on Consumer Interests and as Executive Secretary of the Consumer Advisory Council.

This appointment will assure that the American consumer will continue to be represented personally in the highest councils of the Federal Government.

Miss Furness has long been active, as a private citizen, in national affairs. She has assisted the Office of Economic Opportunity and has appeared in cities throughout the Nation to aid the Head Start program for our disadvantaged children. She has re-

cruited countless volunteers for VISTA.

She brings to this new position an advantage that few other Americans possess.

Because of her background, her dedication, and her great abilities, I am convinced that Miss Furness will provide effective representation for the millions of American consumers.

Miss Furness will replace Mrs. Esther Peterson whom I appointed 3 years ago as Special Assistant for Consumer Affairs. Mrs. Peterson will devote full time to her post as Assistant Secretary of Labor. She returns with our deep appreciation for the public service she has rendered.

During the past 3 years, we have given

new meaning to consumer rights:

- the right to safety;
- the right to be informed;
- the right to choose;
- the right to be heard.

The past 3 years have been years of tremendous achievement for the American consumer. During the last year alone, the 89th Congress enacted a series of measures designed to protect the consumer in the supermarket, on the highways, and in our banks and savings institutions:

- The Truth-in-Packaging Act launched a system to tell the buyer just what he is purchasing, how much it weighs, and who made it.
- The Traffic and Highway Safety Acts have begun the first comprehensive national attack on the mounting toll of death and destruction on the highways.
- The Child Protection Act is safeguarding our youngsters against needless tragedy from hazardous toys.
- Additional insurance protection has been afforded to the millions of Americans who place their savings on deposit.

I have asked the 90th Congress to carry forward this important effort and to build on the record of progress of the 89th Congress. I have urged the Congress to:

- Provide consumers with accurate and

clear information on the cost of credit.

- Give our investors better protection in their purchases of undeveloped land, their interests in private pension and welfare plans, and their holdings of mutual funds.
- Insure that medical devices and laboratories designed to aid health do not instead intensify illness.
- Close the gaps in our system of meat inspection.
- Reshape our laws dealing with hazardous household products.
- Improve our shameful record of losses of life and property through fires.
- Minimize the likelihood of massive electric power failures.
- Insure the safety of natural gas pipelines.

Miss Furness will lead the consumers in America in protecting the American citizen against unsafe products, against misleading information, and against the deceitful practices of a few that can undermine confidence in the vast majority of diligent and reputable firms.

NOTE: For the President's remarks at the swearing in of Miss Furness as Special Assistant for Consumer Affairs, see Item 200.

The statement was released at San Antonio, Texas.

87 Statement by the President Upon Appointing the National Advisory Council on Economic Opportunity. *March 4, 1967*

THE APPOINTMENT of the National Advisory Council is further proof of our determination that the war on poverty will be a citizen's war. The members of the Council will serve the public in reviewing, evaluating, and helping to improve the Government's antipoverty efforts.

The Council will recommend to the

Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity changes and improvements which should be made in our antipoverty programs, and report to me and to the Congress concerning its findings and recommendations.

In establishing this Council, the Congress has expanded the opportunities for full pub-

lic participation and involvement in the war on poverty—a war that can be won only through the efforts of a unified and dedicated people.

NOTE: The President's statement was made public as part of a White House press release which stated that the Council, authorized by the Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1966 (Public Law 89-794; 80 Stat. 1451), would advise the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity and "report annually to the President and the Congress on the progress of the War on Poverty."

The release noted that the Chairman of the Council would be Morris I. Leibman, senior partner in the law firm of Leibman, Williams, Bennet, Baird & Minnow of Chicago. It listed the other members of the Council, as follows: Morris Abram, attorney, Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton and Garrison, New York City, and U.S. Representative to the U.N. Economic and Social Council, Human Rights Commission, New York City; Horace Busby, management consultant, Washington, D.C.; the Most Rev. John P. Cody, Archbishop of Chicago; Rev. George R. Davis, senior minister, National City Christian Church, Washington, D.C.; Otto

Eckstein, Harvard University professor, on leave to Stanford University, former member, Council of Economic Advisers; Buford Ellington, Governor of Tennessee; Iren Forrest, chief, Inter-Tribal Council of California Indians, Alturas, Calif.; Dr. Hector P. Garcia, Corpus Christi, Texas; Jesse Kellam, Austin, Texas; Dr. Walter Lane, Temple Terrace, Fla.; Sidney Marland, Jr., superintendent of schools, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Donald McGannon, president, Westinghouse Broadcasting, Inc., New York, N.Y.; Theodore, McKeldin, mayor of Baltimore, Md.; Mrs. Robert McNamara, civic leader and member of the previous OEO Advisory Council, Washington, D.C.; Albert Rains, attorney, Rains & Rains, Gadsden, Ala.; Carl Sanders, attorney, Sanders, Hester and Holley, Atlanta, Ga., and former Governor of Georgia; James Suffridge, president, Retail Clerks International Association, AFL-CIO, Arlington, Va.; David Sullivan, general president, Building Service Employees International Union, AFL-CIO, New York City; Louie Welch, mayor of Houston, Texas; Whitney Young, executive director, National Urban League, New Rochelle, N.Y.

The statement was released at San Antonio, Texas.

88 Statement by the President Announcing a Series of Actions To Encourage Housing Construction. *March 4, 1967*

I AM TODAY announcing a series of actions to reinforce the welcome recovery of housing construction that is already underway. These actions can be safely taken because inflationary pressures have now subsided. They have been recommended by the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, the Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, and the Director of the Bureau of the Budget.

In particular, these actions are aimed to encourage the construction of housing for families of low and moderate incomes. They should demonstrate to mortgage lenders, homebuilders, and home buyers the Government's firm purpose to help achieve a vigorous expansion of the housing industry in the months ahead.

1. I am releasing an additional \$300 million of the new "special assistance" funds voted by Congress last year. These funds will be used by the Federal National Mortgage Association (FNMA—"Fannie Mae") to buy FHA and VA mortgages on new low-cost houses. This is in addition to the \$250 million of such funds I released last December. Builders of FHA-insured and VA-guaranteed houses selling for \$15,000 or less (\$17,500 in certain high-cost areas) can apply for commitments from FNMA to buy these 6 percent mortgages at par. These funds will finance construction of nearly 20,000 new low-cost homes.

2. I am also releasing \$80 million of funds for two other FNMA "special assistance" programs:

—\$50 million for cooperative housing

programs, section 213);¹

—\$30 million for sales housing for low and moderate income families in urban renewal areas (section 221(d)(2)).²

These funds will finance nearly 7,000 more housing units.

3. FNMA will increase by one "point" the price it will pay for eligible insured mortgages. This higher price will make it more attractive for mortgage lenders to sell existing mortgages to FNMA, and to use the funds to make new mortgage loans.

In addition to these actions, the Federal Home Loan Bank Board will announce tomorrow a reduction from 5¾ percent to 5½ percent in the rate of interest it charges on additional loans to savings and loan associations beyond the amount of such loans already outstanding. Reducing the cost of loans to savings and loan associations will encourage the associations to grant mortgage commitments to builders. The Board had already, on January 9, lowered the rate on these loans from 6 percent to 5¾ percent.

The Federal Home Loan Bank Board has also greatly liberalized the conditions under which savings and loan associations can get loans, to make it easier for builders to get mortgage commitments from savings and loan associations.

¹ See 12 USC 1715 c.

² See 12 USC 1715 l.

The Board is also urging member associations to provide construction financing for FHA moderate-income rental housing under section 221(d)(3) of the National Housing Act and for rent supplement program housing.

Housing was cut back seriously last year by a severe shortage of mortgage money. Because high rates of interest were available on open-market securities, many savers who would normally have deposited their savings in thrift institutions bought securities instead. Some savings were withdrawn to buy securities. As a result, the funds available for new mortgages practically dried up in many areas.

Since last fall, the situation has improved substantially. The fiscal program we are pursuing and the monetary policy of the Federal Reserve Board—as again evidenced by its action this week—have led to easier monetary conditions and a sharply increased flow of savings into thrift institutions. I expect this improvement to continue.

With the further assistance of the measures I am announcing today, my advisers tell me that the home buyer, the homebuilder, the construction worker, and the supplier of building materials can all be assured of a steadily expanding housing industry in 1967.

NOTE: The statement was released at San Antonio, Texas.

89 Memorandum "Economic Planning for the End of Vietnam Hostilities." March 5, 1967

[Released March 5, 1967. Dated March 1, 1967]

Memorandum for the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of Defense, the Secretary of Labor, the Acting Secretary of Commerce, the Director, Bureau of the Budget, the Chairman, Council of Eco-

nomic Advisers:

SUBJECT: Economic Planning for the End of Vietnam Hostilities

As I indicated in my Economic Report, I am directing the relevant agencies in the

Executive Branch to begin at once a major and coordinated effort to review our readiness to make the economic adjustments which a termination of hostilities in Vietnam might require. As suggested in the Economic Report, we must:

- consider possibilities and priorities for tax adjustment
- prepare, with the Federal Reserve Board, plans for quick adjustments of monetary and financial policies
- determine which high priority programs can be quickly expanded
- determine priorities for the longer range expansion of programs to meet the needs of the American people, both through new and existing programs
- study and evaluate the future direction of Federal financial support to our

States and local governments

- examine ways in which the transition to peace can be smoothed for the workers, companies, and communities now engaged in supplying our defense needs, and for the men released from our armed forces.

I am asking those to whom this memorandum is addressed to serve as a coordinating committee for the necessary studies. It will be necessary, of course, to draw on the resources of many other departments and agencies.

I have asked Gardner Ackley, the Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, to organize and chair this effort.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

NOTE: The memorandum was released at San Antonio, Texas.

90 Message to the Congress Transmitting the Fifth Annual Report of the Peace Corps. *March 6, 1967*

To the Congress of the United States:

Of the many efforts undertaken by this Nation to advance peace, prosperity and understanding, few have inspired greater admiration among the people of the world than the Peace Corps. In five years, it has given new purpose to thousands of Americans, and new hope to millions abroad.

In 1968 Peace Corps volunteers will:

- Assist more than 400,000 farmers in their struggle against hunger.
- Help educate more than 700,000 school children.
- Help train 55,000 teachers.
- Provide health services to more than 200,000 persons.
- Help 75,000 men and women help themselves through private enterprise.
- Bring greater opportunity to thousands

of people through community development.

By August 1967 we will have more than 16,000 volunteers serving in 53 countries and one territory. By August 1968 there will be more than 19,000 volunteers—nearly double the number in 1964—active in 60 countries.

The Peace Corps has captured the imagination of our youth. Two hundred and ten schools in 30 nations are operating today because American students have voluntarily assisted them under the School Partnership Program which we initiated in 1964. Their support, together with the help of Peace Corps volunteers, and with labor and land donated by the host country, is providing a home for learning for a great many children around the world. We hope to build

500 schools by mid-1967 and at least 1,000 schools in 45 countries by mid-1968.

The Peace Corps has provided an opportunity for tens of thousands of idealistic and able Americans, young and old, to serve their fellow men—with little thought of self or comfort, and with little recompense other than the reward of seeing human lives made better by their efforts.

It is building a growing reserve of capable and tested citizens devoted to public service. By 1970, there will be some 50,000 returned volunteers in the United States. Many of them, directly or after completing their education, plan to enter Government service. Some have already returned to train new volunteers, and others are helping to administer programs throughout the world.

The Peace Corps produces a high yield in results, at a low budgetary cost. The number of volunteers has increased at a much faster rate than the Peace Corps budget. Over the years, the average cost of the program per volunteer has declined steadily—from a high of \$9,074 in fiscal 1963 to an estimated \$7,400 in 1967.

Today, the Peace Corp idea—the idea of voluntary public service abroad—is spreading to other countries. Already 18 “Peace Corps”, most of them based on the U.S. model, have been established by other in-

dustrialized nations. This is testimony, not only to the soundness of Peace Corps principles, but also to the living example of Peace Corps volunteers.

I am pleased to transmit to the Congress the Fifth Annual Report of the Peace Corps. It will be gratifying reading to all who are interested in this pioneering and humane endeavor.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

The White House

March 6, 1967

NOTE: The 85-page report is entitled “Peace Corps, 5th Annual Report.”

On June 1, 1967, the White House Press Office announced that the President had submitted to Congress a budget amendment calling for a decrease of \$5.7 million in the 1968 fiscal year appropriation for the Peace Corps.

The press release stated in part, “The request for this reduction and the revised budget total of \$118.7 million reflects several significant management improvements in the selection and training of Volunteers which will result in the same number of Peace Corps Volunteers—a total of 17,750 Volunteers and trainees by August 31, 1968—at less cost.

“The reduction is in part the result of much stricter selection standards of Peace Corps Volunteers. Until now, the attrition rate in Peace Corps training programs has run about 25 percent. With more stringent screening prior to training, the attrition rate will be cut to 20 percent, which means a smaller number of trainees can be enrolled to achieve the same number of Volunteers ultimately assigned to overseas posts.” (3 Weekly Comp. Pres. Docs., p. 806).

The message was released at San Antonio, Texas.

91 Special Message to the Congress Transmitting a Report on the Community Work and Training Program. *March 6, 1967*

To the Congress of the United States:

Once again we have evidence that public assistance is best achieved when we help the poor to help themselves.

This is documented by the report I transmit today on the Community Work and Training Program authorized by the Public Welfare Amendments of 1962.

These amendments gave new opportunities for community work and training to thousands of unemployed parents of dependent children.

Title V of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 gave further impetus to this program. It reinforced the original Act by providing the counseling, education, health, job

placement and other services necessary to give the individual a new start in life.

Experience under these programs has shown that many people—now unemployed and living in poverty—can help themselves. Three-fourths of the 133,000 welfare recipients who have enrolled in these programs since 1964 have been helped:

—22,100 have already found jobs.

—70,200 are in training for productive employment.

—3,500 are taking advance vocational instruction.

—6,700 now have the training and marketable skills that should enable them to find jobs soon.

In short, 102,500 Americans and their families have been given hope where hope did not exist before. This is an impressive record.

But no statistics can measure the gain in

self-respect to these parents. These programs substitute a productive job for a life on welfare or in poverty. They provide the opportunity to break the vicious cycle of welfare dependency and poverty which burdens our society.

I urge the Congress to extend and make permanent this program to bring help to unemployed parents and through them hope to our most disadvantaged children.

I urge the States to study the lessons we have learned and to avail themselves fully of the promise which these programs hold.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

The White House

March 6, 1967

NOTE: The report is entitled "Report to Congress on Community Work and Training Under Title IV of the Social Security Act as Amended by Section 409, January 1967" (89 pp., processed).

The message was released at San Antonio, Texas.

92 Special Message to the Congress on Selective Service. *March 6, 1967*

To the Congress of the United States:

MESSAGE ON SELECTIVE SERVICE

THE BACKGROUND

The knowledge that military service must sometimes be borne by—and imposed on—free men so their freedom may be preserved is woven deeply into the fabric of the American experience.

Americans have been obliged to take up arms in the cause of liberty since our earliest days on these shores. From the militiaman who shouldered his musket to protect his community in the wilderness, to the young recruit of today who serves the common

defense and then returns to civilian life, we have known the price of freedom as well as its glory.

In 1940, the mounting threat of Axis aggression was poised against us. The 76th Congress responded by making compulsory military service a legal obligation in peacetime as well as war. Although this was the first peacetime draft in our history, it was an action consistent with our evolving traditions and responsibilities. As President Roosevelt said on that occasion:

"America has adopted selective service in time of peace, and, in doing so, has broadened and enriched our basic concepts of citizenship. Beside the clear democratic ideals of equal rights, equal privileges and equal opportunities, we have

set forth the underlying other duties, obligations and responsibilities of equal service."

Americans ever since then have come to know well those "broadened concepts of citizenship" of which Franklin Roosevelt spoke. Little more than a year later, war began. The Selective Service System established by that farsighted 76th Congress mustered the greatest military force in the history of the world.

After the end of World War II, in the face of new hostile threats, the 80th Congress met its obligation by enacting new selective service legislation. Six times since then, succeeding Congresses—the 81st, the 82nd, the 84th, the 86th, and the 88th—have kept it alive as an indispensable part of our defense against an aggression which has taken different shapes but has never disappeared. Twice—in Korea, and today in Vietnam—we have borne arms in the field of battle to counter that aggression.

Thus, for more than a quarter of a century, through total war and cold war and limited war, selective service has provided the nation with the ability to respond quickly and appropriately to the varied challenges confronting our democracy.

THE PROBLEM TODAY

The Selective Service Act under which men today are drafted into our Armed Forces is now almost two decades old, about the age of many of the men who stand watch on the frontiers of freedom throughout the world.

That generation, whose lifetime coincides with our draft law, has grown to maturity in a period of sweeping change. We are in many ways a different nation—more urban, more mobile, more populous.

The youth of the country themselves have

added most heavily to our growth in numbers. In 1948, when the present Act was passed, less than 1.2 million male Americans were 18 years old. Today that number has increased about 60% to almost 1.9 million, and will exceed 2 million in the 1970's.

Because of this population increase, many more men of their generation are available for military duty than are required.

—A decade ago, about 70 percent of the group eligible for duty had to serve with the Armed Forces to meet our military manpower needs.

—Today, the need is for less than 50 percent, and only about a third or less of this number must be involuntarily inducted—even under the conditions of war. When the firing stops, as we all fervently hope it will soon, the requirements will be for fewer still.

The danger of inequity is imbedded in these statistics. It arises when not every eligible man must be called upon to serve. It is intensified when the numbers of men needed are relatively small in relation to the numbers available.

Fairness has always been one of the goals of the Selective Service System. When the present Act was passed in 1948, one of its underlying assumptions was that the obligation and benefits of military service would be equitably borne.

The changing conditions which have come to our society since that Act was established have prompted concern—in the Executive Branch, in the Congress, in the Nation generally—with whether the System might have drifted from the original concept of equity.

That concern deepened as young men were called to the field of combat.

A Selective Service System, of course, must operate well and fairly in peace as well as in times of conflict. But it is in the glare of con-

flict that the minds of all of us are focused most urgently on the need to review the procedures by which some men are selected and some are not.

Last July, by Executive Order,¹ I appointed a National Advisory Commission on Selective Service, composed of 20 citizens, distinguished and diverse in their representation of important elements of our national life.

I asked that Commission, headed by Mr. Burke Marshall, to study these questions, and indeed whether the need for the draft itself was ended or soon might be.

I instructed the Commission to consider the past, present and prospective functioning of selective service and other systems of national service in the light of the following factors:

- Fairness to all citizens;
- Military manpower requirements;
- The objective of minimizing uncertainty and interference with individual careers and education;
- Social, economic and employment conditions and goals;
- Budgetary and administrative considerations; and
- Any other factors the Commission might deem relevant.

The Commission undertook this responsibility with seriousness of purpose, and a clear recognition of the abiding importance these issues hold in American life today. It consulted with or sought the opinions of national leaders, governors, mayors and officials of the Federal government; educators and students; business groups and labor unions; veterans organizations, religious leaders and others broadly representing every sector of our society. I asked people

across the land to send their thoughts to the Commission and many did.

The Commission's work is now concluded. Its report has been made available to the American public. I have studied that report carefully.

I have also had the benefit of two other recent studies relating to the same problems. Another distinguished group of leading citizens reviewed the selective service situation for the House Armed Services Committee. Its conclusions have been made available to me. Earlier, at my direction, the Secretary of Defense conducted a study of the relationship of the draft military manpower utilization policies. It was completed in June of last year.

These reports have confirmed that continuation of the draft is still essential to our national security. They have also established that inequities do result from present selection policies, that policies designed for an earlier period operate unevenly under today's conditions, creating unfairness in the lives of some, promoting uncertainty in the minds of more.

To provide the military manpower this nation needs for its security and to assure that the system of selection operates as equitably as possible, I propose that:

1. The Selective Service law under which men can be inducted into the Armed Forces be extended for a four-year period, upon its expiration on June 30, 1967.
2. Men be inducted beginning at 19 years of age, reversing the present order of calling the oldest first, so that uncertainties now generated in the lives of young men will be reduced.
3. Policies be tightened governing undergraduate college deferments so that those deferments can never become exemptions from military service, and

¹ Executive Order 11289 of July 2, 1966 (2 Weekly Comp. Pres. Docs., p. 824; 31 F.R. 9265; 3 CFR, 1966 Comp., p. 131).

providing for no further post-graduate deferments except for those in medical and dental schools.

4. Firm rules be formulated, to be applied uniformly throughout the country, in determining eligibility for all other types of deferment.
5. A fair and impartial random (FAIR) system of selection be established to determine the order of call for all men eligible and available for the draft.
6. Improvements in the Selective Service System be immediately effected to assure better service to the registrant both in counselling and appeals, better information to the public regarding the System's operation and broader representation on local boards of the communities they serve.
7. A study be conducted by the best management experts in the government of the effectiveness, cost and feasibility of a proposal made by the National Advisory Commission to restructure the organization of the Selective Service System.
8. The National Commission on Selective Service be continued for another year to provide a continuing review of the system that touches the lives of so many young Americans and their families.
9. Enlistment procedures for our National Guard and Reserve units be strengthened to remove inequities and to ensure a high state of readiness for those units.

CONTINUATION OF THE DRAFT LAW

The United States must meet its military commitments for the national security, for the preservation of peace and for the defense

of freedom in the world. It must be able to do this under any circumstance, under any condition, under any challenge.

This fundamental necessity is the bedrock of our national policy upon which all other considerations must rest.

To maintain this ability we must continue the draft.

The volunteer tradition is strong in our Armed Forces, as it is in our national heritage. Except for the periods of major war in this century, it has been the chief source of our military manpower since the earliest days of the Republic.

It must remain so. Our Armed Forces will continue to rely mainly on those who volunteer to serve. This is not only consistent with the American tradition. It is also the best policy for the Services themselves, since it assures a highly motivated and professionally competent career force.

Improving the quality of service life and increasing the rewards for service itself encourage volunteering. We have taken a number of actions toward this end and will initiate still others:

- Four military pay raises in each of the last four years, averaging a total increase of 33 percent in basic pay. I shall shortly recommend another increase.
- A military "Medicare" program which expands medical care for the dependents of those on active duty, as well as for retired members and their dependents.
- The Cold War GI Bill of Rights, which provides education, training, medical and home loan benefits to returning servicemen.
- The Vietnam Conflict Servicemen and Veterans Act of 1967, which I proposed last month, to provide additional benefits to members of the Armed Forces and their dependents.

- I have asked the Secretary of Defense to submit to me this year a comprehensive study of the military compensation and retirement system.
- To attract more physicians, dentists and other members of the health professions to volunteer for military service, I am directing the Secretary of Defense to develop a broad program of medical scholarships. Students taking advantage of these scholarships would commit themselves to longer terms of obligated service.

At the same time that we have been increasing the incentive for volunteer service, we have also taken steps to reduce our requirements for men who must be drafted.

- I have directed that the Services place civilians in jobs previously held by men in uniform wherever this can be done without impairing military effectiveness. During fiscal 1967, 74,000 former military jobs will be filled by civilians. During the next fiscal year, an additional 40,000 such jobs will be so filled. If these measures were not taken, our draft calls would have to be much higher.
- Starting last year, under Project 100,000 the military Services have revised mental and physical standards to admit young men who were being rejected—more than half of whom had sought to volunteer. As a result, the Services will accept this year 40,000 men who would have been disqualified under former standards. Next year, the Defense Department's goal is to accept 100,000 such men.
- Finally, the Secretary of Defense is taking steps to expand opportunities for women in the Services, thus further reducing the number of men who must be

called involuntarily for duty.

But in spite of all we can and will do in this regard, we cannot realistically expect to meet our present commitments or our future requirements with a military force relying exclusively on volunteers.

We know that vulnerability to the draft is a strong motivating factor in the decision of many young men to enlist. Studies have shown that in the relatively normal years before the build-up in Vietnam, two out of every five enlistees were so motivated. Since then, the proportion has been considerably higher.

Research has also disclosed that volunteers alone could be expected to man a force of little more than 2 million.

Our military needs have been substantially greater than that ever since we first committed troops to combat in Korea in the summer of 1950. The average strength of our Armed Forces in the years between the end of hostilities in Korea and the build-up in Vietnam was 2.7 million. Today, we have 3.3 million men under arms, and this force will increase still further by June 1968 if the conflict is not concluded by then.

The question, whether we could increase incentives sufficiently to attract an exclusively volunteer force larger than any such force we have had in the past, has been subjected to intensive study.

That study concluded that the costs would be difficult to determine precisely, but clearly they would be very high.

Far more important is the position of weakness to which an exclusively volunteer force—with no provision for selective service—would expose us. The sudden need for more men than a volunteer force could supply would find the nation without the machinery to respond.

That lack of flexibility, that absence of

power to expand in quick response to sudden challenge, would be totally incompatible with an effective national defense. In short, it would force us to gamble with the Nation's security.

We look to, and work for, the day the fighting will end in Vietnam. We hope—it is the most profound hope of this Administration as it is of this generation of Americans—that the years beyond that day will be years of diminishing tension in the world, of silent guns and smaller armies. The total efforts of this government will be constantly directed toward reaching that time.

But although we are hopeful, we are realists too, with a realism bred into us through long and lasting experience. Any responsible appraisal of world conditions leads inevitably to this conclusion: We must maintain the capability for flexible response which we have today.

The draft is one of the essential and crucial instruments which assures us of that flexibility.

I recommend legislation to extend for four years the authority, which expires on June 30, 1967, to induct men into the Armed Forces.

THE ORDER OF CALL

The general procedure today for the selection of draft-eligible men is in the order of "oldest first"—from 26 downward.

In the period prior to the Vietnam build-up, when draft calls were small, the average age for involuntary induction was between 22 and 24 years.

All three of the recent studies of the draft reveal that the current order of call is undesirable from the point of view of everyone

involved—and is actually the reverse of what it should be:

—For the young men themselves, it increases the period of uncertainty and interferes with the planning of lives and careers.

—For employers, it causes hardships when employees are lost to the draft who have been trained, acquired skills and settled in their jobs.

—For the Selective Service System, it proliferates the number of deferment applications and appeals. Claims for dependency and occupational deferments are much more frequent for men over the age of 20.

—For the Armed Forces, it creates problems. The Services have found that older recruits are generally less adaptable than are younger ones to the rigors of military training.

The time has clearly come to correct these conditions and remove the uncertainties which the present order of call promotes.

I will issue an Executive Order directing that in the future, as other measures I am proposing are put into effect, men be drafted beginning at age 19.²

DEFERMENT INEQUITIES

Almost 2 million young men—and soon many more—reach age 19 each year. The foreseeable requirement is to draft only 100,000 to 300,000 of them annually. We must ask: How shall those relatively few be selected? As the National Advisory Commission on Selective Service phrased it, "Who serves when not all serve?"

² Executive Order 11360 of June 30, 1967 (3 Weekly Comp. Pres. Docs., p. 947; 32 F.R. 9787; 3 CFR, 1967 Comp., p. 295).

Past procedures have, in effect, reduced the size of the available manpower pool by deferring men out of it.

This has resulted in inequities.

Two separate groups of men have been selected out of consideration for military service:

1. *Rejectees*

In the past, many thousands of men were rejected—and put into deferred categories—who could have performed satisfactorily, sharing the burdens as well as the benefits of service. Most of these were disadvantaged youths with limited educational backgrounds or in some cases, curable physical defects.

We are taking action to correct this inequity. I referred earlier to Project 100,000 established by the Secretary of Defense. Under this program, the Services are taking in men who would previously have been disqualified because of educational deficiencies or minor medical ailments.

With intensive instruction, practical on-the-job training and corrective medical measures, these young men can become good soldiers. Moreover, the remedial training they receive can enable them to live fuller and more productive lives. It is estimated that about half the men who enter the Armed Forces under this program will come as volunteers, the other half as draftees.

This will be a continuing program. The nation can never again afford to deny to men who can effectively serve their country, the obligation—and the right—to share in a basic responsibility of citizenship.

2. *College Students*

The National Advisory Commission on Selective Service found the issue of college

student deferments to be the most difficult problem for its consideration. The Commission could not reach unanimity. This is not surprising, for it was sufficiently representative of the nation itself to reflect the healthy diversity of opinion which centers on this subject.

Student deferments have resulted in inequities because many of those *deferments* have pyramided into *exemptions* from military service.

Deferred for undergraduate work, deferred further to pursue graduate study and then deferred even beyond that for fatherhood or occupational reasons, some young men have managed to pile deferment on deferment until they passed the normal cut-off point for induction.

In this regard, a recent survey revealed that only 27 percent of one age group of graduate school students past the age of 26 had served in the Armed Forces—contrasted with approximately 70 percent of men of the same ages with educational backgrounds varying from college degrees to some high school training.

There is one group of post-graduate students to whom this condition does not apply—men who are studying to be doctors and dentists. About half of them later serve as medical officers in the Armed Forces.

Their service is vital. Because their studies are essential to military manpower needs, students engaged in such programs must continue to be deferred until their education is completed.

I have concluded, however, that there is no justification for granting further deferments to other graduate school students.

To correct the inequities in the deferments of post-graduate students, I shall issue an Executive Order specifying that no defer-

*ments for post-graduate study be granted in the future, except for those men pursuing medical and dental courses.*³

Undergraduate students present a different problem for consideration.

Many citizens—including a majority of the members of the National Advisory Commission—hold that student deferments are of themselves inequitable because they grant to one group of men a special privilege not generally available to all. Their concern was heightened by the belief that a student deferment in a time of conflict might be an even greater privilege.

They contend that such deferments cannot properly be justified as being in the national interest. Moreover it is their conviction that the elimination of a student deferment policy would have no harmful effect on the educational process in this country. Indeed, they believe that the nation's experience with the returning veterans of other wars indicates that interruption of college studies for military service actually results for many men in a more mature approach and a greater capacity for study.

Others—including a substantial minority of the Commission—believe just as strongly that college deferments from service are not unfair—however manifestly unfair are the conditions of life which permit some to go to college while others cannot.

They agree that the unpredictability of world conditions could conceivably work to the advantage of students who were able to defer their service. But they point out that the same unpredictability could work just as easily to the opposite effect, that men who were deferred as college freshmen in 1963 would be graduating this spring into a world in which they could face the hazards of com-

bat. Finally, this point of view calls attention to the fact that the elimination of student deferments would unduly complicate the officer procurement problems of the Armed Forces, for almost four out of five officers who come into the Services each year come from the Nation's colleges.

An issue so deeply important, with so many compelling factors on both sides, cannot be decided until its every aspect has been thoroughly explored.

I hope and expect that the Congress will debate the questions this issue poses for the Nation's youth and the Nation's future.

I will welcome the public discussion which the Commission report will surely stimulate.

I shall await the benefits of these discussions which will themselves be a great educational process for the Nation.

I will then take the Presidential action which, I believe, will best serve the national interest.

A FAIR AND IMPARTIAL RANDOM (FAIR) SYSTEM OF SELECTION

The paramount problem remains to determine who shall be selected for induction out of the many who are available.

Assuming that all the men available are equally qualified and eligible, how can that selection be made most fairly?

No question has received more thoughtful attention or more careful analysis.

There is no perfect solution. For the unavoidable truth is that complete equity can never be achieved when only some must be selected and only some must serve.

But a decision cannot be avoided. It is due. The question will become more urgent with the passing months and years.

I have concluded that the only method which approaches complete fairness is to es-

³Executive Order 11360 of June 30, 1967 (3 Weekly Comp. Pres. Docs., p. 947; 32 F.R. 9787; 3 CFR, 1967 Comp., p. 295).

establish a Fair and Impartial Random (FAIR) system of selection which will determine the order of call for all equally eligible men.

That FAIR system would operate generally as follows:

- At age 18, all men would be examined to determine their physical and mental eligibility.
- All eligible men reaching age 19 before a designated date would be placed in a selection pool.
- The FAIR system would then determine their order of call.
- They would be selected in that order of call, for induction at age 19, to fill draft calls placed by the Department of Defense.
- Those not reached during this period would drop to a less vulnerable position on the list with the entry of the next year's group of eligible men into the selection pool.
- All men would retain their vulnerability to the draft, in diminishing order by age group up to 26, in the event of a national emergency. Those who had received deferments would continue liable, as at present, until their 35th birthday.

This system, giving young men a clear indication of a likelihood of being drafted, in conjunction with the "youngest first" order of call, will further reduce uncertainty in the planning of futures and careers.

I am instructing the Director of Selective Service, working in collaboration with the Secretary of Defense, to develop a Fair And Impartial Random (FAIR) system of selection to become fully operational before January 1, 1969. This system will determine the order of call for induction of qualified and available 19-year-olds and older men as their deferments expire.

SELECTIVE SERVICE ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

The proposals I am presenting in this message have one common objective: Insofar as it is possible to do so, to make certain that men who must be called to serve their country, and fight and die for it if necessary, will be chosen equitably and justly.

The governing concept I propose for selection is one of equal and uniform treatment for all men in like circumstances.

The National Advisory Commission has reported that in order to achieve that objective in all its dimensions, the Selective Service System itself should be re-structured.

The Commission presented its conviction that the System's decentralized operation, with more than 4,000 neighborhood boards, 56 State headquarters and 95 appeal boards—all functioning under general and sometimes inconsistent guidelines—is not responsive to the requirements of our Nation today. It believed that uniformity of treatment would be difficult to achieve through that System.

The Commission recommended that the Selective Service System be consolidated. It suggested a coordinated structure of eight regions, embracing from 300 to 500 area offices located in major population centers and staffed with full-time government employees. It proposed a System modernized by means of new management techniques, communications technology and data processing equipment.

I believe these recommendations should be exposed to further searching analysis and study by management experts building on the work the Commission has done.

The Selective Service System has done a good job for America. For a quarter of a century those who have been responsible for its operation have provided the nation with

an inspiring study of patriotic citizens volunteering their time and devotion to demanding tasks vitally affecting the national welfare.

Moreover, as I have already observed, the System itself has been flexible and responsive, meeting the widely varying calls for manpower placed on it over the past twenty years.

And beyond these considerations are others more difficult to measure, but deeply important nonetheless.

The Selective Service System is a part of America, a part of the process of our democracy, a part of our commitment to a full regard for the rights of the individual in our society. Because of the large number of registrants they must classify, many local draft boards in large cities cannot fulfill completely the function intended for them. But nonetheless the draft board concept is built on a uniquely American belief—that local citizens can perform a valuable service to the government and at the same time personalize the government's procedures to a young man fulfilling one of his earliest and most serious obligations of citizenship.

We cannot lightly discard an institution with so valuable a record of effectiveness and integrity.

Neither can we afford to preserve it, if we find that in practice it cannot adapt to the new controlling concept of equal and uniform treatment.

These counter-balancing considerations highlight the need to subject the System's organization to intensive study by experts skilled in management techniques and methods on the basis of the Commission's work.

I am instructing the Secretary of Defense,

the Director of the Selective Service System and the Director of the Bureau of the Budget jointly to establish a Task Force to review the recommendations for a re-structured Selective Service System made by the National Advisory Commission. This review will determine the cost, the method of implementation, and the effectiveness of the System the Commission recommends, in view of the changes in the System I am proposing in this message.

In the meantime we can make certain changes to strengthen the System.

The Commission study brought into focus areas where immediate improvement can and should be put into effect.

I am instructing the Director of the Selective Service System to:

—Assure that advisors and appeal agents are readily available to all registrants.

—Examine the System's appeals procedures to insure that the rights of the individual are fully protected.

—Improve the System's information policies so that all registrants and the public generally will better understand the System's operations.

—In conjunction with Governor Farris Bryant, Director of the Office of Emergency Planning, work with the governors to assure that all local boards are truly representative of the communities they serve and to submit periodic reports on the progress in this area.

RESERVE POLICIES

The National Advisory Commission focused attention on the administration of enlistments into Reserve and National Guard units. The Commission expressed

concern over the inequities it saw in the enlistment procedures of these units.

The Reserve forces are essential to our military posture and are an integral part of it. My first concern is that these forces be maintained at their authorized strengths, and in a state of readiness for deployment, if and when they are needed.

I also believe that the Reserve components should, like the active forces, be manned primarily by volunteers.

Two steps have recently been taken by the Secretary of Defense to assure greater equity in the enlistment policies of the Reserve components:

—Men who meet qualification standards must be accepted into Reserve units in the order of their application.

—Reservists who are not satisfactorily fulfilling their obligation will be ordered to active duty for up to 24 months.

Authority to order such reservists to duty is provided in the Department of Defense 1967 Appropriations Act. *I recommend that such authority be incorporated in permanent legislation.*

I have concluded that two additional actions should now be taken:

First, I am directing the Secretary of Defense to give priority to Reserve enlistees who are under draft age (those young men 17 to 18½ years of age) to encourage a maximum number of volunteers who are not immediately draft liable. Reserve deferments for men who are draft liable will be authorized only to the extent required to fill specific vacancies in reserve components.

Second, I recommend that the Congress enact standby authority to allow the Department of Defense to draft men into Reserve and National Guard units whenever the

authorized strength of these units cannot otherwise be maintained.

THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON SELECTIVE SERVICE

The work of the National Advisory Commission on Selective Service represents the most comprehensive study of this system since it began 20 years ago. Any citizen who reads the report of the Commission—and I urge all citizens to do so—will recognize that the distinguished members have provided the most penetrating analysis of selective service in our history.

To provide the American people with a continuing review of a system which touches every American family and to assure the diligent pursuit of the actions I have discussed and approved in this message, as well as other suggestions in the Commission report, *I am extending the life of the National Advisory Commission for an additional year.*

CONCLUSION

Service performed by the youth of our nation honors us all.

Americans have good reason to respect the long tradition of service which is manifested in every flight line and outpost where we commit our bravest men to the guardianship of freedom.

We have witnessed in our day the building of another tradition—by men and women in the Peace Corps, in VISTA, and in other such programs which have touched, and perhaps even changed, the life of our country and our world.

This spirit is as characteristic of modern

America as our advanced technology, or our scientific achievements.

I have wondered if we could establish, through these programs and others like them, a practical system of nonmilitary alternatives to the draft without harming our security.

Both the National Advisory Commission on Selective Service and the group reporting to the Congress posed this question for study.

Both found the answer to be that we cannot.

But the spirit of volunteer service in socially useful enterprises will, we hope, continue to grow until that good day when all service will be voluntary, when all young people can and will choose the kind of service best fitted to their own needs and their nation's.

We will hasten it as we can. But until it comes, because of the conditions of the world we live in now, we must continue to ask one form of service—military duty—of our

young men. We would be an irresponsible Nation if we did not—and perhaps even an extinct one.

The Nation's requirement that men must serve, however, imposes this obligation: that in this land of equals, men are selected as equals to serve.

A just nation must have the fairest system that can be devised for making that selection.

I believe the proposals I am making today will help give us that system.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

The White House

March 6, 1967

NOTE: The report of the National Advisory Commission on Selective Service is entitled "In Pursuit of Equity: Who Serves When Not All Serve?" (Government Printing Office, 219 pp.).

The Military Selective Service Act of 1967 (Public Law 90-40, 81 Stat. 100) was approved on June 30, 1967.

The message was released at San Antonio, Texas, on March 6. On the previous day the White House Press Office there also released a summary explanation of the proposed draft changes (3 Weekly Comp. Pres. Docs., p. 397).

93 Remarks at the Seventh Annual Federal Woman's Award Ceremony. *March 7, 1967*

Mrs. Louchheim, award winners:

I am very proud this morning to open the doors of the people's house to some of its most distinguished servants. Your presence here is proof that America is finally beginning to use the full range of all of its talent.

What you have done, and what you will do for your country, has inspired not just an awards ceremony, but the gratitude of your fellow citizens as well as the admiration and thanks of your President.

As I look over your impressive list of achievements, I know that you represent only a fraction of the womanpower that should be doing meaningful work in government, in the schools and private industry, and in a thousand other useful occupations.

So, even as I thank you for this public service, I appeal to you for help in making that fraction much larger.

The example of your public lives is an inspiration to other women, but many women must be helped to see how and

where they may begin their own productive careers.

Today there is an entirely new environment awaiting a woman who seeks useful work. The law now upholds her right to equal opportunity.

We have finally offered her a partnership in progress.

Since 1964 we have added 4 million women to the total working force in this country. They represent 7 out of 10 of the workers that we have added since 1964.

At the same time, unemployment among adult men has fallen from 4.2 percent to 2.4 percent.

So women are not taking the male breadwinners' jobs away from them, as those figures will indicate.

The need and the opportunity for trained women doers is very clear throughout the land.

The pay differential between professional men and women also is narrowing daily.

According to the latest estimates, the number of women employed by the Government at salary levels above \$11,000 has increased by 50 percent since 1962.

The Nation's biggest employer, Federal, State, and local government, provides the broadest range of opportunities for women.

With your help it can attain the highest degree of excellence.

There are countless other avenues of public service outside the Government. A woman does not need a professional career to serve her community or her country in many significant ways, as we observe every day.

Communities everywhere need women who will speak for justice where there is injustice, who will demand attention to the people's needs, who will break the silence of complacency and conformity.

The challenge of public responsibility cannot obscure the woman's role as homemaker or wife or mother. Her expanding horizons can make that role even more fulfilling. They can add depth and understanding to her role in family life.

These awards are symbols of our trust, our admiration, and our gratitude for all that American women have done for our country, in the homes and in the offices, in public service, and particularly in personal caring.

So as you ladies here this morning return to your tasks, I hope that you will take with you a greater dedication to the public service that you have so nobly already served, and to the women of America whose very justified and brilliant representatives you have demonstrated yourselves to be.

We are so glad to have you and we are so proud of your achievements.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:45 a.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House. In his opening words he referred to Mrs. Katie Louchheim, Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Federal Woman's Award and Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs, who introduced the following award winners:

Elizabeth Ann Brown, Director, Office of United Nations Political Affairs, Office of International Organization Affairs, Department of State, cited "for her unique accomplishments in the precedent-building field of multilateral diplomacy".

Dr. Barbara Moulton, Medical Officer, Division of Scientific Opinions, Bureau of Deceptive Practices, Federal Trade Commission, cited "for her uncommon devotion to the protection of consumers in the use of drugs and her great effectiveness in the prevention of deceptive trade practices affecting their health".

Mrs. Anne Mason Roberts, Deputy Regional Administrator, New York Region, Department of Housing and Urban Development, cited "for her outstanding achievements in minority-group relations, relocation of families, and interagency coordination, in urban redevelopment programs".

Dr. Kathryn Grove Shipp, Research Chemist (Organic), Advanced Chemistry Division, U.S. Naval Ordnance Laboratory, Department of the Navy, cited "for her high scientific achievement in

the discovery and development of new explosive chemical compounds and her leadership in training newcomers in difficult and hazardous research".

Wilma Louise Victor, Superintendent, Intermountain Indian School, Brigham City, Utah, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior, cited "for her exceptional creative and executive ability in the administration of a unique and complex school program for disadvantaged Indian youth".

Dr. Marjorie J. Williams, Director, Pathology and Allied Sciences Service, Department of Medicine and

Surgery, Veterans Administration, cited "for her distinguished service as physician, scientist, and administrator, and her extraordinary contributions to medical programs throughout the Government".

The Federal Woman's Award was founded in 1960 to give public recognition to outstanding Government career women. The award winners are chosen by a board of trustees consisting of 12 persons prominently identified with Federal personnel administration, both in and out of Government.

94 Message to the Senate Transmitting the Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs, 1961. *March 8, 1967*

To the Senate of the United States:

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to accession to the Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs, 1961, open for signature at New York March 30, 1961 to August 1, 1961, I transmit herewith a copy of the Convention along with the Final Act of the United Nations Conference at which the Convention was adopted.

For nearly sixty years the United States has taken a leading part in international cooperation for the control of narcotic drugs. We should continue this cooperation to the fullest possible extent in combating the scourge of drug abuse.

After a survey by a special task force on the contribution of the Convention to the control of illegal international drug traffic, I have concluded that the national and in-

ternational interest in drug control will be significantly advanced by United States accession.

I recommend that the Senate give the Convention early and favorable consideration.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

The White House

March 8, 1967

NOTE: The convention was favorably considered by the Senate on May 8, 1967, and after ratification entered into force on June 24, 1967. It was proclaimed by the President on July 12, 1967.

The text of the convention is printed in the Treaties and Other International Acts Series (TIAS 6298).

The White House also released a report to the President by Acting Secretary of State Nicholas deB. Katzenbach on the history of the convention and prior related agreements. The report is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 3, p. 402).

95 Letter Concerning the Progress Report by the Federal Woman's Award Study Group. *March 8, 1967*

Dear Mrs. Thunberg:

I have considered the initial report of the Federal Woman's Award Study Group and have approved the recommendations you have made. The report clearly indicated that something must be done to further the program for women in the Federal service.

I have asked Secretary Wirtz to have the Interdepartmental Committee on the Status of Women give early consideration to the form of issuance of the proposed Executive Order. I have asked Chairman Macy to initiate immediate action on the other recommendations of the Study Group and to re-

port to me by the first of July the progress made.

As a Nation, we cannot continue to afford through outmoded custom or attitude the senseless waste of the capability potential of American women. It is my firm intent, and I have expressed this many times since I became President, to have the Federal service truly exemplify equal opportunity for all in employment and advancement regardless of race, color, creed, national origin or sex. I am confident that the work of the Study Group will continue to contribute to the attainment of this objective.

Sincerely,

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

[Mrs. Penelope H. Thunberg, Chairman, Federal Woman's Award Study Group, U.S. Tariff Commission, Washington, D.C.]

NOTE: The report (12 pp., processed) is entitled: "Federal Woman's Award Study Group on Careers for Women: Progress Report to the President" and is dated March 3, 1967. Establishment of the Study Group, to be composed of all recipients of the

Federal Woman's Award since its inauguration in 1960, was announced by the President on February 28, 1966 (1966 volume, this series, Book I, Item 89).

The report, summarized in a White House Press Office release made public with the President's letter (3 Weekly Comp. Pres. Docs., p. 404), made the following recommendations:

1. Development by the Civil Service Commission of a Federal personnel reporting system to furnish data for a full appraisal of the position of women in Government.

2. Strengthening of the Executive order on equal employment opportunity. (This recommendation was implemented on October 13, 1967, with the issuance of Executive Order 11375 on equal opportunity for women in Federal employment and employment by Federal contractors (3 Weekly Comp. Pres. Docs., p. 1437; 32 F.R. 14303; 3 CFR, 1967 Comp. p. 320)).

3. Review and modification of examination and qualification requirements by the Civil Service Commission to provide more flexibility and increased credit for community, cultural, social service, and professional association activities.

4. Development of programs to recruit women for part-time employment.

5. Yearly review of agency programs for more effective use of qualified women, including career advancement opportunities.

96 Message to the Congress Transmitting Third Joint Annual Report on the National Wilderness Preservation System.

March 8, 1967

To the Congress of the United States:

I am pleased to transmit to the Congress the Third Annual Report on the status of the National Wilderness Preservation System.

The National Wilderness Preservation System, established by the Wilderness Act of 1964, protects and preserves a priceless legacy—the wilderness of America. Under this Act, we hold in trust for future generations more than nine million acres of forest, mountains and streams.

—areas free from the imprint of man

—areas where nature alone has left its mark.

This in itself is a great achievement. But our responsibility for preserving America's natural heritage does not end here.

The Congress has recognized this continuing responsibility and has called for a review of the Nation's primitive and unspoiled areas for possible addition to the Wilderness System. I welcome that task. I have submitted legislation to authorize the first addition to the Wilderness System since its establishment—the San Rafael Wilderness, Los Padres National Forest, California. I will submit further recommendations later this year.

This is important work.

The wilderness and primitive areas of this Nation are a priceless heritage. That heritage is ours to preserve or to destroy.

America has made its choice.

We shall not rest until the job is done.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

The White House

March 8, 1967

NOTE: The report is entitled "Third Joint Annual Report of the Secretaries of Agriculture and Interior Concerning the Status of the National Wilderness Preservation System, Prepared in Accordance With Section 7 of the Wilderness Act, P.L. 88-577 dated September 3, 1964." It is printed in House Document 77 (90th Cong., 1st sess.).

97 Remarks at the Swearing In of James J. Reynolds as Under Secretary and Thomas R. Donahue as Assistant Secretary of Labor. *March 8, 1967*

Mr. Reynolds and family, Mr. Donahue and family, Secretary Wirtz and family, Members of the Cabinet, Members of the Congress, ladies and gentlemen:

It was 54 years ago that our Government first established the Department of Labor in the United States. It was a confirmation of America's concern for the heart of American society—that is, the workingman and his family.

Today, more Americans are working in the United States than have ever worked before. Since 1963 alone, we have added more than 6 million people to the ranks of productive labor. They are earning more, they are working under better conditions, with a greater personal dignity than ever before in all of American history.

No one man or no single administration can claim credit for this. But if he is faithful to the people's trust, every President must give perpetual priority to strengthening this very vital Department, for it touches the lives of every citizen in this country.

I know that every employee of the Department of Labor shares my very great satisfaction in the success of our recent efforts on behalf of the American workers.

Over the past 3 years:

—We have included more than 8 million new workers under the minimum wage act.

—We have opened up close to 1 million job opportunities for needy young people under the Neighborhood Youth Corps.

—We have helped thousands of communities all across America attack poverty.

In these and in other efforts, the Department of Labor, under the brilliant leadership of Willard Wirtz, plays a major and a strategic role. And there is more that can be done and there is more that will be done:

—We must press on to reduce unemployment. We must raise family incomes in the slums.

—We must wipe out discrimination because of age in employment.

—We must give greater self-help assistance to American Indians and migratory farmworkers whose plight continues to trouble the conscience of America.

—We must strengthen the system of unemployment compensation and insurance to help the jobless and their families live until they can find work.

In this Department, as in all concerned

with the well-being of America, there is no end to challenge and no limit to the qualifications of the people who are asked to lead it.

We have come here to the East Room this afternoon to recognize two such leaders. One is the new Under Secretary of Labor, James J. Reynolds. The other is Thomas R. Donahue, who succeeds him as Assistant Secretary for Labor-Management Relations.

Both of these men have most distinguished careers behind them. They both have spent their lives in preparation for the tasks that they undertake.

They have demonstrated their capacity to exercise the greatest trust that is known to human affairs—and that is the public trust.

America now offers them a new challenge, grateful for their willingness to accept it and confident in their ability to execute it.

So to all of their friends, associates, and colleagues we say: This is a very happy occasion for us, for you, and for them.

For my entire administration, I have been rather closely associated with Mr. Reynolds. He is the kind of man who makes you glad that you are President and that he is in your Cabinet, because he is kind and understanding, and he is able and dedicated.

I know that we will find the same is true of Mr. Donahue.

So, welcome aboard. I don't know when you will get some sleep, but the Good Lord be with you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:45 p.m. in the East Room at the White House. In his opening words he also referred to Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz, who administered the oath of office.

98 Statement by the President on a Budget Amendment Reducing Funds Proposed for the Atomic Energy Commission.

March 9, 1967

I HAVE today sent to the Congress a fiscal year 1968 budget amendment involving a decrease in the amount of \$14.9 million for the Atomic Energy Commission. This reduction in the fiscal year 1968 budget is made possible by a decision of the Atomic Energy Commission to phase out one of the three major projects for advanced nuclear power reactor development which AEC is pursuing in addition to its main-line effort to develop the so-called "fast breeder" power reactor. The Atomic Energy Commission will terminate the current development work on the heavy-water-moderated, organic-cooled reactor (HWOCR) concept for civilian power but will continue a research and development program on heavy water reactor technology.

The AEC decision to cancel the HWOCR development program is an excellent example of our continuing efforts to reexamine the priorities of on-going programs and to eliminate lower-priority activities. This particular decision was made following an extensive study of the technical and economic promise of the HWOCR concept within the context of the outlook for heavy water technology generally, the marked success of current light water reactor systems, and the priority assigned to the fast breeder reactor development effort.

The planned continuation of the heavy water research and development program will enable the Atomic Energy Commission to retain the option to exploit this technology later if it proves to be especially attractive.

99 Special Message to the Congress Transmitting Reorganization Plan 2 of 1967: United States Tariff Commission. *March 9, 1967*

To the Congress of the United States:

I am transmitting Reorganization Plan No. 2 of 1967, concerning the U.S. Tariff Commission.

The plan is a step toward fulfilling my pledge to the American people that Government must be reshaped to meet the tasks of today. It underscores my conviction that progress can be achieved by building upon what is strong and enduring, but that we shall never hesitate to discard what is inefficient or outmoded.

This plan has a single, clear objective—to strengthen the operations of the Tariff Commission by transferring to its Chairman certain routine executive and administrative functions now divided among its six commissioners.

In taking this long overdue step, the plan adopts a proven concept of good management recommended by the first Hoover Commission: in the interests of efficiency purely administrative functions—budgeting, personnel supervision and general management—should be vested in the chairman of a commission rather than diffused throughout the commission.

This principle was followed by each of my predecessors—Presidents Harry S. Truman, Dwight D. Eisenhower, and John F. Kennedy.

It has been applied successfully to most of our commissions, including:

- The Federal Trade Commission
- The Securities and Exchange Commission
- The U.S. Civil Service Commission
- The Federal Home Loan Bank Board

The reorganization plan I recommend will extend it to the Tariff Commission.

The Tariff Commission plays a key role in safeguarding the nation's economic vitality. It reviews our commercial policies and studies how these policies affect competition between foreign and domestic products. Periodically, after public investigation, the Commission reports to Congress and the President concerning the effect of imports on our domestic industries and our workers.

The Commission's tasks are demanding and complex. They require skill and careful judgment. Often, the Commission must work under intense time pressure.

The plan I forward today will promote efficient operation of the Tariff Commission by:

- Centralizing and consolidating in a single executive—the Chairman—the purely administrative functions of the Commission;
- Freeing the other Commissioners from these routine burdens so they can devote full time to investigative and advisory responsibilities.

Thus, the plan transfers, from the Commission as a whole to the Chairman of the Commission, these duties:

- Overall management of the Commission's activities;
- Direction and supervision of the employees of the Commission;
- Personnel actions, such as hiring, promotion, salary, transfer, removal of Commission employees; and
- Allocation and use of funds appropriated to the Commission.

This plan will allow the nation's businessmen and workers—and indeed every citizen—to reap the benefits of modern and effective government.

As a result of this plan, the Tariff Commission will be managed more efficiently. It is too early, however, to estimate the exact dollar savings that will flow from these improved operations.

This plan was prepared in accordance with Chapter 9 of Title 5 of the United States Code.

After investigation I have found, and I hereby declare, that each reorganization included in the accompanying plan is necessary

to accomplish one or more of the purposes set forth in section 901(a) of Title 5.

I urge Congress to permit this reorganization plan to become effective.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

The White House

March 9, 1967

NOTE: Reorganization Plan 2 of 1967 is published in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 3, p. 410). It did not become effective.

100 Message to the Congress Transmitting 20th Annual Report on U.S. Participation in the United Nations. *March 9, 1967*

To the Congress of the United States:

I am submitting herewith the twentieth annual report on United States participation in the United Nations, covering calendar year 1965.

That year gave new evidence of our country's vigorous commitment to the world organization, and to the cause of peace which it serves. All of the American efforts recorded here—whether political, economic, social, legal or administrative—were designed solely to further that commitment.

The whole world shared our grief when Ambassador Adlai E. Stevenson died in London on July 14, 1965. The respect and affection in which he was held, and the world's gratitude for his contributions to the United Nations, found expression in messages from officials and leaders around the globe, and in the rare tribute of a memorial meeting in the General Assembly hall at the United Nations.

One measure of a nation's regard for the United Nations is the quality of representatives it sends to the Organization. Accordingly, I asked Arthur J. Goldberg to leave the Supreme Court of the United States and to succeed Ambassador Stevenson as our

Permanent Representative to the United Nations.

Ambassador Goldberg's first important task was to help end the paralysis suffered by the General Assembly in 1964 as a result of the U.N. constitutional crisis. It had become clear that the membership as a whole was not prepared to apply the penalty provided by Article 19 of the Charter—loss of vote in the Assembly for those more than two years in arrears—to those members who had refused to contribute their assessed shares of certain peacekeeping operations. On August 16, Ambassador Goldberg announced that the United States would not seek to frustrate the evident desire of many members that the General Assembly should proceed normally. At the same time, he made it clear that the United States reserved the same option to make exceptions to collective financing assessments in the future.

The consensus reached by the General Assembly included agreement that the Organization's financial difficulties should be solved through voluntary contributions, particularly from those delinquent in their payments. A few nations contributed, but those furthest in arrears did not. The financial

condition of the United Nations thus remained precarious.

During 1965, the Security Council made a major contribution to international peace by halting the hostilities between India and Pakistan arising from the Kashmir dispute. In thus arresting a full-scale war on the subcontinent, the Organization prevented untold tragedy in Asia—and proved anew its value as an instrument for peace.

United Nations peace forces and truce supervisors continued to stand guard throughout 1965 in Cyprus, in Kashmir, in Korea, and along the troubled borders of Israel. The Security Council also dispatched United Nations representatives and observers to the Dominican Republic during the disorders there; but the primacy of the Organization of American States in dealing successfully with this regional problem, in accordance with the United Nations Charter, remained unimpaired.

During the year, concrete steps toward disarmament were again strongly urged from all quarters, although progress proved disappointingly slow; the serious problems of race relations and colonialism in Southern Africa were also a cause of increasing debate and concern; and the United Nations and its members were repeatedly urged by the United States to join in the search for peace in Vietnam.

In my speech in San Francisco on June 25, 1965—the Twentieth Anniversary of the United Nations—I called upon its members to use all their influence, individually and collectively, to bring to the negotiating table those who seemed determined to continue the conflict. Ambassador Goldberg addressed similar appeals to United Nations members. Indeed, in his first official communication as U.S. Representative, a letter to the Security

Council President on July 30, 1965, Ambassador Goldberg recalled the legitimate interest of the Security Council in the peace of Southeast Asia and asserted that “The United States stands ready, as it has in the past, to collaborate unconditionally with members of the Security Council in the search for an acceptable formula to restore peace and security to that area of the world.”

Unfortunately, these initiatives produced no affirmative response from those supporting the aggression against South Vietnam. Two suspensions of the bombing of North Vietnam during the year were no more successful in opening the path to honorable negotiations. The tragic conflict continues unabated in Vietnam. But we are continuing our efforts untiringly to seek a peaceful settlement of this issue through the United Nations and all other channels. This was the key issue dealt with in Ambassador Goldberg’s statement to the twenty-first General Assembly in the general debate in September 1966.

The year 1965 marked the mid-point of the United Nations Development Decade. It was a year of sober assessment. Despite substantial progress in some areas, it was clear that in most of the more than one hundred countries with per capita incomes of less than \$200, economic growth had been largely swallowed up by the mounting tide of population growth. Multilateral programs of aid, trade, and investment, although substantial in absolute terms, are not sufficient—even when combined with all the other large programs, public and private—to narrow the “development gap.”

This discouraging assessment stimulated new efforts to cope with development problems:

—The newly created U.N. Conference on

Trade and Development began its search for new trade patterns and practices which would benefit the developing countries.

- The establishment of a new U.N. Organization for Industrial Development was approved by the General Assembly.
- The U.N. Development Program was established by merger of the U.N. Expanded Program of Technical Assistance and the Special Fund. The United States had worked long and hard for the integration of these two major U.N. operational programs in order to permit better planning and more effective use of resources.
- Foundations were laid for the new Asian Development Bank with a capitalization of \$1 billion, including a \$200 million subscription by the United States. It promises to be one of the most effective agencies for the financing of economic and social development in Asia.
- A new African Development Bank, designed to play a similar role in Africa, opened for business.

Through these and other instrumentalities, our delegations in U.N. agencies have given leadership and positive support to major goals in the struggle for a better life: more food production; assistance in voluntary family planning; the training of skilled manpower; development of transport and communications; fuller utilization of natural resources; and increased application of science and technology.

The year 1965 had been designated International Cooperation Year (ICY) by the U.N. General Assembly, and U.N. members were urged to commemorate it in appropriate ways. The culmination of the American celebration was a White House Conference

attended by more than 5,000 distinguished Americans—leaders in their communities, in business and industry, in educational and labor organizations, in the arts and sciences, and in the professions. The Conference discussed reports on international cooperation in agriculture, atomic energy, disarmament, health, the welfare of women and youth, and many other fields. Many of its recommendations have already been put into effect. Others are being thoroughly evaluated by a special White House Committee which will shortly submit its report to me.

Public support for the United Nations continued at a high level as the Organization approached its twenty-first anniversary. Most thoughtful people know that the United Nations is a far from perfect organization, in a far from perfect world. Yet they also recognize that it and its specialized agencies are the best system yet devised for sovereign nations to work together with equality and self-respect.

Our investment in the United Nations, and its various agencies and special programs, supplements other activities undertaken to preserve, protect, or promote a wide range of national interests. Above all, our commitment to the United Nations is an expression of faith which has illuminated the entire history of our country: a faith that the creative powers of democracy and human reason can overcome the evils of tyranny and violence.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

The White House

March 9, 1967

NOTE: The report is entitled "U.S. Participation in the U.N., Report by the President to the Congress for the Year 1965" (Government Printing Office, 415 pp.).

101 Message to the Congress Transmitting First Report on Marine Resources and Engineering Development. *March 9, 1967**To the Congress of the United States:*

I am pleased to report on the marine science activities of the Federal Government.

The resources of the oceans can help us meet many of the challenges that face our nation and the world today.

—The vast food reserves of the sea must be developed to help end the tragic cycle of famine and despair.

—The continuing pollution and erosion of our seashores, bays, estuaries and Great Lakes must be arrested and reversed to safeguard the health of our people and to protect the resources of the sea.

—The influence of oceans on the environment must be understood so that we may improve the long-term forecasting of storms, weather and sea conditions; protect life and property in coastal areas; and improve the prediction of rainfall in the interior.

—The wealth of the ocean floor must be freed for the benefit of all people.

—Finally, the seas must be used as pathways to improved international understanding and cooperation.

The great potential of the seas has not gone unnoticed. During the past six years, we have invested increasingly in the development of marine scientific and technical manpower, ships, and facilities. The quality of our research fleet, deep sea vessels, and laboratories is unsurpassed. The small but growing corps of highly trained specialists provides a strong creative base for our marine science and technology.

The 89th Congress also responded to the challenge of the oceans by enacting:

—The Marine Resources and Engineering Development Act which provides a

stronger policy and organization framework and gives new momentum to our marine science activities.

—The Sea Grant College and Program Act, which will improve our capabilities for training and research in marine sciences and engineering.

—The Act authorizing pilot plants for the production of fish protein as a usable source of food.¹

The new National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development, chaired by the Vice President, has made significant progress in carrying out its responsibilities for planning and coordinating the Nation's marine science activities. In consultation with the President's Science Advisory Committee, the National Academy of Sciences and other agencies of the Federal Government, the Council has reviewed our current work and has identified the areas in which action should be taken.

We must:

—Launch a pilot program to assist the protein-deficient countries of the world in increasing their capacity for using the fish resources of the seas.

—Implement the Sea Grant College and Program Act to strengthen oceanographic engineering, expand applied research and improve technical information activities.

—Accelerate studies to improve the collection, storage, retrieval, and dissemination of oceanographic data.

—Expand ocean observation systems to improve near-shore weather prediction

¹ Fish Protein Concentrate Act (Public Law 89-701; 80 Stat. 1089).

- services, and study ways to make more accurate long-range predictions of precipitation levels and drought conditions.
- Study the Chesapeake Bay to determine the effects of estuarine pollution on shellfish, health, recreation, and beauty, and to provide a basis for remedial measures.
- Explore off-shore solid mineral deposits.
- Improve technology and engineering for work at great ocean depths.
- Equip a new Coast Guard ship to conduct oceanographic research in sub-Arctic waters.

Details of these programs are set forth in the accompanying report of the National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development.

I have this year recommended to the Congress a 13% increase—from \$409 million to \$462 million—in appropriations to support marine science activities. These funds will permit us to expand our efforts to understand the sea and develop its vast resources. They will enhance the capabilities of local government, universities and private industry to join in this vital enterprise. They will enable us to support the important new efforts recommended by the National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development.

I urge the Congress to provide the necessary funds to support these important efforts.

In January, I appointed nineteen distinguished Americans, including four Members

of Congress, to serve as members and advisers of the Commission on Marine Science, Engineering, and Resources. This Commission will complement the activities of the National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development, by providing impartial insights into the strengths and weaknesses of our marine science programs.

The Commission will be called upon to identify still more opportunities for a concerted public and private effort—to develop the resources of the sea through a creative and cooperative partnership of government, industry, and the academic community.

The depth of the sea is a new environment for man's exploration and development, just as crossing the West was a challenge in centuries past.

We shall encounter that environment with the same conviction and pioneering spirit that propelled ships from the Old to the New World.

We shall bring to the challenge of the ocean depths—as we have brought to the challenge of outer space—a determination to work with all Nations to develop the seas for the benefit of mankind.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

The White House

March 9, 1967

NOTE: The report is entitled "Marine Science Affairs—A Year of Transition; The First Report of the President to the Congress on Marine Resources and Engineering Development" (Government Printing Office, 157 pp.).

102 Remarks Upon Awarding the Medal of Honor to Specialist 6 Lawrence Joel, USA. *March 9, 1967*

Specialist Joel, members of your family, Mr. Vice President, Secretary Resor, distinguished Members of Congress, ladies and gentlemen, members of the press:

We have come here today to honor the courage of a very brave soldier. His was a very special kind of courage—the unarmed heroism of compassion and service to others.

The conduct of Specialist 6 Lawrence Joel reflects, I believe, the role America itself must play on every battlefield of freedom.

In the face of death, in the fury of ambush, he risked his life that other men might live. Wounded twice, Specialist Joel crawled for more than 12 hours, through unceasing enemy fire to bring others of his fellow men to safety.

In those dark, dangerous hills, with the enemy only 30 feet away, he sustained the faith that our fighting men place in the medic—their constant comrade, always ready to back their courage and to bind their wounds.

Today, in this quiet American garden, we acknowledge our great debt to Specialist Joel for his great dedication in that savage action.

It is a terrible truth that suffering is so often the price of freedom. But freedom is indivisible: to protect it in distant Asia is to maintain it here in America.

The willingness of Specialist Joel to die for freedom in the remote Vietnam province of Bien Hoa indicates, as nothing else could, the willingness of his country to sacrifice, to stand, and to persist in freedom's cause.

As we salute the valor of this soldier, we salute the best in the American tradition.

Just as he cared for his fellow men, so does freedom in War Zone D, so shall we.

Just as he bound up their wounds, so shall we.

Just as he cared for his fellow men, so does all America care for those with whom we share this planet.

America, too, stands behind the fighter who is struggling to prevent subjugation; America is willing to make sacrifices in order that all men may know the joy of peace and security; America, too, is dedicated to the highest of all principles—that of serving mankind in its endless struggle toward a

better, fuller life of dignity, devoid of tyranny.

Specialist Joel, with this medal comes your Nation's enduring gratitude. We thank you for what you have done. You stand as a symbol—reminding all of us of our continuing responsibilities as citizens and our continuing obligations as a nation. If we are worthy of your sacrifice and the sacrifice of those of your comrades, then we shall never forget them.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:50 p.m. on the South Lawn at the White House. In his opening words he referred to Specialist 6 Lawrence Joel, Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey, and Secretary of the Army Stanley R. Resor, who read the citation. The text follows:

The President of the United States of America, authorized by Act of Congress, March 3, 1863, has awarded in the name of The Congress the Medal of Honor to

SPECIALIST SIX LAWRENCE JOEL, UNITED STATES ARMY

for conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity in action at the risk of his life above and beyond the call of duty:

Specialist Six Lawrence Joel (then Specialist Five) distinguished himself by gallantry and intrepidity at the risk of his life above and beyond the call of duty on November 8, 1965 while serving as a Medical Aidman, Headquarters and Headquarters Company, 1st Battalion (Airborne), 503d Infantry on a battlefield in the Republic of Vietnam.

Specialist Joel demonstrated indomitable courage, determination, and professional skill when a numerically superior and well-concealed Viet Cong element launched a vicious attack which wounded or killed nearly every man in the lead squad of the Company. After treating the men wounded by the initial burst of gun fire, he bravely moved forward to assist others who were wounded while proceeding to their objective. While moving from man to man, he was struck in the right leg by machine gun fire. Although painfully wounded his desire to aid his fellow soldiers transcended all personal feeling. He bandaged his own wound and self administered morphine to deaden the pain enabling him to continue his dangerous undertaking.

Throughout this period of time, he constantly shouted words of encouragement to all around him. Then, completely ignoring the warnings of others, and his own pain, he continued his search for wounded exposing himself to hostile fire; and, as

bullets dug up the dirt around him, he held plasma bottles high while kneeling completely engrossed in his life saving mission. Then, after being struck a second time and with a bullet lodged in his thigh, he dragged himself over the battlefield and succeeded in treating thirteen more men before his medical supplies ran out. Displaying resourcefulness, he saved the life of one man by placing a plastic bag over a severe chest wound to congeal the blood.

As one of the platoons pursued the Viet Cong, an insurgent force in concealed positions opened fire on the platoon and wounded many more soldiers. With a new stock of medical supplies, Specialist Joel again shouted words of encouragement as he crawled through an intense hail of gun fire to the wounded men. After the twenty-four hour battle subsided and

the Viet Cong dead numbered four hundred and ten, snipers continued to harass the Company.

Throughout the long battle, Specialist Joel never lost sight of his mission as a Medical Aidman and continued to comfort and treat the wounded until his own evacuation was ordered. His meticulous attention to duty saved a large number of lives and his unselfish, daring example under most adverse conditions was an inspiration to all. Specialist Joel's profound concern for his fellow soldiers, his conspicuous gallantry, and his intrepidity at the risk of his life above and beyond the call of duty are in the highest traditions of the United States Army and reflect great credit upon himself and the armed forces of his country.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

103 Special Message to the Congress Recommending Reinstatement of the Investment Tax Credit and Accelerated Depreciation Investment Incentives. *March 9, 1967*

To the Congress of the United States:

On September 8, 1966, I asked the Congress to suspend temporarily the 7 percent investment tax credit for machinery and equipment and the tax benefits of accelerated depreciation on buildings.

That suspension was specifically designed to relieve excessive pressure on the overheated capital goods industries and the resulting strain on our financial markets. My economic advisers and I believed that the measures then proposed would relieve the acute inflationary pressures of the capital boom on the capacity of our machinery producers, the supplies of skilled workers, interest rates and the availability of credit for private homebuilding.

The Congress promptly enacted the legislation. The legislation provided for automatic restoration of these special tax provisions on January 1, 1968. At the time I signed the bill into law, I stated:

"If . . . any *earlier reinstatement* would be *appropriate*, I shall recommend prompt legislative action to accomplish that result."

In enacting the law, the Congress and the

Administration assumed the obligation to *terminate* this selective fiscal restraint and restore these tax incentives as soon as changes in the situation justified such action. The reports to the Congress of both the House Ways and Means Committee and the Senate Finance Committee stated:

"If military requirements in southeast Asia should decrease before January 1, 1968, or if for some *other reason* it should become *apparent* that suspension of the investment credit and suspension of the use of the accelerated depreciation methods with respect to buildings are *no longer necessary* to restrain inflation, the Congress can *promptly terminate* the suspensions. The Administration has also indicated that it *would recommend terminating* the suspension period *before* January 1, 1968, under such conditions."

In appearing before the Senate Finance Committee, the Secretary of the Treasury testified:

"The Administration will be alert to any change in the situation and will be prepared to recommend terminating the

suspension period before January 1, 1968, if a change in circumstances makes that at all possible, and I would hope that the Congress would, in turn, be willing to entertain such a recommendation."

When I signed the bill last fall, I listed clearly what my economic advisers and I expected the legislation to accomplish. I said it would help:

- "—restore more normal interest rates and ease tight money and credit conditions;
- free funds and resources for homebuilding and other essential uses;
- trim down excessive backlogs of machinery orders;
- curb upward pressures on prices and costs of capital goods;
- guard against a needless repetition of the old pattern of boom and bust in capital spending; and
- improve our current balance of payments positions."

In the six months since Congress received the temporary suspension legislation it has already effectively done the job we hoped it would do.

Interest Rates

Since last September, aided by action of the Federal Reserve Board interest rates have fallen dramatically: 3-month Treasury bills—down 22.2 percent; Long-term Treasury securities—down 9.3 percent; New corporate Aa bonds—down 12.0 percent; New municipal bonds—down 15.1 percent.

Funds for Homebuilding

Funds are again flowing into our thrift institutions. Savings and Loan Associations—our key mortgage lenders—accumulated funds at an annual rate of only \$100 million last spring and summer. Subsequent to our action last September, there has been a very sharp rise in their accumulation of funds.

From October 1966 through January 1967, their accounts grew at an annual rate of \$8 billion.

Mortgage interest rates have started to come down, and new housing starts have now risen for the last 3 months in a row.

Backlogs of Machinery Orders

Last September, new orders for machinery and equipment were 18 percent higher than a year earlier, and order backlogs had grown 28 percent over that period. Order backlogs for machine tools were particularly large.

Orders for machinery and equipment have declined steadily since September, by a total of 7 percent. Order backlogs have leveled off, and in January actually declined for the first time since June 1963. For machine tools, backlogs have fallen substantially, as shipments exceeded orders by 17 percent in December and January.

Pressures on Prices and Costs of Capital Goods

The machine industry had been straining their capacity—running close to 100 percent of maximum use—in August 1966. Between August and January the average utilization rate of capacity has declined to a healthier and more efficient rate. For makers of electrical machinery, the decline is from 97 percent to 91.5 percent.

Acute shortages of skilled labor, that plagued the machinery industries last spring and summer, are gradually disappearing.

Guarding Against Boom and Bust

In 1965, plant and equipment spending rose 16 percent. In 1966, it rose 17 percent. That was an unsustainable pace. At that rate, the capital boom was headed for a bust. Now, the latest survey of investment plans for 1967, conducted by the Department of Commerce and the Securities and Exchange

Commission, shows a modest increase of less than 4 percent. That is a sustainable pace of advance.

Balance of Payments

During the first three quarters of 1966, imports of capital equipment *soared* an average of 14 percent a quarter. In the fourth quarter of 1966 the rise was only 3.9 percent, and this partly reflected deliveries against earlier orders. Now that domestic producers can take care of domestic demands, this extra drain on our balance of payments should be alleviated.

On the basis of this evidence, it is clear that the investment credit and accelerated depreciation, consistent with our promise and in justice to our society, should now be safely restored. Although the demand for capital goods continues to be strong and remains at record levels, my Council of Economic Advisers informs me that it no longer threatens to strain our growing ability to produce.

In fulfillment of the commitment made by this Administration as well as the Congress at the time we asked that these tax incentives

be suspended, and in accordance with the strong recommendations of my Council of Economic Advisers, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of Defense, and the Director of the Budget, I recommend immediate and prompt reinstatement of the 7 percent investment tax credit and accelerated depreciation.

I recommend restoration of these incentives effective *today*, the date on which legislation will be introduced in the Congress.

I urge the Congress to act promptly on this legislation without delay so that there will be no uncertainty or doubt in our free enterprise community.

In doing so, the Congress and the Administration can show the country and the world once again that we can and will work together for stable prosperity in our growing and free economy.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

The White House

March 9, 1967

NOTE: A bill "to restore the investment credit and the allowance of accelerated depreciation in the case of certain real property" was approved by the President on June 13, 1967 (Public Law 90-26; 81 Stat. 57).

104 The President's News Conference of *March 9, 1967*

THE PRESIDENT. Good afternoon, ladies and gentlemen:

RESTORATION OF INVESTMENT CREDIT AND ACCELERATED DEPRECIATION PROVISIONS

[1.] I am sending a message to the Congress this afternoon asking it to act speedily to restore the investment credit and the use of accelerated depreciation for buildings. I am asking that this be made effective as of today.

You will recall that last fall, when I signed the legislation temporarily suspending these investment incentives, I said then, and I should like to quote now:

"The legislation which I have signed provides for automatic restoration of these special tax provisions in January 1968. If, however, any earlier reinstatement would be appropriate, I shall recommend prompt legislative action to accomplish that result."

That action is appropriate today, and I am so recommending action today.

Both the House and Senate committees which considered this legislation recognized the need to restore these incentives promptly once the suspension was no longer necessary.

It is now clear that the temporary suspension of these investment incentives has done the job that we hoped and expected it would do.

Interest rates began to decline last September—immediately after this proposal was first submitted to the Congress. Since then, aided by actions of the Federal Reserve Board, interest rates have come down as much as $1\frac{1}{4}$ percentage points from their September peaks. Treasury bill rates are down from 5.59 percent in September to 4.34 percent yesterday. Interest rates on new municipal bonds are down from 4.24 percent in September to 3.60 percent now.

Last spring and summer, savings and loan associations had virtually no new money whatever to lend to homebuilders and home buyers. In the past 4 months, they have been taking in deposits at a normal rate, and again have money to lend. So we are beginning to revive the homebuilding industry.

Since the recommendations were made last September, the excessive pressure on our machinery industries has, we think, eased very dramatically.

—After rising 28 percent from September 1965 to September 1966, order backlogs for capital goods have now already leveled off, and actually declined in January for the first time in more than $3\frac{1}{2}$ years.

—Last September, the machinery producers were operating close to 100 percent of capacity. Now their operations have moved down to a much healthier and much more efficient rate.

—The acute shortage of skilled machinists has now greatly moderated.

—Imports of capital equipment which had

previously been climbing on an average of 14 percent a quarter, have already leveled off.

So this evidence of moderation in our economy has now been confirmed by the survey of investment plans for 1967 conducted by the Department of Commerce and the Securities and Exchange Commission, which was released to you yesterday and published this morning.

A moderate increase of 3.9 percent in capital outlay is planned for 1967, according to these estimates. That is a very sharp contrast to the increases of 16 percent and 17 percent in the past 2 years.

So the actions that we took last fall, with the cooperation of the Congress, have helped to do what we thought very much needed to be done.

The imbalance in our economy that we were aiming at has now been righted.

We said that we would restore the tax incentives when appropriate, and when the suspension was no longer needed.

The suspension is no longer needed. I propose that we restore the investment incentives, effective today.

I will be glad to take any questions.

QUESTIONS

DIFFERING OPINIONS ON VIETNAM POLICY

[2.] Q. Mr. President, in view of the recent statements and speeches which either differ with your Vietnam policy or suggest major changes in it, are you considering any effort to de-escalate these apparent differences with such people as the Senators Kennedy and people who believe as they do?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Smith,¹ we have help and suggestions from Members of the Senate, and from leaders in public life through-

¹ Merriman Smith of United Press International.

out the Nation and throughout the world.

I think all of us are very anxious to seek a peaceful settlement in Vietnam.

As far as I am concerned, the sooner the better.

We are ready to use any procedure that the other side is willing to engage in.

We have stated our position a good many times: the machinery of the Geneva Conference, the United Nations, an all-Asian Conference, or any other appropriate forum.

Individuals have different approaches to this matter.

I have the benefit of a worldwide network of trained diplomats.

I have the experience of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

I have the judgment and recommendations of the Cabinet, the Secretary of State, and Secretary of Defense.

I have constant consultations with our allies in the world, in particular our allies engaged with us in Vietnam.

On the basis of that information I must make judgments, and I do. Sometimes those judgments are different from what other people, if they were in this position, would make.

I have no particular fault to find, or criticism to make, of others. I just must act in the light of the information I have, exercise the best judgment I can, and do what I think is best for this country. That is what I am doing without regard to personalities or politics.

INCOME TAX INCREASE

[3.] Q. Mr. President, do you think, still, that an income tax increase on July 1 will be necessary?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes. We have recommended a 6 percent surcharge. We see no reason to change that recommendation.

The Ways and Means Committee is now

busy considering legislation involving matters of deep concern to the administration, such as the social security bill.

We think by the time they get to hearings on the tax bill, the administration will be able to make a very good case, based on the economy, based on all the factors that that Committee must consider.

There are some doubts in Congress about the wisdom of it. We will have to debate those out.

As of this time, I would see no reason why we should change the recommendations we made in our State of the Union Message.

VIETNAM

[4.] Q. What is your reaction, sir, to the statement by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., yesterday to the effect that your administration does not really want negotiations concerning Vietnam at this time?

THE PRESIDENT. I have tried to make it abundantly clear to all the people of this country and all of the people of the world that we are prepared to talk without conditions, we are prepared to talk about conditions, or we will talk about a final settlement.

I said to you I think the last time we met that this Government is always willing, anxious, and eager to go more than halfway. But I must call to the attention of you and the American people that I do not think that we can stop half the war while the other side continues to kill our men, to lob their mortars into our air bases, to seize South Vietnam by force.

I just must repeat each day that we are ready to speak unconditionally or conditionally. The problem with all of those who love peace—and I think most of us do—is not with this Government. We are willing to go to a conference room any day. We are ready

to go without stopping or after stopping if they are willing to do likewise, or if they are willing to make any concession.

But I do not think it is fair to ask an American Commander in Chief to say to your men, "Ground your planes, tie your hands behind you, sit there and watch division after division come across the DMZ, and don't hit them until they get within a mile or two of you."

I don't think that is fair to American Marines or American soldiers.

We have talked before while acts of war continued. We did that in Korea. We had the blockade on in Berlin while we had conferences.

So we are willing to talk unconditionally, or we are willing to talk conditionally. All we ask is equity and fairness, and that the other side do likewise. We don't think you ought to ask the American boys to do one thing while other folks do nothing.

Q. Mr. President, has the Vietnam situation reached a stage where you and your advisers feel that time is now increasingly on our side?

THE PRESIDENT. I think it is very difficult to speculate and give you a direct reply to that question. I think our men have given a very wonderful account of themselves.

I no longer see any possibility of a military victory on the part of North Vietnam. I think they realize it. I think they are struggling desperately today to try to get a propaganda victory, and to try to bring world opinion and public opinion in this country to permit them to win here what they cannot win from our men out there.

MEETING WITH AMBASSADOR LODGE AND
GENERAL WESTMORELAND

[5.] Q. Mr. President, there are reports that Ambassador Lodge would like to be relieved of his post and that you are looking for a successor. Is there any truth to these reports?

THE PRESIDENT. No, there is no truth that I am looking for a successor.

Ambassador Lodge has talked to me on several occasions that he, in due time, would leave his post. He left it on one other occasion, took a rest and went back and served a tour of duty.

There is no definite date set at this moment for his departure. I do expect to be visiting with Ambassador Lodge and with General Westmoreland, as we do from time to time.

We will fully explore his future in Vietnam, or elsewhere, if he cares to do that.

CIA ACTIVITIES

[6.] Q. Mr. President, Vice President Humphrey has said that he is not happy with what the CIA has been doing in relation to financing student and other groups. What he said—does that reflect your view?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think any of us are happy to see our Nation divided and see our country upset about situations such as Mr. Katzenbach is now studying.

I think it would be better for all of us if we were united and if all of us could agree upon a wise course of action and be free of any mistakes, any errors.

I regret very much some of the intemperate

statements and some of the severe criticisms that have been made about various Government agencies, including the Central Intelligence Agency. I have asked the best people in the Government to study everything they have done and to make a report to me. I expect to receive that report sometime—perhaps by the middle or the 20th of the month.²

Then I will review it and make such decisions as may be indicated.

VIETNAM

[7.] Q. Mr. President, sir, one point that some of your critics on Vietnam have discussed in the past week is the question of whether or not what we would ask in return for stopping the bombing has changed in the past year.

They say that a year ago, apparently we would have settled for simply getting talks if we stopped, whereas, now you are speaking of the need for reciprocal military action. Could you discuss this?

THE PRESIDENT. We have talked about reciprocal military action in every pause we have had, Mr. Bailey.³

We have had five pauses now.

On the first pause of 5 days we made it very clear that we were taking this action and we would keep our ear to the receiver and listen intently for any indication from

the enemy that he would take reciprocal action.

He turned our letter back to us on the third day of that pause.

Later, we had a 37-day pause. We were told before we went into that pause by some of the same people who are recommending a pause now, or urging a pause now, that if we would go into it for 12 days or at the most 20 days, we could get reciprocal action.

We made it very clear that we would take the initiative and we would try to see if they were willing to pick up the telephone.

We went 37 days. They gave us no indication that they were willing to take any reciprocal action.

We have just finished a pause of 6 days during the Tet period.

At the beginning of each of these pauses we made it clear that we were going to pause, ask our men to withhold action, and give them an opportunity to agree to come to conditional discussions, unconditional discussions, any kind of discussion. We have just completed that 6-day pause.

So I would respond to your question by saying at the beginning of each pause we made it clear that we would take action, we would listen intently for action on their part. We have. We have heard the same story every time.

I see nothing in any evidence that I have that would give me any indication that they have had a change of mind, or that they are willing to take any serious action to stop this war.

I am searching every day. I am following every lead I can. I hope that we will find

² See Item 147. A preliminary report from Under Secretary of State Nicholas deB. Katzenbach is published in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 3, p. 297).

³ Charles W. Bailey 2d, of the Minneapolis Star and Tribune and the Des Moines Register and Tribune.

something at the beginning of every week. But I can't give you any assurance now.

RUSSIAN VIEWS OF VIETNAM SITUATION

[8.] Q. Mr. President, sir, in view of what Mr. Kosygin said after the truce ended and in view of what Mr. Podgorny has said as recently as today, do you still believe the Russians genuinely want peace in Vietnam?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, I believe that the Russians genuinely want peace. I think that most people in the world want peace. Some want it on different terms.

I am hoping that the day will come when we can find some area of agreement. But I don't think that that day is here yet. We will just continue to try.

FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD

[9.] Q. Mr. President, Mr. Martin's term as Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board expires at the end of this month. Can you tell us, sir, whether you have been pleased with the recent policies of the Federal Reserve and whether you intend to reappoint Mr. Martin?

THE PRESIDENT. I think that it was evident from my statement that—first, I think it is generally known that I am glad that interest rates have fallen and have come down. I think it is clear that they have been reduced from one-half of a percent in some instances to 1¼ percent in others.

I said in my statement today that that is in part due to the action of the Federal Reserve Board.

I am pleased with the action the Chairman and other members of the Board took that contributed to that.

CONDITIONS FOR VIETNAM SETTLEMENT

[10.] Q. Mr. President, there has been a public quarrel over the word "permanent" insofar as the bombing is concerned. The Russians are said not to be using that word and Hanoi has been said to insist upon it.

I wonder if you could straighten us out as to whether Hanoi is demanding a permanent end or simply an unconditional halt in the bombing.

THE PRESIDENT. I don't want to quarrel with anyone. I think it is rather clear to me that they have laid down conditions that to me mean that they insist that we agree to permanent cessation of bombing before they might talk.

Q. Mr. President, you and Secretary Rusk have both talked of a military quid pro quo and reciprocal action in exchange for a halt in the bombing. I wonder if you could be specific and say what we would require from the other side as part of this quid pro quo?

THE PRESIDENT. I think a good, general way to express it is what I said at my last press conference—just almost any reciprocal action on their part. We have said that we would be glad to stop our invasion of North Vietnam if they would stop their invasion of South Vietnam.

We would be glad to halt our bombing if they would halt their aggression and their infiltration. We are prepared to discuss anything that they are willing to discuss. But they are not willing to discuss anything, as of now.

RELATIONS WITH SOVIET UNION

[11.] Q. Mr. President, I know you believe in reciprocity. I wonder if you have

been able to get the Russians to give us any promises? We are making so many promises and overtures to them, with good will and desire for concessions.

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, we have reached an agreement that is satisfactory to us and in our national interest in a number of fields. I do not think that I should take your time to enumerate them. But the consular agreement is one that is now being debated. Cultural exchange is another. The space agreement is another.

We are working very diligently, although we do not know what results will be forthcoming, in connection with the nonproliferation treaty. Discussions will soon begin in connection with offensive and defensive nuclear weapons. Ambassador Thompson will participate in those discussions in Moscow.

We have exchanged ideas, and views, and reached agreements to the benefit of both countries and both peoples.

SELECTIVE SERVICE PROCEDURES

[12.] Q. I wonder if you could deal with two points on the draft. Your Advisory Commission suggested that the Negro and other minority groups were getting a poor shake in many areas of this country in military policies. They also suggested that in addition to the random selection system that you have now endorsed, that you overhaul the whole Selective Service procedure.

Tell us, first, whether you think the overhaul is necessary to correct the situation for minorities; and secondly, why the random system seems to be drawing so much opposition?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I cannot speak for

the opposition. I can only speak for myself. It has been many years since we had a thorough study of the draft such as we have had very recently by two distinguished panels, the Marshall commission⁴ and the General Clark commission.⁵

I think they made many good recommendations. I think there will be more yet to come that will flow from the debate in the Congress. Unquestionably, in the field of the Selective Service boards and the draft machinery, as in the general machinery of Government at all levels, there has been discrimination against minority groups. I will do all I can to see that that is corrected. I don't believe our people want to see that happen or want to see that continued.

I expect that the system now being worked on by General Hershey and Secretary McNamara, when we issue our Executive order, will be a fair and impartial random selection.

I realize that there are differing opinions. We will hear much of them during the extensive debate. But generally speaking, I agree with the conclusions reached by Mr. Marshall and his commission. I stated this in my message to the Congress. I want to hear the debate on the student deferment matter from both sides. The commission was divided on that question. And then I will reach a decision when the Congress has had a chance to act.

⁴ The National Advisory Commission on Selective Service under the chairmanship of Burke Marshall. Its report is entitled "In Pursuit of Equity: Who Serves When Not All Serve?" (Government Printing Office, 219 pp.).

⁵ The Civilian Advisory Panel on Military Manpower Procurement, chaired by Gen. Mark W. Clark. Its report to the House Committee on Armed Services is dated March 28, 1967 (Committee Print, 90th Cong., 1st sess., 30 pp.).

PLANS FOR 1968

[13.] Q. Mr. President, Ted Sorenson contends that it would be breaking historical precedent for you, as a President who succeeded to office, to seek a second full term.

Would you end all this speculation for us and tell us (a) if you intend to run in 1968; and (b) if Hubert Humphrey will be your running mate?

THE PRESIDENT. I didn't know, Miss Means,⁶ there had been that much speculation about it.

I am not ready to make a decision about my future after January of 1969 at this time. I think that down the road—several months from now—would be the appropriate time for an announcement of my future plans.

I have never known a public servant that I worked better with or for whom I had more admiration, or who I thought was more entitled to the public trust than the Vice President. I felt that way when I asked the convention in Atlantic City to select him. I feel even stronger about it today.

THE "OTHER WAR" IN VIETNAM

[14.] Q. Mr. President, David Lilienthal and Robert Komer⁷ recently reported to you on the "other war" in Vietnam. As I understand it, they said that there was substantial progress in establishing a constitutional democracy. They reported economic progress. In fact, I gather the only place we weren't making any progress was in the propaganda war.

But their reports seem to be so different from what we are hearing on radio and television, I don't know if it is at variance or just exactly how to describe it. Can you tell us

⁶ Marianne Means of Hearst Newspapers.

⁷ See Item 73.

how you appraise the "other war" and why so little is known about it?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I am not sure that Presidents are objective viewers or listeners.

I recall some very distinguished President not many years ago saying he was reading more and more, and liking it less and less. I guess all Presidents feel that way the longer they are in office.

I do think that Mr. Komer brought back an optimistic appraisal of the situation in Vietnam. I think that we have made great progress there. It has been only 18 months since we sent our troops there.

I don't think we can expect any quick, overnight success story.

I will be receiving a report sometime later this month from both General Westmoreland in person, and from Ambassador Lodge, and from Mr. Porter and all of those engaged in Vietnam.

We meet about every 6 months. We will review in some detail our weaknesses out there—and they are legion—as well as our strengths.

I am very proud of what the United States Government has been able to do in the last 18 months in that area.

I am very sure of victory. I am very grateful to the men who are making sacrifices to bring it about.

THE WEST COAST SHIPYARD STRIKE

[15.] Q. Mr. President, have you made any decision on the West Coast strike against 13 shipyards?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes. I have ordered a directive prepared. The lawyers are working on it now. Perhaps the secretary is typing it. I will send later today a directive to the Attorney General to proceed on a Taft-Hartley injunction.

I think as you know, the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service over the past 4 months has worked rather intensively but they have been unable to resolve this very difficult labor dispute.

The Secretaries of Defense and Labor and the Attorney General have recommended that I establish an emergency board.

I understand the Attorney General will very likely go to court in San Francisco perhaps tomorrow morning on the matter.

DIFFERING OPINIONS ON VIETNAM POLICY

[16.] Q. Mr. President, two points on Vietnam: Do you think the critics of your policy, particularly those critics within your own party, are basing their criticisms on misinformation; and, second, at what point would you activate the pledge that you just reiterated a moment ago of going more than halfway for peace, or do you feel you have already gone more than halfway?

THE PRESIDENT. Just at any point that I had an opportunity, that I had a signal from the other side, of what their intentions were, what they were willing to do.

They have taken a rather steadfast position. There has been little flexibility in it.

If I could get any sign from them or any indication from them that they were anxious to stop the war, that they were serious about it, that they were willing to talk unconditionally or conditionally, I would act very promptly.

Second, so far as the critics of the Vietnam situation are concerned, I must grant to them the same sincerity that I reserve for myself.

Now as to the extent of their information, I think that varies. I think some men have more than others. Some men have more opportunity to have it than others.

I am just not in a position to know how much information each critic of my policy in Vietnam happens to have at the time he makes his criticism.

I might say that it seems obvious to me that some of them do need more information sometimes. Because when they make suggestions following a course of action that we have just completed, it makes me wish that all this information was available to everybody who is assuming responsibilities in the matter.

MEETING WITH AMBASSADOR LODGE AND
GENERAL WESTMORELAND

[17.] Q. Mr. President, are Ambassador Lodge and General Westmoreland coming here for a conference?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I expect we will meet them in the Pacific area somewhere. I would expect it would be perhaps sometime this month.

EFFECT OF APOLLO TRAGEDY ON SPACE
PROGRAM

[18.] Q. Mr. President, is there any information you have from the Space Agency, sir, on whether our goal of landing men on the moon in 1970 will be altered because of the Apollo tragedy? ⁸

THE PRESIDENT. I have had reports from them. I think we have a very difficult undertaking. I think it has been a very close question since the original target date was set.

I am very hopeful we will be able to keep it. I don't think there is any guarantee that we will at all.

⁸ See Item 19.

SALE OF RIFLES TO SINGAPORE

[19.] Q. Mr. President, some question has arisen about lightweight rifles that have been sent to neutral Singapore on a straight sale basis while our Korean allies in Vietnam have been urging the United States to provide some.

Can you tell us if this has come to your attention?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes. Our people are always very anxious that every one of our men have the best and most modern equipment available at all times. I have scrupulously inquired of General Westmoreland if our men are short of any supplies or any equipment at any time. He has assured me that they have been amply equipped and amply taken care of.

We have, from time to time, helped other nations. Some of the equipment we have

had has gone to them.

Whether or not any equipment that has gone to them was desperately needed in any other theater, I would doubt.

I think that we can rely on commanders of the stature of General Westmoreland. I think he is closer to the scene. I think he knows more about it. I think he is a better authority.

While I do not question either the purpose or the sincerity of the individuals who assume to make suggestions in this area—and I will carefully consider them—at the present time I am going to rely on General Westmoreland's judgment unless somebody gives me something better.

Merriman Smith: Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: President Johnson's ninety-eighth news conference was held in the East Room at the White House at 3:33 p.m. on Thursday, March 9, 1967. The news conference was broadcast live on radio and television.

105 Remarks at the Swearing In of Ramsey Clark as Attorney General. *March 10, 1967*

Mr. Clark and Mrs. Clark, Tom Clark, Mr. Vice President, Mr. Speaker, Mr. Chief Justice and distinguished Members of the Court, Members of the Cabinet, distinguished Members of the United States Senate, Members of the House of Representatives, ladies and gentlemen:

This is a very great pleasure for me to return to the Department of Justice today and one that I have looked forward to for some time now. This is a very unique experience for many of us—a very unusual one.

As we were walking in the building, the very important and able Chairman of the House Appropriations Committee—I know that all you Department heads know how important he is—observed that he believed that this was the first time in the history of

the Republic when we had had father and son—father a former Attorney General and a Supreme Court Justice and son an Attorney General—and he didn't want to get prophetic.

I said, "Yes, I guess that is true." I don't really understand how that came about, except perhaps we shouldn't forget what I was told when I was a young man growing up that "behind every good man there were usually two good women—a good mother and a good wife."

After all, we wouldn't have had a father who was a former Attorney General and a Supreme Court Justice and a son who is now an Attorney General—or shortly will be and could be something else some time—except for the fact that one sweet little lady not only

knew how to marry a man who could be an Attorney General and a Supreme Court Justice, but she at least knew how to raise an Attorney General.

It was about 26 years ago when I heard a great President, Franklin D. Roosevelt, assert the four freedoms:

- Freedom of speech.
- Freedom of worship.
- Freedom from want, and
- Freedom from fear.

Today as we meet here—as then when he made that statement—we are all working and fighting to assure those freedoms throughout the globe.

The distinguished Chief Justice has just returned from a historic trip where he has made his contribution to that in Latin America.

But, if we are to do that successfully, we must assure these freedoms here at home first.

Our rights to free speech and our rights to free worship are a very important part of our guarantees under our Constitution. But freedom from want and freedom from fear are still yet to be fully achieved.

We have declared—and I think we are making great progress toward winning—a war on poverty. More than 6½ million people have been lifted from the poverty levels in the last 3 years.

Thankfully, not every American knows poverty. But every American does know fear. Very few thrive on it. Some do.

Fear haunts, though, too many American communities in this land. It assails us all, no matter where we live, no matter how little we own. We fear for our person, we fear for our property, and we fear for our privacy.

America cannot tolerate enduringly this climate of fear. Our streets, our parks, our businesses, and our homes ought to be, should be, and must be made safe. We

should be able to greet a stranger as a friend, not as a threat.

Fear should force no man from his home, or from his neighborhood that he has chosen for his home, or he would like to have as his home.

America can win this war against crime and the fear that crime inspires—if America is determined to win that war. And it can win it while respecting the rights of its citizens.

I predict, under the leadership of some of the great men whom I see in this room today, that we will win that war.

Tragically, some Americans fear not only the criminals who break the law, but also the men who seek to enforce it. The right of every American to be free from unlawful searches and forced self-incrimination must be upheld.

The right of privacy—the right Justice Brandeis called the most valued by civilized men—must be inviolate in this country.

Every man should know that his conversations, his correspondence, and his personal life are private. I have urged Congress—except when the Nation's security is at stake—to take action to that end.

Innocent citizens must know that their rights will be violated neither by those who break the law—nor by those who seek to uphold it.

I have sought, and I think I have found, a man who, as our Attorney General, will be our commander, our leader, and our general in this war on two fronts against fear.

Our American system charges him with a most difficult and very delicate responsibility. The Supreme Court of our land has described his role in the following words:

“He is, in a peculiar and very definite sense, the servant of the law—the twofold aim of which is that guilt shall not escape or innocence suffer. He may prosecute with

earnestness and vigor—indeed, he should do so. But, while he may strike hard blows, he is not at liberty to strike foul ones. It is as much his duty to refrain from improper methods calculated to produce a wrongful conviction as it is to use every legitimate means to bring about a just one.”

Sixty-four men have held this great office since the founding of this Republic. Rarely, if ever, has one been better qualified, by background, character, training, and temperament, than the man who will be the sixty-fifth Attorney General.

I remember him when he was serving his apprenticeship in the Department as a boy in knee pants. His father was soliciting suggestions on morale and how to improve the efficiency of the Department to bring all of the different bureaus up to the high standards of efficiency to which Mr. Hoover had brought the FBI.

Even then, Ramsey made his contribution. When they opened the box and looked at the suggestions, one of them was a rather unusual suggestion. I don't know that it irritated the Attorney General. I just think that he wanted to consult further with the person making the suggestion.

He called Mr. Hoover and he said, “I want to know who made this suggestion that the Attorney General quit wearing these bright bow ties.” The Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation said, “Do I have to reveal his name and invade his privacy?” The Attorney General said that he would be pleased if he did. And he said, very reluctantly, “It was your son”—the future Attorney General—“Ramsey.”

So, today, Ramsey becomes the lawyer for all Americans; he becomes the Nation's advocate at the bar of justice. His professional qualifications are all a matter of record.

I gave them to the press over at the White House the other day. I have listed them from time to time and after 5 months I finally got them all there on one mimeographed sheet.

He adds to all of those qualifications listed very superb qualities of mind and character.

Secure in his knowledge of the law, gifted with a quick mind and a keen conscience, I believe that he is above all else a humble, deeply, quietly, courageous man with the strength and depth of his convictions and the moral strength not only of genuine humility, but the strength and courage to carry those convictions out.

So, in our quest in this Nation—in our quest and our search—for justice for every citizen, Ramsey Clark is the man whom America looks to.

Along with the other members of the Cabinet, the employees of this Department, we welcome him to the Cabinet of the President of the United States.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:45 p.m. in the Great Hall at the Department of Justice. In his opening words he referred to incoming Attorney General and Mrs. Ramsey Clark, Associate Supreme Court Justice Tom C. Clark, who administered the oath of office to his son, Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey, Speaker of the House of Representatives John W. McCormack, and Chief Justice Earl Warren. During his remarks he referred to Representative George H. Mahon of Texas, Chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, Louis D. Brandeis, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States 1916-1939, and J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

106 Remarks Upon Presenting the Presidential Unit Citation to
the 3d Aerospace Rescue and Recovery Group, Military Airlift
Command. *March 10, 1967*

Mr. Secretary Brown, General McConnell, members and former members of the Third Aerospace Rescue and Recovery Group:

It gives me a great deal of genuine satisfaction and pleasure to welcome you here to this symbolic first house of this land that you have done so much to defend and to preserve.

I do so in the knowledge that we rarely attribute as much recognition through commendations, congratulations, thanks, and appreciation as we do to criticism and complaint.

There is something about our open society that gives the play to what went wrong instead of what went right. I cheerfully observed that a moment ago when I inquired of some of my friends about an event of the other day.

They said, "Well, you don't understand, Mr. President. That is good news and good news doesn't make news. It is the bad news that we really talk about. The conversation items are the bad ones."

The contributions that you have made to preserve freedom and to continue our struggle for freedom are very important to us—and are legendary.

You risked your lives, so that others might live. Not only just those of us who enjoy our freedom in this room as your fellow citizens, but the other 200 million in the country owe you a debt of everlasting gratitude.

We recognize your right to be honored here among the heroes of the land of the free and the home of the brave.

I think that some of the press, who may have made sacrifices themselves or have

friends in the service now, may at least be concerned—as we all are—with what is happening in the world.

You may like to know that in all types of weather—today is a lovely day, but where they have been and what they have been doing hasn't always been lovely—over the most difficult kind of terrain—not the White House lawn—these men were faced with the peril of enemy fire. The only way you will ever know what that means is to face it. Once you face it, you never forget it. Despite the enemy fire, these men reached out, brought back to life and plucked to safety from the jungles, from the mountains, from the waters, their buddies who were downed in combat.

In Southeast Asia alone, the group has been credited with 597 combat rescues.

By their very existence, they have provided our downed fliers with the knowledge that we care about them, that they are not forgotten, and that help is on the way.

That knowledge means more than you might think, unless you have waited sometimes wondering whether help was on the way or not. Not just to help you fix a flat, not just help to refill your tank with gasoline, but whether help was on the way to permit you to live the next day.

The agonies that they have endured are being recognized here today, because to a man who is bobbing in an empty sea with the waves going over his head every few moments, or one who is crawling through a dense jungle, that is a blessing without price.

Your place of honor was not earned without great sacrifice.

Seven members of this group have given

their lives. Fourteen members are already listed as missing. Two have been captured. All of them have devotion and dedication to the spirit of the Third's motto, "That Others May Live."

As President of all the people of this country, I am very proud to pay tribute with this citation. It is not a banner and it is not used in a picket line, but it is recognition of the gallant men of the Third Aerospace Recovery Group.

Your courage and your self-sacrifice have provided us with a glowing example of what I believe is the best of American manhood. You are a credit to a grateful Nation.

If there is any gratitude in the Nation, if there is any recognition in the Nation, if there is any honor and pride in the Nation, it ought to go to men like you, because there is not any greater honor than is represented by that uniform and these flags.

Thank you very much.

[Secretary of the Air Force Harold Brown read the citation, the text of which follows.]

CITATION TO ACCOMPANY THE AWARD OF
THE PRESIDENTIAL UNIT CITATION
TO THE

3D AEROSPACE RESCUE AND RECOVERY GROUP

The 3d Aerospace Rescue and Recovery Group, Military Airlift Command, distinguished itself by extraordinary gallantry in connection with military operations against an opposing armed force in Southeast Asia, from 1 August 1965 to 30 June 1966. During

this period, the personnel of the 3d Aerospace Rescue and Recovery Group repeatedly jeopardized their own lives by exposing themselves to hostile ground and air fire while flying unarmed aircraft in order to rescue survivors downed by hostile fire. Their heroic actions resulted in the rescue and recovery of 339 friendly troops, of which 304 were saved from almost certain capture by hostile forces. The extraordinary heroism displayed by the members of the 3d Aerospace Rescue and Recovery Group has had a profound impact on the morale of combat aircrews in Southeast Asia. By their gallantry and untiring devotion to duty, the personnel of the 3d Aerospace Rescue and Recovery Group have reflected great credit upon themselves and the United States of America.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:45 p.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House. In his opening words he referred to Secretary of the Air Force Harold Brown and Gen. John P. McConnell, Air Force Chief of Staff.

On the same day a White House announcement noted that Lt. Col. Arthur Beal, unit commander, and 7 other members of the Group during the period covered by the citation would attend the award ceremony.

Also released by the White House was a short history of the 3d Aerospace Rescue and Recovery Group from its activation during World War II through its service in the Korean war to its present operations in Vietnam (3 Weekly Comp. Pres. Docs., p. 424).

As printed above, this item follows the text released by the White House Press Office.

107 Letter to Harry S. Truman on the 20th Anniversary of the Truman Doctrine. *March 11, 1967*

Dear Mr. President:

On this day—as on so many others—those who love freedom will once again honor your name.

Twenty years ago you went before the Congress and summoned the American people to a great endeavor: that of helping free peoples to "maintain their free institutions

and their national integrity against aggressive movements that seek to impose upon them totalitarian regimes.”

With that message you served two great functions of the Presidency—those of the teacher and the leader. You related the struggle of the Greek people against armed terrorism to the national security of the United States. You recognized that totalitarian regimes, imposed upon free peoples by direct or indirect aggression, “undermine the foundations of international peace.” And you called upon the Congress and the American people to help resist that aggression.

Today America is again engaged in helping to turn back armed terrorism. As in your day, there are those who believe that effort is too costly. As on other occasions during the past twenty years, there are those who counsel us that the stakes are not high enough, nor the danger near enough, to warrant our involvement.

But our people have learned that freedom is not divisible; that order in the world is

vital to our national interest; and that the highest costs are paid not by those who meet their responsibilities, but by those who ignore them.

You helped to teach those lessons, Mr. President. Just as importantly, you had the courage and the determination to put them into practice: in Greece and Turkey, in Berlin, in Korea, and in other parts of the world where today men are free and prospering because of what you did.

March 12th is thus a proud anniversary. Years from now men will still mark this date, and the man whose Doctrine gave it meaning.

With best wishes for your health and happiness.

Devotedly,

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

[The Honorable Harry S. Truman, Independence, Missouri]

NOTE: For President Truman’s message to Congress on March 12, 1947, see “Public Papers of the Presidents, Harry S. Truman, 1947,” Item 56.

See also Items 108, 109, below.

108 Message to King Constantine of Greece on the 20th Anniversary of the Truman Doctrine. *March 11, 1967*

TWENTY years ago today, President Harry S. Truman asked the American people to help the Greek nation preserve its freedom. Before a joint session of the Congress, he declared:

“I believe it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures.”

The message and the program he conveyed on that historic occasion became known as the Truman Doctrine.

In commemoration of that decisive hour, in thanksgiving for his courage and vision,

and in celebration of the friendship that endures between our peoples, I extend to you and the citizens of Greece my warm greetings and best wishes. In this I am joined by every American who rejoices that Greece is today free and prospering.

President Truman recognized that the security of the United States was intimately related to that of Greece. He warned our people—who, like yours, had just emerged from a savage conflict with another terrorist aggression—that

“We shall not realize our objectives unless we are willing to help free peoples to main-

tain their free institutions and their national integrity against aggressive movements that seek to impose upon them totalitarian regimes. This is no more than a frank recognition that totalitarian regimes imposed upon free peoples, by direct or indirect aggression, undermine the foundations of international peace and hence the security of the United States."

The American people responded to his call for assistance to a people struggling to be free—and their decision has affected, not only the security of your great nation, but the security of the world for two decades.

I am aware of the sacrifices made by the

Greek people in the past 20 years. I am proud of the fact that throughout that period, the United States and Greece have worked together in close partnership toward common goals. I revere the Greek spirit, that for thousands of years has inspired the world, and that has taught men to cherish freedom above all else in life.

Today we mark a moment in man's long quest for freedom. I salute you and your people on this proud anniversary, and I look forward to a future of continued friendship and cooperation between our nations.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

NOTE: See also Items 107, 109.

109 Message to President Sunay of Turkey on the 20th Anniversary of the Truman Doctrine. *March 11, 1967*

ON THE twentieth anniversary of the Truman Doctrine, I extend to you and to the Turkish people my good wishes. Then as now, the American people admire the vitality and the passion for freedom of the Turkish people. Then as now, the United States is proud of its association with the forward-looking Turkish nation.

Turkey has been a sturdy ally in NATO and CENTO. Its men played an unforgettable part with the United Nations forces which assured that aggression would not succeed in Korea.

With its security assured by its own courage and efforts, united with those of its allies, Turkey has moved forward remarkably in

economic and social development. The vision of a modern Turkey, not only loyal to its own traditions and ambitions, but also a creative part of the world of contemporary science, technology, and industry, has been brought measurably closer to reality.

The visit you will soon be making to the United States affords an opportunity to give added meaning to that association. It will also serve as a symbol of the importance of the partnership of our two great republics. Mrs. Johnson and I are looking forward to welcoming you and Mrs. Sunay.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

NOTE: See also Items 107, 108.

110 Special Message to the Congress on the Latin American Summit Meeting. *March 13, 1967*

To the Congress of the United States:

In less than a month, the leaders of the American states will meet in Punta del Este

in Uruguay.

It will be the first such meeting in a decade, and the second ever held, of the

heads of the free nations of our hemispheric system.

This meeting represents another link in the bond of partnership which joins us with more than 230 million neighbors to the south.

The gathering is far more than a symbol of flourishing friendship. Its purpose is a review of the progress we have made together in a great adventure which unites the destinies of all of us. Beyond that it will include a common commitment to the historic and humane next steps we plan to take together.

I look to this meeting with enthusiasm. The peaceful and progressive revolution which is transforming Latin America is one of the great inspirational movements of our time. Our participation in that revolution is a worthy enterprise blending our deepest national traditions with our most responsible concepts of hemispheric solidarity.

THE MEASURE OF PROGRESS

The cooperative spirit between the rest of the Americas and the United States has been building for decades.

The establishment of the Inter-American Development Bank in 1959, and the Act of Bogotá in 1960, under the leadership of President Eisenhower, helped turn that spirit to substance. In those historic compacts the American governments pledged their joint efforts to the development of programs to improve the lives of all the people of Latin America. They provided the impetus for an action taken in 1961 on which the history of the hemisphere has since turned. That action—the Alliance for Progress, which moved dramatically forward under President Kennedy—fused old dreams and fired new hopes. With its commitment of mutual assistance and self-help programs, it attacked

evils as old as the condition of man—hunger, ignorance and disease.

That Alliance is now six years old.

What can we say of it?

We can say that there is a clear record of progress. Per capita growth rates for Latin America show that more countries have broken the economic stagnation of earlier years. Reform and modernization are advancing as a new wave of managers and technicians apply their skills. There have been steady gains in private, national and foreign investments. Inflation is easing. The struggle for social justice is proceeding.

These are all true. But the statements of progress are more meaningful, and they more realistically reflect the spirit of the Alliance, when they relate to the people for whose lives the Alliance itself was created. Since the Alliance began, and with the funds that we have contributed:

Men, women and children are alive today who would otherwise have died.

—100 million people are being protected from malaria. In 10 countries, deaths caused by malaria dropped from 10,810 to 2,280 in three years' time. Smallpox cases declined almost as sharply.

—1,200 health centers, including hospitals and mobile medical units, are in operation or soon will be.

For tens of thousands of families, the most fundamental conditions of life are improving.

—350,000 housing units have been, or are now being, built.

—2,000 rural wells and 1,170 portable water supply systems have been built to benefit some 20 million persons.

Children are going to school now who would not have gone before.

—Primary school enrollments have increased by 23%; secondary school enrollments by 50%; university enrollments by 39%.

- 28,000 classrooms have been built.
- 160,000 teachers have been trained or given additional training.
- More than 14 million textbooks have been distributed.
- 13 million school children and 3 million pre-schoolers participate in school lunch programs.

Men whose fathers for generations have worked land owned by others now work it as their own.

- 16 countries have legislation dealing directly with land reform.
- With U.S. assistance, 1.1 million acres have been irrigated and 106,000 acres reclaimed.
- More than 700,000 agricultural loans have benefitted 3.5 million people.
- 15,000 miles of road have been built or improved, many of them farm-to-market access roads.

All of these are heartening facts. But they are only the beginning of the story, and only part of it. Statistics can only suggest the deep human meaning of hope alive now where once none lived. Statistics cannot report the wonder of a child born into a world which will give him a chance to break through the tyranny of indifference which doomed generations before him to lives of bleakness and want and misery.

Nor can they reveal the revolution which has come about in the minds of tens of millions of people when they saw that their own efforts, combined with those of their governments and their friends abroad, could change their lives for the better.

Perhaps most important of all, statistics cannot adequately reflect the emergence of a vigorous, competent and confident new generation of Latin American leaders. These men are determined to see realized in their own time a strong, modern Latin America, loyal to its own traditions and history. They

are men who know that rhetoric and resolutions are no substitute for sustained hard work.

And statistics can never tell us what might have been. They cannot record the shots which might have rung out in the avenidas and plazas of a dozen Latin American cities, but did not—or the howls of angry crowds which might have formed, but did not. The full success of the Alliance for Progress must be sought not only in what has been accomplished but in what has been avoided as well.

Ferment gripped the hemisphere when the Alliance was born. In places throughout the world, terror with its bloodshed sought to redress ancient evils. And in some of these places—in Cuba and half a world away in Southeast Asia—even greater evil followed the thrust of violence. Through their own efforts under the Alliance for Progress, the Latin Americans have transformed the hemisphere into a region of determination and hope.

The United States participation in the Alliance was a bold affirmation of its belief that the true revolution which better men's lives can be effected peacefully. The Alliance's six-year record of accomplishments is history's clear testament to the validity of that belief.

It is also a testament to the validity of the underlying principle of self-help. Our support has been vitally important to the successes so far achieved. But the commitments and dedication of the Latin American nations themselves to these tasks has been the key-stone of that success.

THE TASK BEFORE US

The record of progress only illuminates the work which still must be done if life for the people of this hemisphere is truly to improve—not just for today, but for the

changing years ahead.

Last August, in a statement on the fifth anniversary of the Alliance for Progress, I described the challenge in these terms:

"If present trends continue, the population of this hemisphere will be almost 1 billion by the year 2000. Two-thirds—some 625 million—will live in Latin America. Whatever may be done through programs to reduce the rate of population growth, Latin America faces a vast challenge.

"Farm production, for instance, should increase by 6 percent every year, and that will be double the present rate.

"At least 140 million new jobs will need to be created.

"Over a million new homes should be built each year.

"More than 175,000 new doctors need to be trained to meet the very minimum requirements.

"Hundreds of thousands of new classrooms should be constructed.

"And annual per capita growth rates should increase to the range of 4 to 6 percent.

"These requirements, added to the demands of the present, mean that new sights must be set, that new directions and renewed drive must be found if we are to meet the challenge, if we are to move forward."

It is with these sober problems confronting us that the leaders of the American states will meet at Punta del Este.

PILLARS OF PROGRESS

Our governments have been hard at work for months preparing for this meeting.

Our concern has centered on the question of how we can speed the development process in Latin America. We know that growth and trade are interacting forces. We know that they depend on the free move-

ment of products, people and capital. We know they depend on people who are healthy and educated. We know that these conditions contain the seeds of prosperity for all of us.

Further, based on our joint experience so far under the Alliance, we know that the future progress of the hemisphere must rest on four strong pillars:

1. *Elimination of Barriers to Trade*

Civilization in most of Latin America followed along the coastal rim of the continent. Today the centers of population are concentrated here. Vast inner frontiers lie remote and untouched, separated from each other by great rivers, mountains, forests and deserts. Simón Bolívar saw these natural barriers as major obstacles to trade and communication and to his dream of a single great Latin American republic.

Because of them, Latin American countries for a century and a half tended to look outward for their markets to Europe and the United States.

Now they are looking inward as well. They see the same barriers, but they see them as less formidable. They are confident that with modern technology they can be overcome. Now with projects set in motion by the Alliance for Progress, men are beginning to carve roads along the slopes of the Andes, push bridges across the rushing rivers, connect power grids, extend pipelines and link the overland national markets.

The barriers of nature symbolize obstructions every bit as restrictive as the artificial trade barriers that men erect. The work to remove them both must proceed together.

Latin American leaders have seen the very real threat of industrial stagnation in the high tariff barriers they have erected against their commerce with each other. They see economic integration as indis-

pensible to their future industrial growth.

The Central American countries, stimulated by Alliance programs, have already achieved spectacular increases in trade and investment. The larger grouping of South American states and Mexico, however, has approached economic unity at a slower pace.

Now both groups together must systematically move toward a Latin American Common Market. When this is carried into effect, it will bring the most profound change in hemispheric relations since independence. The countries of Latin America have given clear and sure indication that they intend to join together to advance toward this goal.

2. *Improvement of Education*

The burden of illiteracy, which the masses of people in Latin America have borne for centuries, is beginning to lift. In other times, the pace might have been satisfactory. It cannot be considered so today.

The countries of Latin America hope and aim to be economically strong. Such nations will require trained people in an abundance far greater than their classrooms and laboratories provide. The scientists, the teachers, the skilled laborers, the administrators and the planners on whom tomorrow depends must be trained before tomorrow arrives. Children must go to school in ever-increasing numbers. Adults who have never written their names must be raised to the level of literacy. University facilities must be expanded and scientific, technical and vocational training must be provided of different kinds and in different fields.

All of this means more schools and an expansion of educational opportunities to reach more and more people with every passing month.

3. *Agriculture*

Half the people of Latin America live in rural areas.

Most of that rural life is still shackled by poverty and neglect. Agricultural productivity is still restricted by outdated methods and outmoded policies. Comprehensive programs and reforms must be accelerated to bring modern farming techniques to the campo.

We and our neighbors to the south envision a dynamic Latin American agriculture which will help raise the standards of rural life.

We envision a sufficient increase in the production of food to provide for their growing populations—and to help meet world needs as well.

We envision a modernization of farming policies and techniques which will lead to a healthy competitive climate for food production.

4. *Health*

Finally, we will strive harder than ever before to improve the health of all the people.

The battle against diseases that kill and cripple will be intensified.

Programs to make safe water supply and essential sanitation services available to all will be accelerated.

Nutrition levels for poor children and their parents will be advanced.

These are the problems we face together, and the promises we envision together, as we prepare for Punta del Este.

The problems are real. But the promises are also real. They are not empty visions. They are all within our reach. They will not be accomplished quickly or easily. But they

are objectives worthy of the support of all our people.

INCREASED ASSISTANCE

In keeping with the spirit of our commitment under the Alliance for Progress and after a careful review of the objectives which our Latin American neighbors have set for themselves, I believe that we should pledge increased financial assistance in the years ahead.

The fundamental principle which has guided us in the past—demonstrated need and self-help—will continue to shape our actions in the future.

I recommend that Congress approve a commitment to increase our aid by up to \$1.5 billion or about \$300 million per year over the next 5 years.

It must not be at the expense of our efforts in other parts of this troubled world.

This amount will be in addition to the \$1 billion we have been annually investing in the future of Latin American democracy, since the Alliance for Progress began 6 years ago. The total value of our economic assistance, even after the proposed increases, will still be only a fraction of the resources the Latin American nations are themselves investing.

The \$1.5 billion increase I propose must be considered an approximate figure. Its precise determination will depend on steps which the Latin American nations themselves must take. But even so, we can project in a general way what will be necessary:

1. *Agriculture, Education, and Health*

Approximately \$900 million of this increase should be used over the next 5 years to train teachers and build new laboratories

and classrooms; to increase food production and combat the malnutrition which stunts the promise of young children; to fight disease and cure the ill.

\$100 million of this amount has been included in the fiscal 1968 budget totals. I will request that it be added to the new obligational authority of \$543 million already recommended for the Alliance for Progress.

For the next four fiscal years, the additional annual amount of some \$200 million is within the \$750 million authorization for the Alliance for Progress approved by Congress last year.

2. *A Latin American Common Market*

Approximately one-quarter to one-half billion dollars over a 3 to 5 year period, beginning about 1970, may be required to assist Latin America to move toward a common market.

Progress in this direction will require a period of transition. To help with this adjustment, assistance can be used to retrain workers, ease balance of payments problems, and stimulate intra-Latin American trade.

The members of the Alliance for Progress, including the United States, should be prepared to finance this assistance on an equitable matching basis.

I will ask Congress to authorize these funds only when the first essential steps toward a common market are taken.

3. *Multi-National Projects—Communications, Roads, and River Systems*

Approximately \$150 million over a 3 year period should provide additional funds to the Inter-American Bank's Fund for Special Operations. These increased contributions

can help finance pre-investment studies and a portion of the cost of new multi-national projects:

- Roads to link the nations and people of Latin America.
- Modern communication networks to speed communications.
- Bridges to carry the fruits of commerce over river barriers; dams to stem the ravages of flood.
- Hydroelectric plants to provide a plentiful source of power for growth and prosperity.

We will request Congressional authorization to provide this amount together with our regular \$250 million annual contribution for each of the next 3 years to the Inter-American Bank's Fund for Special Operations.

We expect our partners in the Bank to increase their contributions on a proportional basis.

CONCLUSION

For the nations participating, Punta del Este will be a returning. It was there, six years ago in that city by the sea, that the American nations framed the charter of the Alliance which unites the hopes of this hemisphere.

We will be bringing with us the accumulated wisdom shaped by the experience gained in the years that have intervened.

We have learned much. Our sister countries know, and know well, that the burden of the task is theirs, the decisions are theirs, the initiative to build these new societies must be theirs. They know that the only road to progress is the road of self-help.

They know that our role can only be that of support, with our investment only a small portion of what they themselves contribute to their future.

This knowledge strengthens their own re-

solve, and their own commitment.

The people of the United States have learned, over the six years since that first conference at Punta del Este, that the investment to which we pledged our support there is a good and honorable one.

It is an investment made in the spirit of our world view, so well described by a great American jurist, Learned Hand:

Right knows no boundaries, and justice no frontiers; the brotherhood of man is not a domestic institution.

That view of the world provides us with the knowledge that service is mutually rewarding. We have learned in the span of a generation that when we help others in a truly meaningful way, we serve our own vital interests as well.

I could go to the summit meeting with the President's executive authority and reach understandings with our Latin American neighbors on behalf of this country. I believe it is much more in our democratic tradition if the Executive and the Congress work together as partners in this matter.

I am, therefore, going to you in the Congress not after a commitment has been made, but before making any commitment. I seek your guidance and your counsel. I have already met with some 40 of your leaders.

I am asking the entire Congress and the American people to consider thoroughly my recommendations. I will look to their judgment and support as I prepare for our Nation's return to Punta del Este.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

The White House

March 13, 1967

NOTE: For the President's meeting with the American Chiefs of State at Punta del Este, Uruguay, see Items 175-178.

A bill authorizing additional funds for the Inter-American Development Bank was approved by the President on September 22, 1967 (see Item 394).

III Remarks of Welcome at the White House to Prime Minister
Chung of Korea. *March 14, 1967*

Mr. Prime Minister, and ladies and gentlemen:

It is now almost 17 years since that June day when the invader struck at South Korea. For a few, time has erased the meaning of that day, and all that followed it. But for most Americans, it remains today as clear as it was to President Harry Truman when he said:

"In my generation, this was not the first occasion when the strong had attacked the weak. I recalled some earlier instances: Manchuria, Ethiopia, Austria. I remembered how each time that the democracies had failed to act it had encouraged the aggressors to keep going ahead. . . . I felt certain that . . . if the Communists were permitted to force their way into the Republic of Korea without opposition from the free world, no small nation would have the courage to resist threats and aggressions by stronger Communist neighbors. If this were allowed to go unchallenged it would mean a third world war, just as similar incidents had brought on the Second World War. It was also clear to me that the foundations and the principles of the United Nations were at stake unless this unprovoked attack on Korea could be stopped."

Mr. Prime Minister, the attack was stopped—and we have now had 15 years to see the results.

The Korean people, whom you so proudly represent here today, have strengthened and have developed the independence that was once so dearly bought. They have moved forward—slowly, at first, and with some uncertainty, to meet problems that seemed to defy all solution.

I remember how depressed and discouraged all of us were at the future of Korea in the darkest days of the war and I remember

the prognostications and the prophecies of the cynics of that hour.

But would that we all look at South Korea today.

There is freedom of speech, and a free press.

There are free elections—and I understand you are about to have another soon.

Economically, Korea has made amazing progress.

A leading Western financial publication recently picked Korea as the developing country with "the best all-around national performance in 1966 in the world of economics and finance."

Your rate of economic growth is close to 12 percent.

You are approaching self-sufficiency in food.

You set \$250 million as your export goal last year—and you reached and surpassed that goal.

The world knows what Koreans are doing with their freedom and with their independence.

And I don't mean to imply that you have solved all your economic and social problems, because we all know that you have not, nor have we. No one really has.

But the Korean economy has "taken off"—as one of my advisers is frequently fond of saying.

Korea's freedom is a consequence, above all, of Korean fortitude and courage. But the Korean people recognize that it is the result, too, of heroism and sacrifice of their friends. They know that freedom brings responsibilities, as well as rights.

So they have now begun to turn their attention from purely national needs and goals to the broader problems of Asia and the

world. Korean initiative in launching the Asian and Pacific Council has been recognized and admired by all.

And today Koreans are fighting in the defense of another brave people. Once again, we work side by side together—we fight together—against aggression. Once again we shall prove that it can be turned back by the courageous determination of free men.

In peace, as in war, we have joined our efforts—in the Asian Development Bank, in cooperative efforts to improve food production, in transportation, and in education and health measures throughout Asia.

Mr. Prime Minister, our peoples are linked by the strongest bonds of friendship. They were forged in the savagery and sorrow of war. They have been tested now in the challenges of peace.

The value of this friendship is beyond words.

It is one of those benefits that comes to men and to nations all too rarely.

Mrs. Johnson and I extend our very warmest welcome to you and to all the distinguished members of your party.

I eagerly look forward to our exchange of views today and tomorrow.

I hope that this visit to our country will be one of your most pleasant, one of your most interesting, and one of the most memorable journeys among us.

We are delighted to have you. Thank you for having come.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:40 a.m. on the South Lawn at the White House, where Prime Minister Il Kwon Chung was given a formal welcome with full military honors. The Prime Minister responded as follows:

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen:

It is with great pleasure and a sense of privilege that I receive the warm welcome extended to me and my party today.

First of all, I have the honor of conveying best

regards from the President and Mrs. Park to you and Mrs. Johnson and to all the people of the United States of America.

Also, I am most happy to visit once again this Capital City of the United States for which I have a profound feeling of friendliness. I have no adequate words to express the pleasure I feel as I see you once again, having come by that firm bridge of good faith and friendship which was strengthened by the exchange of visits by our heads of state.

Mr. President, under your great and inspiring leadership, the freedom-loving spirit of the Founding Fathers of the United States and the glorious history of the American struggle for the preservation of freedom shine bright in all parts of the world.

Today, a new chapter in the history of the United States is being written on the unswerving efforts of the American people who are determined to crush, with faith and courage, violence and aggression and to establish world peace, in the true sense, through perseverance and tolerance.

I am most happy to say that the entire people of the Republic of Korea have a deep respect and are grateful for the great contributions being made by the American people.

Mr. President, the Republic of Korea and the United States of America are the allies bound together for the common cause. Our traditional ties of friendship have been strengthened further over the last few years.

Today, the spirit of cooperation between our two countries is evident not only in the battlefield but in all our mutual endeavors which are aimed at the establishment of a new world of prosperity, in peace and freedom.

I pledge here that as a trusted ally of the United States the Republic of Korea will share all the adversities we may encounter in our joint endeavor.

Mr. President, as you have witnessed in person, my country is advancing under the leadership of President Park to a better, brighter tomorrow. The "Land of Morning Calm" is today full of vigor, vitality, and promise of a modern, self-sustaining future.

The assistance and cooperation rendered by the people of the United States since the end of World War II have borne full fruit in a land that was once plagued with despair and devastation.

It is with the utmost pleasure that I convey to the people of the United States the warmest gratitude of the people of the Republic of Korea.

We are today marching ahead with constancy and hope toward a bright future, ever thankful to the American people for helping them make this progress possible.

Mr. President, I am looking forward with joy in my heart to meeting with you and other leaders of your Government during my visit. We will discuss in all sincerity and frankness those problems of mutual interest which confront us today, with

a view to strengthening the existing ties of friendship between our two countries.

Once again, I wish to express my gratitude to you, Mr. President, for this warm welcome extended to me and my party. Thank you.

112 Toasts of the President and Prime Minister Chung.

March 14, 1967

Mr. Prime Minister, Mr. Vice President, Members of the Cabinet, Senator Fulbright and Members of the Congress, Governor Hughes, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

This morning I had the privilege of welcoming you, Mr. Prime Minister, to the United States of America.

Now, it is a very great pleasure to welcome you to my home.

Around us here today you will see many people who know your country well.

And each of them is a friend of Korea.

Although I was in your country only a very short time, the visit last fall was one of the most memorable and the most heartwarming that I have ever known.

Mrs. Johnson and I shall never forget—and everyone with us will remember the warmth, the spontaneity, the hospitality of the Korean people. I can still hear the rustling of countless small flags—Korean and American—that welcomed us in Seoul. I can still see those schoolboy posters all along your streets and the open friendliness in the faces of those who held them.

We knew, of course, that your country was called the “Land of the Morning Calm.” And we found it to be so—in the early morning, when the mists are rising over the rivers.

But it is not long before the air is filled with the sounds of men building and planting and producing, of little children reciting their lessons in the school, of the whole

countryside coming awake and work being done.

I was struck by the evidence of economic growth and vigor that I saw everywhere we looked.

Koreans were working to make a better society—to insure that all of the people shared in the fruits of their economic growth.

So both of us would like to cultivate our gardens in peace.

We would like to make them bloom as they have never bloomed before—to create and to enjoy the blessings of prosperity, to enlarge the possibilities of a dignified and meaningful life.

But in our world even the most remote nations are often barred from cultivating their gardens in peace.

It is a world where peace and freedom and justice are constantly in jeopardy.

It is a world where men, if they will not stand up, may be forced to kneel.

Neither Koreans nor Americans kneel gracefully before conquerors or before aggressors.

It is a world where responsibilities are heavy for those who are willing to shoulder the burden of responsibility.

We carried that burden together—in the defense of South Korea.

We carry it together as we meet here today—in the defense of South Vietnam.

We shall continue to carry it—until ambitious men recognize that aggression and

terror are futile and outdated weapons in relations between peoples and nations.

We shall continue together because, as our great President Harry Truman said more than 15 years ago: "All free nations are exposed and all are in peril. Their only security lies in banding together. No one nation can find protection in a selfish search for a safe haven from the storm."

In going to the assistance of others—as our Korean friends know so well—America does not seek to dominate or control.

We do not seek national grandeur or special privilege.

What we seek—in cooperation with like-minded nations like Korea—is the basis for a lasting peace—a peace with justice.

Not the peace of the grave, but the peace of life—where men are free and able to shape their own future.

Today, together, we fight. But even as we do, we work together in a multitude of ways to improve the quality of the life of our own people and the life of others in the world.

And when real peace comes—as it will come—I know we shall continue to work—together and with others—to better the world we have inherited and helped to preserve.

Mr. Prime Minister, we are delighted that you are with us in our country today.

In the spirit of our deep friendship and admiration for a very brave people, I ask all of those who have come here today to join me in a toast:

To His Excellency, the President of the Republic of Korea—and to the continued prosperity and freedom of the Korean people.

NOTE: The President proposed the toast at 2:22 p.m. at a luncheon in the State Dining Room at the White House. In his opening words he referred to Prime Minister Il Kwon Chung, Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey, Senator J. W. Fulbright of Arkansas, and Governor Richard J. Hughes of New Jersey. The Prime Minister responded as follows:

Mr. President, Mr. Vice President, ladies and gentlemen:

I wish to extend my heartfelt gratitude to you for your warm address and for this wonderful luncheon for me and my party.

After 4 years, I am indeed happy to visit this country once again.

I was moved by the marvelous aerial view of this great city, which has become more beautiful and splendid than I remembered. Here again as I find myself in this amicable and congenial company of old friends, I am at a loss for adequate words to express my deep emotion.

Mr. President, as I stand here, I have a vivid memory of the cheers of millions of people on the streets of Seoul who, with flags in their hands, welcomed you to Korea last autumn.

I am sure that you personally felt then the admiration and appreciation of the Korean people. As a great leader, you have the mission of protecting freedom. You are armed with unfailing courage and a strong belief in justice. These are qualities we Koreans know are needed at this critical time in history.

Mr. President and distinguished guests, as President Park has stated before, we have been trying very hard to be a nation which stands by its friends and repays its obligations. We know well that real gratitude is more properly expressed by deeds rather than by words.

I am very proud to declare that the sacrifices and efforts made by American people in Korea have not been wasted.

Mr. President, you stated in Seoul that self-esteem gives to a people confidence—a strong confidence—without which a people can accomplish little, and with which they can surmount any obstacles.

Today, we are full of this confidence, my people are overcoming all difficulties and marching toward a hopeful tomorrow.

During the past several years, under the inspiring leadership of President Park, we Korean people have achieved political stability and economic progress.

According to 1966 statistics of our economic growth, the per capita income reached \$123; the total amount of exports, \$250 million; and the foreign reserves, close to \$230 million.

I know well that these figures are not so big as to surprise any one of you. Nevertheless, these figures are really encouraging to us, because, comparing them with those of 5 years ago, you will discover that some of them have almost doubled and still others have increased almost 10 times.

Mr. President and distinguished guests, the Korean people, who in the past were negative and resistant, have now become one of the free nations in the world, pursuing a course of affirmation and positive contribution. In other words, today we ask ourselves what we can do as an ally of the United States, and what we can do as a free nation in

Asia. At the same time, we ask what we can contribute to the freedom and peace of all mankind.

We are growing today. We sent our troops to the Republic of Vietnam, normalized our relations with Japan, and hosted the Ministerial Meeting for Asian and Pacific Cooperation.

We participated in the Manila Summit Conference and took part in the establishment of the Asian Development Bank. These are some of the tangible results recently achieved through the strength and confidence of the people of Korea.

Mr. President, today, the Asian countries, including Korea, are facing, as President Franklin Roosevelt pointed out in his statement of four freedoms, the tasks of achieving freedom from fear and freedom from want.

We have learned that freedom in the 20th century can only be obtained through cooperation among peoples.

Your address delivered at Johns Hopkins University is a most important and historical declaration, clarifying the goals of the United States in Asia.

Particularly, your grand designs for everlasting peace and promotion of the well-being of the suffering peoples in Asia and firm attitude against in-

justice and fear have brought to the Asian people new hope and new courage inspiring them with a sense of purpose.

Today, the Korean people admire you as a defender of freedom and peace and as an architect of the happiness of mankind.

Also, on this occasion, I wish to express my profound respect and appreciation to the American people. Their contributions since the Second World War helped bring freedom to Korea and other nations in Asia.

Mr. President, we Korean people have developed into a trusted nation of the free Asia. We share our joys and sorrows with the American people who have always been with us not only in the darkness of despair but also in the bright morning of hope.

Finally, I express once again my heartfelt gratitude to you and my sincere hope for your continued friendship and assistance.

Distinguished gentlemen, may I ask you to join me in a toast to the magnificent contribution of President Johnson to mankind, to the health of President and Mrs. Johnson, and to the everlasting prosperity and happiness of the American people.

113 Joint Statement Following Discussions With Prime Minister Chung of Korea. *March 14, 1967*

PRIME MINISTER Il Kwon Chung of the Republic of Korea arrived in Washington on March 14 at the invitation of President Johnson. The President and the Prime Minister met on March 14 and exchanged views on matters of mutual concern to the two governments. Also present were Minister of National Defense Sung Eun Kim, Minister of Commerce and Industry Chung Hun Park, Secretary General to the President Hu Rak Lee, Ambassador Hyun Chul Kim, Under Secretary of State Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, Special Assistant to the President Walt W. Rostow, and Acting Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs Samuel D. Berger. The Prime Minister brought with him a personal message to President Johnson from President Park Chung Hee.

President Johnson extended his congratu-

lations to President Park on the remarkable progress achieved by the Korean people in recent years and the encouraging prospects for continued progress in various fields of national life in Korea.

President Johnson expressed the continuing admiration of the American people for the courage and prowess of the Korean forces on the field of battle in Vietnam and for their effective endeavors to promote the welfare of the Vietnamese populace. President Johnson indicated the importance he attaches to the combat capabilities of these forces and the steps being taken to strengthen these capabilities further with improved equipment. The Prime Minister stated his impressions of the current situation in Vietnam gained during his recent visit there. The President and the Prime Minister agreed that efforts to bring about a just and lasting peace must be con-

stantly pursued but reaffirmed the determination of their two governments to continue vigorously the military struggle in Vietnam until the North Vietnamese are willing to enter into meaningful negotiations for peace. They affirmed that their two governments would continue to act in closest consultation on both these matters. Recalling that the United States Government has pledged to give special support to the Government of the Republic of Vietnam on peaceful development, including the latter government's revolutionary development programs, and that the Government of the Republic of Vietnam has requested the Korean Government to render assistance for the same programs, President Johnson and Prime Minister Chung agreed that their two governments will, in close consultation and coordination among themselves and with the Government of Vietnam, jointly render cooperation and assistance to the successful implementation of the peaceful development activities including the Government of Vietnam's revolutionary development program.

The President and the Prime Minister reviewed the recent series of incidents on land and sea in and near the Demilitarized Zone in Korea in which both ROK and U.S. units have suffered casualties from unprovoked attacks by North Korean forces. They agreed on the need for maintaining constant vigilance against the threat of renewed aggression against the Republic of Korea. They further agreed that in view of this continuing threat modernization of the Korean armed forces should be continued as rapidly as legislative and budgetary limitations will permit. President Johnson reaffirmed the readiness and determination of the United States to render prompt and effective assistance to defeat an armed attack against the Republic of Korea, in accordance with the Mutual Defense Treaty of 1954. President Johnson

assured Prime Minister Chung that the United States would continue to support the Korean armed forces at levels adequate to ensure Korea's security.

Prime Minister Chung reviewed his government's economic objective, as set forth in its Second Five Year Economic Development Plan. President Johnson expressed the admiration of the American people for the striking progress made by the Korean Government and people during recent years in increasing gross national product, industrial output, agricultural production, exports, and domestic revenues. President Johnson reaffirmed to Prime Minister Chung his previous assurances that the United States would continue to support the economic growth of the Republic of Korea, and in particular, to assist in the achievement of the goals of the second Five Year Plan. Further development loans will constitute one form of such support. He noted also that a consultative group of friendly governments, including the United States, and international lending institutions has been formed to coordinate the provision of development funds to the Republic of Korea.

Prime Minister Chung expressed gratification over the imminent visit of the private trade and investment mission to Korea under the leadership of Mr. George W. Ball. He assured President Johnson that the trade mission would be warmly welcomed in Korea, in keeping with the desire of both governments to expand trade between the two nations and to promote American private investment in Korea. President Johnson reaffirmed the United States Government interest in furthering the growth of trade between the Republic of Korea and the United States and stressed the importance of periodic meetings between appropriate United States officials and their Korean counterparts. It was agreed that the Minister of Commerce and

Industry and the Secretary of Commerce meet annually for this purpose. He also assured the Prime Minister that the United States would cooperate with the Republic of Korea to bring promptly to the attention of American private business interests the opportunities and possibilities for investment in Korea, both through commercial loans and joint business ventures.

President Johnson and Prime Minister Chung reaffirmed the conviction of their two governments that existing regional organizations and institutions in the Pacific area should be strengthened and developed, with the ultimate objective of creating a new Pacific Community, open to all nations prepared to live at peace and to cooperate and work for the welfare of the people of Asia and the Pacific, as agreed by Presidents Johnson and Park in their joint statement in Seoul in November, 1966. President Johnson and Prime Minister Chung recalled the goals of freedom as declared by the seven heads of state at Manila last October and Prime Minister Chung reaffirmed the determination of the government of the Republic of Korea to

continue its efforts towards accelerating the growth of a Pacific Community. President Johnson expressed appreciation for the initiative and important contributions made by the Republic of Korea in the evolution of the Pacific Community. He stressed the importance of solidarity and mutual support among the countries in the region and expressed the readiness of the United States Government to play its part in developing the Pacific Community.

President Johnson and Prime Minister Chung reaffirmed the strong ties of friendship and mutual interest between the Republic of Korea and the United States and pledged themselves anew to the maintenance and strengthening of those ties and to continued cooperation between their two governments in the economic, political, and military fields.

On behalf of the members of his party and the Korean people, Prime Minister Chung expressed his deepest appreciation to President Johnson for the warm reception and for the hospitality extended to him by President Johnson and the United States.

114 Special Message to the Congress: America's Unfinished Business, Urban and Rural Poverty. *March 14, 1967*

To the Congress of the United States:

I. THE CHALLENGE

"The slum is as old as civilization. Civilization implies a race to get ahead. In a race there are usually some who for one cause or another cannot keep up, or are thrust out from among their fellows. They fall behind, and when they have been left far in the rear they lose hope and ambition, and give up. Thenceforward, if left to their own resources, they are the victims, not the masters,

of their encirclement; and it is a bad master. . . . The bad environment becomes the heredity of the next generation."

These are the words of Jacob Riis, the Danish immigrant and American reformer, written in 1902. We may wish that those words applied only to the America of 1902—but clearly they apply to the America of the 1960's as well. They describe conditions in parts of every large American city and in pockets of poverty throughout rural America where 43 percent of the Nation's poor live.

It was years after Jacob Riis spoke before Americans realized that poverty was an urgent public dilemma—from which the only escape was to change the basic conditions of human life.

Theodore Roosevelt and Franklin Roosevelt in their times, began the necessary process of change:

- The Children's Bureau, proposed in 1909 and established in 1912, spearheaded broad efforts to improve maternal and infant care and to provide better services and protection for our youth.
- The public housing program, begun in 1934, today affords more than 2 million low-income Americans decent housing.
- The benefits of the Social Security Act of 1935 will provide \$25.8 billion in old age, disability and survivorship benefits in fiscal 1968, if my recommendations are adopted by the Congress.
- The federally-aided public assistance programs, authorized in 1935, will provide \$5 billion in Federal, State and local aid to more than 7 million needy individuals in fiscal 1968.
- The Fair Labor Standards Act, enacted in 1938, now provides minimum wage and hour protection for some 40 million workers.

A STRATEGY AGAINST POVERTY

In the 1960's, we have begun to devise a total strategy against poverty. We have recognized that public housing, minimum wages and welfare services could not, standing alone, change the bleak environment of deprivation for millions of poor families.

A successful strategy requires a breakthrough on many fronts: education, health, jobs and job training, housing, public assistance, transportation, recreation, clean air

and adequate water supplies. The basic conditions of life for the poor must, and can, be changed.

We must deal with a wide range of physical and human needs. On the human side alone, the strategy must respond to a variety of problems.

Some of the poor—the aged and the hopelessly disabled—are unable to make their own way in this world because of conditions beyond their control. For them, social security, veterans pensions and public assistance can assure a life at minimum levels of human decency and dignity.

Others in our society are working at very low wages or are unemployed. But they are capable of helping themselves if given an opportunity to do so. To launch them on the road to a self-sufficient life, special education, training and employment opportunities will be necessary.

Our strategy requires programs that respond to the human needs of each of these groups. And we have proposed such programs:

- To give disadvantaged children healthy bodies and the chance to learn.
- To give the teenagers in our ghettos and pockets of rural poverty the training and skills they need to get jobs.
- To give our young the chance to develop their minds in college, through Federal grants and loans.
- To give the old and the disabled, who are incapable of helping themselves, increases in Social Security and the personal security of being able to see a doctor or obtain hospital care, without losing their entire life savings.

We also must have programs to improve the surroundings in which the disadvantaged live—the physical and social environment of America which has too long entrapped the poor. We have made proposals for:

- Model Cities, to rebuild entire blighted neighborhoods in cities, large and small.
- Rent Supplements, to bring the genius of private industry and private capital to the problem of housing the poor decently.
- Civil Rights legislation, to remove arbitrary barriers of discrimination which prevent a man otherwise qualified from getting a job or a home because of his race.

Our strategy against poverty relies on:

- The private initiative of every citizen and on the self-help efforts of the poor themselves.
- The resources of city, county, state and metropolitan agencies.
- Federal programs to supplement private and local activities and often to supply the vital thrust of innovation.

We have made substantial gains. But we have also come to see how profound are the problems that confront us, how deeply ingrained are the customs and practices that must be changed, how stubbornly the heritage of poverty persists from generation to generation.

Many of our early efforts have revealed the dimensions of the work that remains to be done. For some, this has inspired a pessimism that challenges both the value of what has been accomplished and the capacity of our Federal democracy to complete the task. For others, it has inspired a sober determination to carry through with programs that show great promise, to improve their administration and to seek still more effective instruments of change.

I have already submitted to the Congress my budget recommendations for fiscal 1968.

I have recommended \$25.6 billion for the programs directly aiding the poor—a \$3.6 billion increase over fiscal 1967.

Many of the programs underlying these

budget recommendations have been discussed in previous messages to the Congress this year—on Education and Health, Children and Youth, Older Americans, Crime in America and Equal Justice. The programs described in this message are part of our strategy to change the depressing conditions of poverty now facing millions of our fellow men.

II. POVERTY—AND OPPORTUNITY

Few undertakings in our time have generated as much hope, produced as many immediate and beneficial results, or excited as much controversy, as the anti-poverty program I first submitted to the Congress on March 16, 1964.

The controversy was inevitable: what is being attempted is a fundamental change in the way government responds to the needs of the poor.

That there would be some confusion and mistakes was inevitable. The need was for action. America could not wait for a decade of studies which might not even show precisely what should be attempted. New programs had to begin in our cities and rural communities, in small towns and in migrant labor camps. America had to pull the drowning man out of the water and talk about it later.

This experience has led to progress and great accomplishment. We have learned more than some of the most enthusiastic supporters of the anti-poverty program had hoped.

Greater opportunities for millions of Americans depend on how we build on our experience:

- On enlarged resources for the Office of Economic Opportunity to strengthen and expand programs that have shown great promise and to continue the de-

- velopment of new and better techniques.
- On tightened administration of those programs so that the poor receive the maximum benefits, at the lowest cost to the American taxpayer.

THE ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT OF 1967

I recommend that the Economic Opportunity Act be amended:

1. *To help local community action agencies define their purpose more precisely and improve their planning, auditing and personnel systems.*

- The purpose and functions of community action agencies should be made more explicit: in their relationship to state, county and municipal authorities, in planning, coordinating and providing services, and in community involvement and innovation.

- Strict rules should be established to govern the pay, selection and accountability of community action personnel. Personnel systems should embody merit features and set the highest standards of conduct and efficiency.

- The provisions in existing law prohibiting partisan political activities should be retained and strengthened wherever possible.

- Auditing requirements now in the law should be expanded and improved.

2. *To give public officials and other interested groups in the community voice in forming policy for community action agencies.*

- There should be a requirement for representation of local public agencies on community action boards, as well as representation for the neighborhood groups to be served.

- Standards should be set specifically defining the powers and duties of Community Action Boards.

- The responsibility of the Boards for policy formulation and control of community action programs should be made explicit.

3. *To strengthen the role of the States, especially in rural areas.*

- States should be encouraged to assist in establishing regional community action agencies in rural areas.

- The joint funding of anti-poverty programs by Federal and State agencies should be encouraged.

- Federal funds should be provided so that States may give increased planning assistance to rural communities.

4. *To encourage more participation by private enterprise.*

- The obligation of community action agencies to design and conduct programs with full participation by the private sector should be made explicit.

- A closer relationship should be developed between employers, unions and the new work-training programs, with more individual attention to trainees in on-the-job training programs.

5. *To use the Economic Opportunity Act to encourage welfare recipients to become self-sufficient.*

- Job Corpsmen, Neighborhood Youth Corpsmen and others engaged in work and training under this Act should be given greater incentives to work, by allowing them to earn more without a corresponding loss of welfare assistance to their families.

6. *To give new direction and momentum to the programs in rural areas.*

- A new position of Assistant Director for rural affairs should be established to coordinate and strengthen programs affecting the rural poor.

7. *To strengthen the Economic Opportunity Council in the coordination of*

anti-poverty activities of Federal agencies.

—The Council's role in helping to improve coordination among federal programs related to the anti-poverty effort should be more clearly spelled out.

These changes will make the administration of the program more effective. But improved administration is not enough. More people must be reached. The gap between promise and real opportunity is still broad. Additional funds must be provided if we are to make genuine progress in attending to our unfinished business.

I recommend that the Congress appropriate \$2.06 billion for the Office of Economic Opportunity for fiscal 1968—a 25 percent increase over fiscal 1967.

COMMUNITY ACTION

The purpose of community action is to encourage those who need help to help themselves.

A Community Action Agency should provide a voice in planning programs to mayors, local business and labor leaders, the citizens to be helped, teachers, lawyers, physicians—all those who give their time and efforts to relieve poverty in their communities and who know well the needs of their neighbors. It may be established as a private, non-profit corporation or created by local government. Each agency analyzes the problems its community faces and develops a strategy for its anti-poverty, self-help effort. This strategy may include any combination of Federal, State and local programs which will assist the poor in their fight against poverty.

Community action agencies should devote their energies to self-help measures and new initiatives that will advance their communities in the war against poverty. To be effective, it is essential that they be non-partisan

and totally disengaged from any partisan political activity. This Administration, the National Advisory Council on Economic Opportunity and, I am confident, the Congress, will be constantly alert to the danger of partisan political activity and will take the necessary steps to see that it does not occur.

Legal Services

To be poor is to be without an advocate—in dealing with a landlord, a creditor, or a government bureaucrat. It is to be subjected to the hostility or indifference of society, without redress. It is to be exposed to frustration and delay, without relief.

The Legal Services Program offers free legal assistance in civil matters to people who otherwise could not afford an attorney. The program provides—in ghettos, on Indian reservations, in migrant camps and in rural counties—lawyers for the poor in eviction and consumer credit cases, in administrative actions and in hundreds of other encounters involving their legal rights.

The program has the wholehearted endorsement of the American Bar Association, the National Bar Association and the National Trial Lawyers Association. With the help of these Associations, legal services are now being provided in 44 of the Nation's 50 largest cities and in some rural areas.

I have asked the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity to strengthen these efforts and to expand the services available to smaller towns and rural areas.

NEIGHBORHOOD CENTERS

Multi-Service Centers

To be poor in a city is to spend long hours and precious dollars for carfare in search of assistance. The employment service may be in one part of town, the social security

office in another, welfare offices, veterans assistance, adult literacy training, medical care or housing aid in others.

To be poor in a rural area is to travel many miles in hope of finding assistance—often fruitlessly. The services needed are too often in another county or only in a big city.

The fragmentation—and the unavailability—of services imposes great hardship upon the poor. Often it denies them the comprehensive help that can provide security, and the chance to stand on their own two feet before their fellow men.

We are trying a variety of methods for providing these services more effectively. Hundreds of neighborhood centers have been created: some are referral agencies, others house a complex of services drawn from existing programs. In rural areas centers have been established to serve multi-county areas. Our goal is to develop within each community the most effective means to deliver the services so desperately needed at the lowest cost to the taxpayer.

I have asked the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, in cooperation with the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development and other federal departments, to expand and strengthen the development of Neighborhood Multi-Service and Multi-County Centers in the coming fiscal year. These Centers have become the focal point of many local efforts in their attack on poverty, and I expect that local communities will seek some \$120 million for them in fiscal 1968.

Health Centers

To be poor is to be without adequate medical care:

—One-half of all women who have their babies in public hospitals have received

no pre-natal care at all.

—More than 60 percent of poor children with disabling handicaps are not receiving any medical care.

—60 percent of all poor children never see a dentist.

—The chance of a child dying before the age of one is 50 percent higher for the poor.

—The chance of dying before reaching the age of 35 is four times greater for the poor.

The poor man, making two thousand dollars a year or less—in many cases because of previous illness—will lose twice as many working days from illness as the man who makes seven thousand dollars or more.

In Health Centers, located where the poor live, medical care can be effectively provided for those who need it most. Where appropriate, the Health Centers are linked to Neighborhood Multi-Service Centers so that the individual citizen can obtain in one place a wide range of needed services.

The Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, in cooperation with the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, will encourage local communities to establish additional Health Centers in the coming fiscal year, so that up to 50 will be in operation by the end of fiscal 1968.

UPWARD BOUND

When a child's potential for success in life is lost, the nation as well as the child is the loser. When a bright mind is dimmed by successive failures in school, and the despair failure brings, the community suffers as much as the student himself.

Upward Bound seeks out poor rural and urban youngsters whose talents are unde-

veloped. They are given intensive individual attention and the best training our education system can offer so that they can develop their talents to the full reach of their individual capacity.

Two hundred and twenty-four public and private universities and private secondary schools are taking part in Upward Bound this year. More than 20,000 poor young men and women are today headed for high school graduation and college study through Upward Bound. We estimate that 78 percent of these youngsters—as compared to 8 percent of poor youth generally—will go on to college.

Applications for Upward Bound far exceed the funds presently available. Those funds must be increased—for America needs the trained and competent citizens these poor children can become.

My budget includes sufficient funds for Upward Bound to benefit more than 30,000 young men and women in fiscal 1968.

FOSTER GRANDPARENTS

Children in orphanages and homes for the retarded need the patient care of older men and women. Older Americans need the sense of usefulness that a child's dependence can bring.

The Foster Grandparents program meets these needs for more than 2,000 older Americans and 5,000 children. These Foster Grandparents are given training and relatively substantial increases in their incomes for visiting, teaching and caring for children who need them.

The Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, in cooperation with the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, will expand this program next year.

HEAD START AND HEAD START FOLLOW-THROUGH

I have already submitted to the Congress my recommendations to improve educational opportunities for children who need them most of all—the children of the poor.

For thousands of children in ghettos and pockets of rural poverty, in migrant labor camps and on Indian reservations, the Head Start Program has “replaced the conviction of failure with the hope of success.” This fiscal year, Head Start will provide summer opportunities for about 500,000 children and a full-year program for nearly 200,000 children.

We must not lose the precious momentum children gain from Head Start by returning them to substandard schools. We must provide the Follow-Through necessary to vitalize the first years of their grade school experience. We must involve more parents and increase the services of teachers, teachers aides, doctors and counselors for disadvantaged children in the early grades.

For this reason, I have recommended the Head Start Follow-Through Program. My budget recommendations to the Congress include \$472 million for Head Start, including funds for the new Head Start Follow-Through Program to sustain the progress Head Start has made.

With these funds, we will strengthen the year-round Head Start Program and begin to plan and operate Head Start Follow-Through programs for up to 200,000 children coming into the first grades.

NEIGHBORHOOD YOUTH CORPS

At a critical period in their lives, the Neighborhood Youth Corps has given some 800,000 young men and women from both

rural and urban America a chance to succeed as adults. It has helped them work their way through school, return to school, or prepare for useful employment.

My budget recommendations provide \$321 million for the Neighborhood Youth Corps in fiscal 1968 to:

- Give 195,000 young people the chance to stay in school.
- Help 90,000 young people return to school or prepare for jobs.
- Provide summer jobs for 190,000 young people.

JOB CORPS

If the attack on poverty is to mean anything, it must reach all the poor—including those whose educational experience and past behavior make them difficult to teach, motivate and discipline.

The Job Corps is a response to that moral imperative. Its success must be measured against the difficulties of its task.

There are 113 Job Corps centers in America. More than 60,000 youths have passed through them in the last two years.

For some, the Job Corps experience was too short to matter significantly. For others, there was only time enough to have a physical examination, or to learn to read a little or to add a column of figures. But even this was a gain for the young who, on the average, enter the Job Corps at a fourth grade reading level and have never seen a doctor or dentist.

For most, the Job Corps has meant a chance to be a productive—and taxpaying—citizen:

- 26,000 hold jobs earning an average of \$1.71 per hour.
- 4,500 are back in school to complete an education they have been motivated to seek.
- 3,500 are in the armed services. Many

of them had been previously rejected because they failed to meet medical or educational standards.

The Job Corps does not benefit only those it serves. It has developed educational materials now being used by 84 schools across America. Its volunteers have worked on conservation and beautification projects, and public facility improvements. The Job Corps youths, who are themselves poor, send more than \$1 million home to their families each month.

While the Job Corps has used the best talents of industry and of universities to design the program and operate the centers, many problems remain. Costs must be reduced and discipline improved. In fiscal 1968, the estimated full-year cost for a Job Corpsman in established centers will be about \$6,700—down from an average cost of about \$8,400 during the last half of fiscal 1966. This sum will cover food, clothing, transportation, medical and dental care, pay and allowances, as well as the cost of training and education.

The experience we have gained thus far will permit tighter cost controls, firmer discipline, and more effective recruitment and placement. The Job Corps in fiscal 1968 will be even more effective in reaching those young people for whom the road to productive and responsible lives is the longest and hardest.

My budget recommendations include \$295 million for the Job Corps Program in fiscal 1968—to educate, train and renew the hopes of some 50,000 young men and women.

VISTA

By this June, more than 4,000 Volunteers in Service to America—VISTA volunteers—will be in the field. They will be living and working in the hollows of Appalachia, on

Indian reservations, in migrant camps and city slums—to teach skills, care for the sick, and help people to help themselves.

My budget recommendations for fiscal 1968 include \$31 million for the VISTA Program.

No matter how dedicated or skillful, 4,000 volunteers cannot accomplish the thousands of tasks that require attention in America's poor neighborhoods. Neither can a massive flow of dollars and new programs. We will continue to search for ways to enlist still more Americans in part- and full-time service to their fellowman.

OPERATION GREEN THUMB

Hundreds of older unemployed and retired farmers and rural workers have gained in income and in dignity, while contributing to the safety and beautification of State highways, schools, parks and rural towns through projects like Operation Green Thumb. They have assisted their disadvantaged neighbors to improve their homes and have added their skills to enhance neighboring communities.

I have asked the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity in cooperation with the Secretaries of Labor and Agriculture, to expand this activity and to develop new ways to provide meaningful public service opportunities for the elderly in rural areas.

RURAL LOAN PROGRAM

The special rural loan program of the Office of Economic Opportunity will assist 13,000 families this year to improve their farms and carry on small businesses. Hundreds of other poor families will be helped to increase their production and marketing capacity by loans made to rural cooperative associations.

My budget recommendations provide for

\$32 million in loans under this program in fiscal 1968.

A CONCENTRATED EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM

A thriving national economy is critical to our anti-poverty effort. Through private initiative and wise economic policy, our economy is meeting its fundamental test of producing revenue and employment.

It has not always been so. In the period from 1957 to 1959, 1.9 million Americans, new to the job market, sought work. One million of them could not find jobs. Despite prosperity, unemployment increased.

In the last three years, four million Americans joined the work force for the first time. 5.25 million jobs were added to the economy. Unemployment was reduced by 1.25 million.

But economic policy and unprecedented prosperity have not reached thousands of men and women who live in the nation's slums. The Secretary of Labor has investigated the unemployment situation in slums and found that:

- Unemployment rates in the slums are three times the national average.
- Large numbers of people work a few hours of the week, unable to find the full-time work they seek.
- Large numbers work full-time at poverty wage levels.
- Nearly one-third of those who should be employed at self-supporting wages are not.

Neither a high performance economy nor traditional training and employment services have been able to reach these men and women. Some need special counseling and training. Others need special health and educational assistance. All need follow-up assistance until they are permanently placed in a stable job. Even after that, they may

need special attention during their first weeks of employment.

I have directed the Secretary of Labor and the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, with the assistance of other Federal agencies, to begin immediately a special program using all available resources to provide concentrated assistance to those with the greatest need.

This program will

- Enlist the active support and cooperation of business and labor organizations at the local level.
- Provide a wide range of counseling, health, education and training services on an individual basis.
- Provide the follow-up assistance necessary to insure that a job once obtained will not quickly be lost.
- Use local community action agencies as the focal point wherever practicable.

I recommend that the Congress appropriate \$135 million under the Economic Opportunity Act to support this program to train and put to work up to 100,000 slum residents next year. These funds, together with existing programs, will enable us to provide the special counseling and personal attention necessary to reach these impoverished Americans.

This will be a tough objective to meet. But we pledge to make every effort to achieve it.

WAGE GARNISHMENT

Hundreds of workers among the poor lose their jobs or most of their wages each year as a result of garnishment proceedings. In many cases, wages are garnished by unscrupulous merchants and lenders whose practices trap the unwitting workers.

I am directing the Attorney General, in consultation with the Secretary of Labor and the Director of the Office of Economic Op-

portunity, to make a comprehensive study of the problems of wage garnishment and to recommend the steps that should be taken to protect the hard-earned wages and the jobs of those who need the income most.

PERSEVERANCE

Poverty cannot be eliminated overnight. It takes time, hard work, money and perseverance.

It has been only two years and three months since we decided to embark upon a concentrated attack on poverty. We have made progress. But victory over poverty will not quickly or cheaply be won.

We do not have all the answers. But we have given a great many people—very young children, restless teenagers, men without skills, mothers without proper health care for themselves or their babies, old men and women without a purpose to fill their later years—the opportunity they needed, when they needed it, in a way that called on them to give the best of themselves.

Millions more Americans need—and deserve—that opportunity. The aim of this Administration is, and will be, that they shall have it.

I urge the Congress to examine these programs carefully, to evaluate their accomplishments, and then to support them fully with the funds necessary to do the job.

III. IMPROVING THE CONDITIONS OF URBAN LIFE

The needs for jobs and job training, for special education and health care, for legal assistance, are all urgent in the life of the poor. Most often they exist together in the urban slum—isolated from the city of which they are a part.

I shall not elaborate on these conditions.

They are familiar to everyone who has looked candidly at the American city. So are some of the things that should be done about them.

In the past few years, we have made a heavy investment in improving the conditions of life in the cities. Federal aid to cities and their citizens has been steadily rising—from grants and direct loans of \$3.9 billion in 1961 to \$10.3 billion in 1968.

But some of the most promising urban programs are today only authorizations on the statute books. The 89th Congress made them law. It remains for the 90th Congress to give them life.

MODEL CITIES

The Model Cities program, enacted last year, is an attempt to focus a variety of aids—physical and social—on the problems of the slums and to enlist private and local support to rebuild the blighted areas of America's cities.

It is a comprehensive approach to human problems—involving jobs, education, health facilities, housing.

Fulfilling the purpose Congress proclaimed last year is a necessity. We have inspired the hopes of large and small cities in every State. We have generated in local communities a commitment to excellence as they plan for the future.

I strongly urge the Congress to appropriate the full amount it has authorized for Model Cities in fiscal 1968:

- \$12 million for additional planning grants.
- \$400 million for supplemental grants to be used in carrying out local model city programs.
- \$250 million for urban renewal projects in the Model cities.

RENT SUPPLEMENTS

The 89th Congress authorized the Rent Supplement Program to enable poor families to live in decent, privately-owned housing.

Only families whose incomes are so low that they are eligible for publicly-owned housing can receive rent supplements—and then only if they are displaced from their homes by governmental action or a disaster, are elderly or physically handicapped, or occupy substandard housing.

With low-rent housing in short supply, it is more important than ever to stimulate construction by private enterprise and non-profit organizations. The Rent Supplement Program authorizes payments that make the construction of low-rent units attractive for builders.

Last year the Congress provided funds to get this program underway. This year it must be expanded.

I urge the authorization of an additional \$40 million for the rent supplement program in fiscal 1968.

HOME OWNERSHIP

For many American families, home ownership is a source of pride and satisfaction, of commitment to community life.

Some families with low but steady incomes have become the owners of decent, modest homes. Their well-maintained homes are often in the midst of slum areas. They are frequently surrounded by substandard homes owned by absentee landlords, where poor families pay rent in amounts much higher than would have been required for ownership of a modest home.

We must learn how best to help low-income families own their own homes.

I have directed the Secretary of Housing

and Urban Development to carry out, within existing authority, a low-income housing-ownership pilot program, so that these lessons may be learned and converted to public policy on a broad scale.

I am authorizing the Federal National Mortgage Association to use \$20 million of its funds to support this program.

The Program will:

- Identify low-income families with the potential to build an ownership equity in a home.
- Provide guidelines to assure the economic soundness of their investment.
- Explore a program to insure low-income families against mortgage defaults and foreclosures that result from loss of health or economic recession.
- Encourage ownership equity to be acquired through self-help in the construction of homes.

New and rehabilitated housing, single-family homes and apartment structures should be included in the program. All forms of ownership should be explored—single-family homes, cooperative and individual apartments.

PROTECTING THE SLUM CHILD

The knowledge that many children in the world's most affluent nation are attacked, maimed and even killed by rats should fill every American with shame. Yet, this is an everyday occurrence in the slums of our cities.

There is no excuse for this national disgrace. The rats' food supply can be eliminated. Garbage can be collected. Harborage can be eliminated. Buildings can be made rat-proof. As this can be done, it must be done.

To help America's cities wipe out this threat to their people's health and safety, *I recommend the Rat Extermination Act of*

1967, to launch a major program of rat control and eradication. I will ask the Congress to provide \$20 million to initiate this effort in fiscal 1968.

Under this Act, as part of the broader program of community development, the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, in cooperation with the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare and the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, will help cities:

- Establish house-by-house, block-by-block extermination programs in rat infested neighborhoods.
- Provide special concentrated code enforcement assistance to eliminate rats from city slums.
- Provide public education campaigns for residents of slum areas.
- Help provide better garbage collection, eliminate harborage, and take on the necessary self-help measures to protect against rats.
- Build on the experiences in Chicago and Detroit, where slum residents were trained, mobilized and given the tools to conduct a major attack on rats in their infested tenements.

URBAN HOUSING REHABILITATION

Franklin D. Roosevelt said long ago what is still true today: "American industry has searched the outside world to find new markets but it can create on its very doorstep the biggest and most permanent market it has ever had."

Rehabilitation is the key to many of our successful urban renewal programs. It is crucial to the success of the Model Cities Program.

I intend to call together an outstanding group of private citizens from across the country—from business and labor, govern-

ment and the building industry—to examine every possible means of establishing the institutions to encourage the development of a large-scale efficient rehabilitation industry.

I will ask this group of outstanding Americans to find the best ways to tap the enormous market that exists in rebuilding our cities and to bring the most modern systems and the most advanced technology to this urgent task.

GRANTS FOR METROPOLITAN DEVELOPMENT

Unless metropolitan development is orderly, the public's money will be wasted on public facilities—schools, hospitals, police and fire stations—that are obsolete before they are even completed.

Last year the Congress authorized a new program of twenty percent grants to support orderly development by local communities, working cooperatively in metropolitan areas. These Federal incentive grants supplement ten other Federal grant-in-aid programs that help finance transportation facilities, water and sewer facilities, recreational and other open space areas, libraries and hospitals.

I urge the Congress to provide \$30 million in Fiscal 1968 for this essential program.

URBAN TRANSPORTATION

The life of a city depends on an adequate transportation system.

Inefficient transportation increases the costs of local industry, and the prices paid by consumers in local stores. It robs the community's citizens of their leisure time and comfort. It penalizes the physically handicapped and those too poor to own a car.

I recommend that the Congress provide \$230 million in advance funds for fiscal 1969 for the construction and improvement of urban mass transportation systems.

To improve public transportation systems and to reduce traffic congestion, *I recommend legislation to authorize the Secretary of Transportation, under the Federal highway program, to participate in the cost of acquiring land and developing public parking facilities on the outskirts of large cities.* This authority would enable the Secretary to promote the multi-purpose use of space over and under expressways and to develop areas alongside of highways for parking terminals.

RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

Less than one-tenth of one percent of our total research and development expenditures in government have been devoted to the field of housing and urban affairs. Yet, 70 percent of our citizens live in urban areas.

This failure to apply scientific resources and methods to an area of such vital importance to American life cannot be permitted to continue.

Today, we can give only partial, insufficient answers to such basic questions as how to build better housing at lower cost, how to move people more rapidly at less cost in congested urban areas.

This year, I ask that we move to build a basic foundation of urban knowledge—in three ways:

First, I recommend legislation to authorize a new Assistant Secretary in the Department of Housing and Urban Development for research, technology and engineering.

Under the new Assistant Secretary, an office for urban research, technology and engineering will be established along lines that have proven successful in other agencies of government. The new office will also serve as a source of information for State and local governments and for private industry.

Second, I am asking the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development to encourage

the establishment of an Institute of Urban Development, as a separate and distinct organization. Such an organization would look beyond immediate problems and immediate concerns to future urban requirements, and engage in basic inquiries as to how they may be solved.

Third, I recommend:

—\$20 million in fiscal 1968 in funds appropriated to the Department of Housing and Urban Development for general research.

—An increase from \$13 to \$18 million for other studies and experimentation in the fields of housing, urban development and urban transportation.

IV. PROGRAMS FOR THE RURAL POOR

Men have argued the merits of providing jobs in rural areas to stem the flow of people into the cities, as against providing jobs and training on arrival or training for jobs prior to departure. Whatever the "correct" answer may be to this argument, it seems clear to me that conditions of impoverishment in rural America continue to exist and must be relieved to the extent we know how to relieve them.

We have taken a number of actions that will, in time, produce effective results:

—A National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty has been established and will submit its report and recommendations to me at the end of the year.¹

—I have asked the Secretary of Agriculture and the Director of the Bureau of the Budget to review all existing Federal programs to insure that rural

areas receive an equitable share of their benefits.

—The Secretary of Agriculture has been given responsibility to identify development problems in rural areas which require the cooperation of various Federal departments, so that these programs may be better coordinated and duplication eliminated.

But much more needs to be done.

PLANNING AIDS FOR MULTI-COUNTY AREAS

This is no longer a nation of small towns and communities which can develop independently. Improved transportation and modern communications have created a larger concept of community. Its boundaries are not marked by any arbitrary political lines, but by the commuting distance to available jobs.

Many states have recognized this, and have established multi-county planning and development areas. Others are doing so. In many cases, rural community action agencies—organized on a multi-county basis—serve the same purpose.

But many rural communities lack the means to form multi-county development districts. Many lack the personnel trained in planning broad social and economic programs. Others lack the resources to enable them to plan effectively.

I recommend that the Congress amend the Housing Act of 1954 and authorize \$20 million to provide:

—Grants to States by the Department of Housing and Urban Development of up to two-thirds of the cost of technical assistance to and comprehensive planning by official multi-county planning agencies in non-metropolitan areas, including multi-county community action agencies.

¹ A letter to the President from the Secretary of Agriculture transmitting the Commission's report was made public by the White House Press Office on December 9, 1967 (3 Weekly Comp. Pres. Docs., p. 1686).

—Technical assistance to the multi-county planning agencies by the Department of Agriculture.

INCREASING OUR PUBLIC INVESTMENT

For many rural areas, a relatively small public investment will return substantial increases in opportunity for the local people.

I recommend legislation to remove the annual ceiling on insured loan authority for rural community water and waste disposal systems.

Eliminating the existing \$450 million limitation on lending authority for this program will permit more rapid completion of the water and waste disposal systems rural America needs for economic development.

I also recommend legislation to expand the provisions of the existing loan programs to permit farm owners or their tenants to shift the entire use of farm land with adequate recreation potential from agricultural production to income-producing recreation enterprises, as part of comprehensive land-use plans for rural and neighboring urban areas.

This program would permit better use of scarce land resources, provide better opportunities for some farmers now using poor farm land for crop purposes and furnish urgently needed recreation facilities for our population.

MIGRANT FARM WORKERS

Migrant farm workers are among the forgotten Americans. Their wages are low, their employment uncertain, and their housing and working conditions deplorable. Though their needs are great, they often find it impossible to obtain social services available to other poverty-stricken Americans.

Because of residency requirements, migra-

tory farm workers are barred in many States from receiving public assistance, vocational rehabilitation, and other welfare services. Disabled workers and their families are often not served—even when otherwise eligible—because of their relatively brief period within a State.

I recommend a five point program for these forgotten Americans:

1. *Legislation to provide 90 percent Federal reimbursement for vocational rehabilitation services for disabled migratory farm workers.* The Secretary of Labor will develop a system for identifying migratory farm workers who would be considered for benefits under this program.

2. *Amendments of the public assistance law to authorize pilot projects to provide temporary public assistance and other welfare services for migratory farm workers and their families, who are now barred by residence requirements from receiving these services.*

3. *A 25 percent increase—from \$28 to \$35 million—in funds to provide:*

—Special educational services for more than 170,000 migrant children.

—Health services for about 280,000 migratory workers and their families.

—An expanded self-help housing program for the construction of 2,000 housing units.

4. *Amendment of the Unemployment Insurance laws to provide benefits for workers employed on large commercial farms.*

5. *Extension of social security benefits to 500,000 farm workers by reducing from \$150 to \$50 the amount which must be earned from a single employer each year.*

V. FINISHING THE NATION'S BUSINESS

It is difficult for most Americans to understand what it is to be desperately poor in

today's affluent America. More than half our population was born after 1940. Less than half can remember the depression on the farms of the twenties, or the bread-lines of the thirties. "The Grapes of Wrath" is ancient literature—not a living record—to most Americans.

Yet for more than 31 million Americans, poverty is neither remote in time, nor removed in space. It is cruel and present reality. It makes choices for them. It determines their future prospects—despite our hope and belief that in America, opportunity has no bounds for any man.

Poverty was universally tolerated until a century or so ago. But like disease, war and famine, it gained nothing in acceptability because it was prevalent. As soon as men saw that they might escape it, they fought and died to escape it.

Poverty denies to most of those born into it a fair chance to be themselves, to be happy in life. Federal funds or services, and the opportunities they provide, cannot permanently free a man from the trap of poverty if he

does not want to be free. He must use the ladders that circumstance, native ability, and his Nation may create.

Let it be said that in our time, we pursued a strategy against poverty so that each man had a chance to be himself.

Let it be said that in our time, we offered him the means to become a free man—for his sake, and for our own.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

The White House

March 14, 1967

NOTE: For statements or remarks upon signing related legislation, see Items 285, 359, 413, 427, 517, 520, 568.

Other related legislation was approved by the President as follows: Mental Health Amendments of 1967, appropriating funds for community mental health centers, approved June 24, 1967 (Public Law 90-31, 81 Stat. 79); Appalachian Regional Development Act Amendments of 1967, granting Federal loans to rural communities, approved October 11, 1967 (Public Law 90-103, 81 Stat. 257); Independent Offices and Department of Housing and Urban Development Appropriation Act, 1968, providing funds for model cities programs, urban assistance, and community development programs, approved November 3, 1967 (Public Law 90-121, 81 Stat. 341).

115 Remarks at the Hermitage at Ceremonies Marking the 200th Anniversary of the Birth of Andrew Jackson. *March 15, 1967*

Governor and Mrs. Ellington, Mrs. Gore, Secretary Gardner, Congressman and Mrs. Fulton, Mrs. Buntin, distinguished Mayor, Reverend Horn, ladies and gentlemen:

Two hundred years ago, Andrew Jackson was born in the obscure poverty of the Carolina frontier.

Seventy-eight years later this man—who had only hearsay knowledge of his birthplace—died here at his beloved Hermitage, having left an indelible mark on American society and its political institutions.

In the course of his long and stormy life, Andrew Jackson taught school, practiced law,

led armies, served as State judge and territorial governor, and was elected to both the House of Representatives and the United States Senate by his grateful Tennessee neighbors.

But his greatest contribution to the life of the young Republic was the political transformation of our democracy—through what we now call the "Jacksonian Revolution."

It affected every aspect of the national life—the nature of the Union, the function of the President, the character of American politics.

To Jackson, the Federal Union was far

more than a league of States. It was the supreme political body in the Nation. Jackson—unlike Jefferson and Madison—always used the singular verb form when he referred to the “United States.” He said “The United States is”; not “the United States are.”

Though he was a slaveholder himself, Jackson repudiated those who, like John C. Calhoun, were prepared to destroy the Federal Union in defense of slavery. And his defense of the Union was not merely abstract. In July 1832, when he heard that South Carolina’s legislature was planning to “nullify” the tariff, the President said with his characteristic vigor :

“They can talk and write resolutions and print threats to their heart’s content.

“But if one drop of blood be shed there in defiance of the laws of the United States, I will hang the first man of them I can get my hands on to the first tree I can find.”

The story goes that a South Carolina Congressman asked a friend of the President if Jackson really meant his threat. He was told: “Well, somebody is out right now buying rope.”

Jackson’s belief that the National Government represented the people, not the States, triumphed in his time.

The tragedy of 19th century America was that the torch of Union—which Jackson lit—flickered down in the hands of later Presidents and guttered out under Buchanan. If President Jackson’s firm stand had been sustained, we might very well have avoided the holocaust of civil war.

It was no accident that Jackson’s most devoted disciple, Sam Houston, bitterly opposed secession in my State of Texas and was deposed as our Governor in 1861 for standing fast in his allegiance to the Union.

To Andrew Jackson, the President was not merely the Nation’s Chief Executive. He was

the people’s first magistrate, directly responsible to them, prepared to go directly to them for his authority.

Jackson for the first time asserted—not the primacy of the President as his enemies asserted when they denounced him as “King Andrew”—but the equality of the President, the right of the President, as the elected leader of the Nation, to assert an independent, political role.

Jackson’s view of the Union, and of the Presidency, was part of a broader, basic change in the nature of American politics.

The United States was a democracy before Jackson. The right to vote and participate in political life was broadly shared by the white men in the population, and that, by the standards of the time, made the United States the most advanced democracy in the world. But this democracy—while real—was largely formal. It began and ended on election day.

With Jackson began an era of competitive political activity, based on the ideal of the citizen as a full participant in the life of the community.

Andrew Jackson’s America was very different from ours.

Yet at the fundamental level we are still—in our advanced, urban, industrial society—trying very hard to achieve this ideal of the citizen-participant.

We are still attempting to eliminate all the discriminatory barriers that deny any citizen a part in the process of his Government.

We are still working to give the public access to the men and women who administer public policy.

We are still striving to involve the poor, the deprived, the forgotten American, white and Negro, in the future of their society.

So the task Jackson set is still undone. It is still the unfinished business of our time. We

may never accomplish it altogether; but that only acknowledges—and does not excuse—our shortcomings.

As Andrew Jackson put it in his farewell testament to his people:

“It is to yourselves that you must look for safety and the means of guarding and perpetuating your free institutions.

“In your hands is rightfully placed the sovereignty of the country, and to you everyone placed in authority is ultimately responsible.

“It is always in your power to see that the wishes of the people are carried into faithful execution, and their will, when once made known, must sooner or later be obeyed.

“And while the people remain, as I trust they ever will, uncorrupted and incorruptible and continue watchful and jealous of their rights, the Government is safe, and the cause

of freedom will continue to triumph over all its enemies.”

This chilly morning, we have come back here to the Hermitage in homage to that faith, as much as to the man who expressed it.

Governor, I just pray that some of Jackson's rugged confidence may find its way into our blood and our bones, and sustain our democratic faith in the years of testing that lie ahead.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:45 a.m. at the Hermitage near Nashville, Tenn. In his opening words he referred to the Governor of Tennessee and Mrs. Buford Ellington, Mrs. Albert Gore, wife of the senior Senator from Tennessee, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare John W. Gardner, Representative Richard H. Fulton of Tennessee and Mrs. Fulton, Mrs. Horatio B. Buntin, Regent of the Ladies' Hermitage Association, Mayor Beverley C. Briley of Nashville-Davidson County, and Reverend John F. Horn of Hermitage, Tenn., who pronounced the invocation at the ceremonies.

116 Address on U.S. Policy in Vietnam Delivered Before a Joint Session of the Tennessee State Legislature. March 15, 1967

Lieutenant Governor Gorrell, Speaker Cummings, Governor Ellington, distinguished members of the legislature, and my friends:

It is always a very special privilege and pleasure for me to visit Tennessee.

For a Texan, it is like homecoming, because much of the courage and the hard work that went into the building of the Southwest came from the hills and the fields of Tennessee. It strengthened the sinews of thousands of men—at the Alamo, at San Jacinto, and at the homes of our pioneer people.

This morning, I visited the Hermitage, the historic home of Andrew Jackson. Two centuries have passed since that most American of all Americans was born. The world has changed a great deal since his day. But the qualities which sustain men and nations in positions of leadership have not changed.

In our time, as in Andrew Jackson's, freedom has its price.

In our time, as in his, history conspires to test the American will.

In our time, as in Jackson's time, courage and vision, and the willingness to sacrifice, will sustain the cause of freedom.

This generation of Americans is making its imprint on history. It is making it in the fierce hills and the sweltering jungles of Vietnam. I think most of our citizens have—after a very penetrating debate which is our democratic heritage—reached a common understanding on the meaning and on the objectives of that struggle.

Before I discuss the specific questions that remain at issue, I should like to review the points of widespread agreement.

It was 2 years ago that we were forced to

choose, forced to make a decision between major commitments in defense of South Vietnam or retreat—the evacuation of more than 25,000 of our troops, the collapse of the Republic of Vietnam in the face of subversion and external assault.

Andrew Jackson would never have been surprised at the choice we made.

We chose a course in keeping with American tradition, in keeping with the foreign policy of at least three administrations, with the expressed will of the Congress of the United States, with our solemn obligations under the Southeast Asian Treaty, and with the interest of 16 million South Vietnamese who had no wish to live under Communist domination.

As our commitment in Vietnam required more men and more equipment, some voices were raised in opposition. The administration was urged to disengage, to find an excuse to abandon the effort.

These cries came despite growing evidence that the defense of Vietnam held the key to the political and economic future of free Asia. The stakes of the struggle grew correspondingly.

It became clear that if we were prepared to stay the course in Vietnam, we could help to lay the cornerstone for a diverse and independent Asia, full of promise and resolute in the cause of peaceful economic development for her long-suffering peoples.

But if we faltered, the forces of chaos would scent victory and decades of strife and aggression would stretch endlessly before us.

The choice was clear. We would stay the course. And we shall stay the course.

I think most Americans support this fundamental decision. Most of us remember the fearful cost of ignoring aggression. Most of us have cast aside the illusion that we can live in an affluent fortress while the world slides into chaos.

I think we have all reached broad agreement on our basic objectives in Vietnam.

First, an honorable peace, that will leave the people of South Vietnam free to fashion their own political and economic institutions without fear of terror or intimidation from the North.

Second, a Southeast Asia in which all countries—including a peaceful North Vietnam—apply their scarce resources to the real problems of their people: combating hunger, ignorance, and disease.

I have said many, many times, that nothing would give us greater pleasure than to invest our own resources in the constructive works of peace rather than in the futile destruction of war.

Third, a concrete demonstration that aggression across international frontiers or demarcation lines is no longer an acceptable means of political change.

There is also, I think, a general agreement among Americans on the things that we do not want in Vietnam.

We do not want permanent bases. We will begin with the withdrawal of our troops on a reasonable schedule whenever reciprocal concessions are forthcoming from our adversary.

We do not seek to impose our political beliefs upon South Vietnam. Our Republic rests upon a brisk commerce in ideas. We will be happy to see free competition in the intellectual marketplace whenever North Vietnam is willing to shift the conflict from the battlefield to the ballot box.

So, these are the broad principles on which most Americans agree.

On a less general level, however, the events and frustrations of these past few difficult weeks have inspired a number of questions about our Vietnam policy in the minds and hearts of a good many of our citizens. Today, here in this historic chamber, I want to deal

with some of those questions that figure most prominently in the press and in some of the letters which reach a President's desk.

Many Americans are confused by the barrage of information about military engagements. They long for the capsule summary which has kept tabs on our previous wars, a line on the map that divides friend from foe.

Precisely what, they ask, is our military situation, and what are the prospects of victory?

The first answer is that Vietnam is aggression in a new guise, as far removed from trench warfare as the rifle from the longbow. This is a war of infiltration, of subversion, of ambush. Pitched battles are very rare, and even more rarely are they decisive.

Today, more than 1 million men from the Republic of Vietnam and its six allies are engaged in the order of battle.

Despite continuing increases in North Vietnam infiltration, this strengthening of allied forces in 1966, under the brilliant leadership of General Westmoreland, was instrumental in reversing the whole course of this war.

—We estimate that 55,000 North Vietnamese and Vietcong were killed in 1966, compared with 35,000 the previous year. Many more were wounded, and more than 20,000 defected.

—By contrast, 9,500 South Vietnamese, more than 5,000 Americans, and 600 from other allied forces were killed in action.

—The Vietnamese Army achieved a 1966 average of two weapons captured from the Vietcong to every one lost, a dramatic turn around from the previous 2 years.

—Allied forces have made several successful sweeps through territories that were

formerly considered Vietcong sanctuaries only a short time ago. These operations not only cost the enemy large numbers of men and weapons, but are very damaging to his morale.

Well, what does all of this mean? Will the North Vietnamese change their tactics? Will there be less infiltration of main units? Will there be more of guerrilla warfare?

The actual truth is we just don't know.

What we do know is that General Westmoreland's strategy is producing results, that our military situation has substantially improved, that our military success has permitted the groundwork to be laid for a pacification program which is the longrun key to an independent South Vietnam.

Since February 1965, our military operations have included selective bombing of military targets in North Vietnam. Our purposes are three:

—To back our fighting men by denying the enemy a sanctuary;

—To exact a penalty against North Vietnam for her flagrant violations of the Geneva accords of 1954 and 1962;

—To limit the flow, or to substantially increase the cost of infiltration of men and materiel from North Vietnam.

All of our intelligence confirms that we have been successful.

Yet, some of our people object strongly to this aspect of our policy. Must we bomb, many people ask. Does it do any military good? Is it consistent with America's limited objectives? Is it an inhuman act that is aimed at civilians?

On the question of military utility, I can only report the firm belief of the Secretary of Defense, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Central Intelligence Agency, General Westmoreland and our commanders in the field, and all the courses of information and advice available to the Commander in Chief and

that is that the bombing is causing serious disruption and is bringing about added burdens to the North Vietnamese infiltration effort.

We know, for example, that half a million people are kept busy just repairing damage to bridges, roads, railroads, and other strategic facilities, and in air and coastal defense and repair of powerplants.

I also want to say categorically that it is not the position of the American Government that the bombing will be decisive in getting Hanoi to abandon aggression. It has, however, created very serious problems for them. The best indication of how substantial is the fact that they are working so hard every day with all their friends throughout the world to try to get us to stop.

The bombing is entirely consistent with America's limited objectives in South Vietnam. The strength of Communist main-force units in the South is clearly based on their infiltration from the North. So I think it is simply unfair to our American soldiers, sailors, and marines, and our Vietnamese allies to ask them to face increased enemy personnel and firepower without making an effort to try to reduce that infiltration.

Now as to bombing civilians, I would simply say that we are making an effort that is unprecedented in the history of warfare to be sure that we do not. It is our policy to bomb military targets only.

We have never deliberately bombed cities, nor attacked any target with the purpose of inflicting civilian casualties.

We hasten to add, however, that we recognize, and we regret, that some people, even after warning, are living and working in the vicinity of military targets and they have suffered.

We are also too aware that men and machines are not infallible and that some mistakes do occur.

But our record on this account is, in my opinion, highly defensible.

Look for a moment at the record of the other side.

Any civilian casualties that result from our operations are inadvertent, in stark contrast to the calculated Vietcong policy of systematic terror.

Tens of thousands of innocent Vietnamese civilians have been killed, tortured, and kidnapped by the Vietcong. There is no doubt about the deliberate nature of the Vietcong program. One need only note the frequency with which Vietcong victims are village leaders, teachers, health workers, and others who are trying to carry out constructive programs for their people.

Yet, the deeds of the Vietcong go largely unnoted in the public debate. It is this moral double bookkeeping which makes us get sometimes very weary of our critics.

But there is another question that we should answer: Why don't we stop bombing to make it easier to begin negotiations?

The answer is a simple one:

—We stopped for 5 days and 20 hours in May 1965. Representatives of Hanoi simply returned our message in a plain envelope.

—We stopped bombing for 36 days and 15 hours in December 1965 and January 1966. Hanoi only replied: "A political settlement of the Vietnam problem can be envisaged only when the United States Government has accepted the four-point stand of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, has proved this by actual deeds, has stopped unconditionally and for good its air raids and all other acts of war against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam."

—And only last month we stopped bombing for 5 days and 18 hours, after many

prior weeks in which we had communicated to them several possible routes to peace, any one of which America was prepared to take. Their response, as you know, delivered to His Holiness the Pope, was this: The United States "must put an end to their aggression in Vietnam, end unconditionally and definitively the bombing and all other acts of war against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, withdraw from South Vietnam all American and satellite troops, recognize the South Vietnamese National Front for Liberation, and let the Vietnamese people settle themselves their own affairs."

That is where we stand today.

They have three times rejected a bombing pause as a means to open the way to ending the war and going to the negotiating table.

The tragedy of South Vietnam is not limited to casualty lists.

There is much tragedy in the story of a nation at war for nearly a generation. It is the story of economic stagnation. It is the story of a generation of young men—the flower of the labor force—pressed into military service by one side or the other.

No one denies that the survival of South Vietnam is heavily dependent upon early economic progress.

My most recent and my most hopeful report of progress in this area came from an old friend of Tennessee, of the Tennessee Valley Authority—David Lilienthal, who recently went as my representative to Vietnam to begin to work with the Vietnamese people on economic planning for that area.

He reported—and with some surprise, I might add—that he discovered an extraordinary air of confidence among the farmers, and the village leaders, and the trade unionists, and the industrialists. He concluded that their economic behavior suggests and I quote

him, "that they think that they know how this is all going to come out."

Mr. Lilienthal also said that the South Vietnamese were among the hardest working people that he had seen in developing countries around the world, that "to have been through 20 years of war and still have this amount of 'zip' almost ensures their long-term economic development."

Mr. Lilienthal will be going with me to Guam Saturday night to talk with our new leaders about the plans that he will try to institute there.

Our AID programs are supporting the drive toward this sound economy.

But none of these economic accomplishments will be decisive by itself. And no economic achievement can substitute for a strong and free political structure.

We cannot build such a structure—because only the Vietnamese can do that.

And I think they are building it. As I am talking to you here, a freely elected Constituent Assembly in Saigon is now wrestling with the last details of a new constitution, one which will bring the Republic of Vietnam to full membership among the democratic nations of the world.

We expect that constitution to be completed this month.

In the midst of war, they have been building for peace and justice. That is a remarkable accomplishment in the annals of mankind.

Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, who has served us with such great distinction, is coming to the end of his second distinguished tour of duty in Saigon.

To replace him, I am drafting as our Ambassador to the Government of Vietnam, Mr. Ellsworth Bunker—able and devoted, full of wisdom and experience acquired on five continents over many years.

As his Deputy, I am nominating and

recalling from Pakistan, Mr. Eugene Locke, our young and very vigorous Ambassador to Pakistan.

To drive forward with a sense of urgency in our work in pacification, I am sending the President's Special Assistant, Mr. Robert Komer.

To strengthen General Westmoreland in the intense operations that he will be conducting in the months ahead, I am assigning to him additional topflight military personnel, the best that this country has been able to produce.

So you can be confident that in the months ahead we shall have at work in Saigon the ablest, the wisest, the most tenacious, and the most experienced team that the United States of America can mount.

In view of these decisions and in view of the meetings that will take place this weekend, I thought it wise to invite the leaders of South Vietnam to join us in Guam for a part of our discussions, if it were convenient for them. I am gratified to be informed that they have accepted our invitation.

I should also like for you to know that the representatives of all the countries that are contributing troops in Vietnam will be coming to Washington for April 20 and 21 meetings for a general appraisal of the situation that exists.

Now this brings me to my final point, the peaceful and just world that we all seek.

We have just lived through another flurry of rumors of "peace feelers."

Our years of dealing with this problem have taught us that peace will not come easily.

The problem is a very simple one: It takes two to negotiate at a peace table and Hanoi has just simply refused to consider coming to a peace table.

I don't believe that our own position on

peace negotiations can be stated any more clearly than I have stated it many times in the past—or than the distinguished Secretary of State, Mr. Rusk, or Ambassador Goldberg, or any number of other officials have stated it in every forum that we could find.

I do want to repeat to you this afternoon—and through you to the people of America—the essentials now, lest there be any doubts.

—United States representatives are ready at any time for discussions of the Vietnam problem or any related matter, with any government or governments, if there is any reason to believe that these discussions will in any way seriously advance the cause of peace.

—We are prepared to go more than halfway and to use any avenue possible to encourage such discussions. And we have done that at every opportunity.

We believe that the Geneva accords of 1954 and 1962 could serve as the central elements of a peaceful settlement. These accords provide, in essence, that both South and North Vietnam should be free from external interference, while at the same time they would be free independently to determine their positions on the question of reunification.

We also stand ready to advance toward a reduction of hostilities, without prior agreement. The road to peace could go from deeds to discussions, or it could start with discussions and go to deeds.

We are ready to take either route. We are ready to move on both of them.

But reciprocity must be the fundamental principle of any reduction in hostilities. The United States cannot and will not reduce its activities unless and until there is some reduction on the other side. To follow any other rule would be to violate the trust that

we undertake when we ask a man to risk his life for his country.

We will negotiate a reduction of the bombing whenever the Government of North Vietnam is ready and there are almost innumerable avenues of communication by which the Government of North Vietnam can make their readiness known.

To this date and this hour, there has been no sign of that readiness.

Yet, we must—and we will—keep on trying.

As I speak to you today, Secretary Rusk and our representatives throughout the world are on a constant alert. Hundreds and hundreds of quiet diplomatic conversations, free from the glare of front-page headlines, or of klieg lights, are being held and they will be held on the possibilities of bringing peace to Vietnam.

Governor Averell Harriman, with 25 years of experience of troubleshooting on the most difficult international problems that America has ever had, is carrying out my instructions that every possible lead, however slight it may first appear, from any source, public or private, shall be followed up.

Let me conclude by saying this: I so much wish that it were within my power to assure

that all those in Hanoi could hear one simple message—America is committed to the defense of South Vietnam until an honorable peace can be negotiated.

If this one communication gets through and its rational implications are drawn, we should be at the table tomorrow. It would be none too soon for us. Then hundreds of thousands of Americans—as brave as any who ever took the field for their country—could come back home.

And the man who could lead them back is the man that you trained and sent from here, our own beloved, brilliant General “Wesley” Westmoreland. As these heroes came back to their homes, millions of Vietnamese could begin to make a decent life for themselves and their families without fear of terrorism, without fear of war, or without fear of Communist enslavement.

That is what we are working and what we are fighting for. We must not—we shall not—and we will not—fail.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:05 p.m. in the House Chamber of the State Capitol at Nashville. In his opening words he referred to Lieutenant Governor Frank C. Gorrell, Speaker James H. Cummings of the State House of Representatives, and Governor Buford Ellington, all of Tennessee.

117 Remarks in Columbia, Tenn., at the Dedication of Columbia State Community College. *March 15, 1967*

Governor Ellington, Secretary Gardner, Dr. Clark, Reverend Allen, my dear friend Mrs. Albert Gore, Congressman and Mrs. Anderson, and my friends of Tennessee:

First of all, I learned that Mrs. Johnson was coming here to dedicate this community college in Tennessee, and I just could not resist coming along to congratulate all of you myself and to tell the people of Tennessee

how proud I am of the great advancement that they are making: the great achievements that we see in this State every day, the fine quality of public servants, your Senators, your Governor, your Members of Congress.

Congressman Anderson here is doing a wonderful job; Governor Ellington has been there helping us all through the years; Senator Gore and your delegation that brought

into existence the great TVA which is a model for all the world to emulate.

David Lilienthal is going with me to Guam Saturday night. We are flying for 18 straight hours to meet with the leaders of South Vietnam to put in a plan for South Vietnam that was first born here in the Tennessee Valley.

I know it is cold out there and you don't want to listen to a very long speech, but I do want to tell you that what you are doing here at Columbia is closer to my heart than any other thing I deal with in the whole range of America's national policy.

You are building a new school—and a school is about the most important public building in America. You are going to provide in an attractive, modern environment the education that early Americans like Andrew Jackson and James Polk here in Tennessee sought by firelight. You are becoming a part of the revolution in American education, a revolution of quality as well as quantity.

More Americans are receiving more education today than ever before in our history. About 3 out of every 10 Americans are now enrolled in our schools and our colleges. Twice as many young people are being graduated from our high schools and twice as many are in college as there were only 10 years ago.

This is not only because of our rising population but it is because America in the 1960's has made a historic commitment and that commitment is first to education.

This commitment is difficult to achieve, but it is very simple to state. We want every American boy and girl to have all the education that he or she can take. We want this so that each child may become all he is capable of becoming. Nothing more—nothing less.

Education cannot be only for a few, any more than health can be only for those who can afford it, or national parks only for those that can travel great distances to reach them.

Education, health, conservation—these are only magnificent abstractions, until we translate them into better, healthier, happier people. They are only possibilities until we turn them into opportunities.

Columbia offers a fine example of how your Federal Government and your State government can work with your local government to enlarge educational opportunities. This will be a school for all the people. It can be a place—such as Woodrow Wilson dreamed of—where the important issues of the day can be discussed, in what Wilson called “The Parliament of the People.”

It can serve as a center of excellence in the arts, a home for voluntary service projects, and a meeting ground for the community and regional planners.

It is not hard for me to talk at length about education and what it means, for it meant everything to me at a time when my future hung in the balance. I hope some way, somehow, some day I can repay the debt that I owe in the time that is allotted me. I shall try. I am so happy that you good people of Tennessee are trying, too. I am so happy that you are providing for these young men and these young women because they will be the leaders of Tennessee today, and the leaders of this Nation tomorrow.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:30 p.m. In his opening words he referred to Buford Ellington, Governor of Tennessee, John W. Gardner, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Dr. James W. Clark, President of the Columbia State Community College, Reverend Frank Allen, Rector of St. Peter's Episcopal Church in Columbia, Mrs. Albert Gore, wife of the senior Senator from Tennessee, and Representative William R. Anderson of Tennessee and his wife.

118 Statement by the President Upon Signing Bill Authorizing Supplemental Appropriations for the Department of Defense.

March 16, 1967

I HAVE today signed S. 665, authorizing supplemental appropriations for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year 1967. The funds authorized by this bill are necessary for the procurement of missiles, aircraft, and tracked combat vehicles, for research, development and evaluation, and for military construction.

The Congress, by an overwhelming vote, amended the bill to declare its firm intentions

- to provide all necessary support for our fighting men in Vietnam;
- to support the efforts that have been made to prevent the expansion of the war, and to bring the conflict to an end through a negotiated settlement which will preserve the honor of the United States, protect the vital interests of this country, and allow the people of South Vietnam to determine the affairs of that nation in their own way; and
- to support the convening of the nations that participated in the Geneva conference, or any other meeting of nations

similarly involved and interested, as soon as possible, for the purpose of pursuing the general principles of the Geneva accords of 1954 and 1962, and for formulating plans for bringing the conflict to an honorable solution.

With each part of this declaration, I am in full accord. Though the battle has been long and hard, and though our adversary has shown no desire to reduce the level of his aggression and bring the controversy to the negotiating table, we shall persist both on the battlefield and in our pursuit of an honorable settlement.

Our course lies between the extremes of provoking a wider war, and yielding to a settlement by terror. It is neither a simple nor an easy course. Yet it offers the hope of lasting peace in Southeast Asia. That the vast majority of the Congress approves it is a source of continuing strength to me, and to those associated with me in the conduct of our policy.

NOTE: As enacted, S. 665 is Public Law 90-5 (81 Stat. 5).

119 Statement by the President Following Senate Approval of the Consular Convention With the U.S.S.R. *March 16, 1967*

IN GIVING its advice and consent to the ratification of the Consular Convention today, the Senate acted in the best tradition of American government. The impressive vote for ratification was the product, not only of strong bipartisan leadership, but also of responsible action by the membership.

The Convention will provide important measures to protect Americans traveling in the Soviet Union. Last year more than 18,000

of our citizens visited the U.S.S.R. These measures will become applicable as soon as the treaty enters into force.

I hope the Soviet Government will now move promptly to ratify the Convention and that arrangements will be made for its early entry into force.

NOTE: The text of the Convention, which was ratified by the United States on March 31, 1967, is printed in Executive D (88th Cong., 2d sess.).

120 Statement by the President Announcing the Release of Deferred Funds for Federal Programs. *March 17, 1967*

LAST SEPTEMBER, as part of an overall program to combat inflation, I announced my intention to defer and reduce \$3 billion in Federal contracts, obligations, and commitments. As the result of intensive review later in the fall, a larger amount—some \$5.2 billion Federal program funds—was deferred.

I am today instructing Federal agencies to release \$791 million of those deferred funds. The areas affected are:

- special mortgage assistance for low-cost housing (\$250 million)
- Federal-aid highways (\$350 million)
- Farmers Home Administration loans (\$71 million)
- local flood protection and other projects of the Corps of Engineers (\$90 million)
- reallocation of Elementary and Secondary Education Act Title I grant funds (\$30 million).

In fiscal 1967, budget expenditures out of these released funds will amount to approximately \$105 million.

These programs provide important benefits for the American people. Otherwise, I would not have proposed, and the Congress would not have enacted them. The deferrals and reductions undertaken last fall were put into effect as a necessary means of reducing the overheating which then threatened the American economy—not because the programs themselves were in any sense undesirable.

The deferral of Federal contracts and the other economic measures adopted last fall have had the desired effect. Inflationary pressures have subsided. As a consequence it has been possible, in a careful and orderly manner, to release some of the funds which had been deferred. Earlier this year we released \$175 million of highway funds and \$380 mil-

lion in special assistance for low-cost and multi-family housing. Today's action brings the total of funds released to about \$1.4 billion, approximately 27 percent of the total amount of funds deferred.

I have instructed Federal agencies to make the release effective on April 1. This will leave time for planning, notification to States, and other necessary administrative steps. In one case—emergency loans to farmers who have been affected by disasters—the release will become effective immediately.

A list of the funds released by the action today, and by earlier actions follows:

RELEASE OF DEFERRED FEDERAL PROGRAM FUNDS

[Millions of dollars]

	<i>1967 programs</i>	
	<i>March 17 actions</i>	<i>Prior actions</i>
Department of Transportation:		
Federal-aid highways.....	350	175
Department of Housing and Urban Development:		
Special mortgage assistance for low-cost housing....	250	300
Special assistance for cooperative housing.....	.....	50
Special assistance for urban renewal housing.....	.....	30
Department of Agriculture, Farmers Home Administration:		
Farm operating loans.....	25	....
Insured rural housing loans.	25	....
Emergency loans.....	21	....
Corps of Engineers:		
Local flood protection and other public works projects.....	90	....
Department of Health, Education, and Welfare:		
Reallocation of grant funds under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.....	30	....
Totals.....	791	555

121 Special Message to the Congress: The Quality of American Government. *March 17, 1967*

To the Congress of the United States:

THE BACKGROUND

History will say this of America—that it established a community of freedom and order, preserved and perfected the concept of democracy, and enriched the lives of its citizens—all under a rule of law.

The law is our instrument for developing our society along that vision of government which was the dream of our fathers and is the hope of our sons.

It is only part of the total instrument, however. The rest of that instrument is the institutional machinery which enables law to work in response to the will of the Congress and the people. It is a condition of any law that its effectiveness must be judged by its administration.

The machinery of our Government has served us well. It has been the vehicle of the greatest progress and prosperity any nation has ever achieved.

But this record should give us no cause for complacency. For any realistic review today reveals that there are substantial improvements to be made.

- Further reorganization of the Executive Branch would make possible more effective government;
- Administration of programs which are the joint responsibility of Federal, State and local governments should be strengthened;
- At every level of government, steps must be taken to assure a steady flow of qualified and trained managers and administrators for the years ahead;
- We must pursue our efforts to expand the modern techniques which already

are at work to reduce costs and improve the efficiency of government.

GOVERNMENT REORGANIZATION

Government's relative simplicity did not demand many major reforms in administrative machinery until this century, with the great changes it brought to our society. Then Presidents beginning with Theodore Roosevelt began finding and reporting to the Congress obsolescence which hampered the efficient execution of the Nation's policies.

In 1937, Franklin Roosevelt and the 75th Congress were still harnessing the resources of government to continue the rout of the great depression which had threatened to overwhelm the country. President Roosevelt submitted to the Congress a recommendation for reorganization legislation with these words: "A government without good management is a house built on sand."

Little more than a decade later, under President Truman's Administration, a distinguished Commission headed by former President Herbert Hoover looked deeply into the need for reorganization and sounded the same warning:

" . . . The highest aims and ideals of democracy can be thwarted through excessive administrative costs and through waste, disunity, irresponsibility, and other byproducts of inefficient government."

Since those words were spoken, the machinery of American government has undergone many changes.

Two major ones have been accomplished in this Administration:

- In 1965, the 89th Congress established the Department of Housing and Urban

Development, which brought the hope of renewed life for our cities.

—In 1966, the same Congress provided the mechanism for straightening out our transportation lifeline by establishing the Department of Transportation.

In addition, in the same two-year period we have completed 10 additional reorganizations to consolidate programs and strengthen functions. I have submitted two new reorganization plans so far this year.

We have not reached the end of the reorganizations which are required if we are to adapt our government structure to the changes which have been taking place in our national life. Nor will we reach it soon.

Having undertaken major reorganizations in the fields of housing and community development, transportation, and water pollution, *we must now carefully consider the question of how our government can better be organized to achieve its major economic objectives.*

In my State of the Union Address, and later in my Budget and Economic Messages to the Congress, I proposed the creation of a new Department of Business and Labor.

For ten years, beginning in 1903, Labor and Commerce existed jointly as the 9th Cabinet office in the United States government.

Then in 1913, President William Howard Taft, on his last day in office, signed the Act which made them separate departments. The legislation which accomplished this was enacted in response to a growing belief that workers would be benefitted by a voice distinctly their own in the highest councils of government. Woodrow Wilson, the incoming President, expressed concisely the public's understanding of the action that had been taken. "The Department of Labor," he said, "was created in the interest of the wage earners of the United States."

The concept of two departments representing the separate—and sometimes diverse—voices of business and labor in the government family fitted the needs of the America of more than a half century ago, and in diminishing degree that of the decades which followed.

The years with their changing conditions brought an increasing alteration of that concept. In the America which exists today, the concept has, I believe, lost much of its force.

—Labor unions are no longer small and weak, struggling to achieve their legitimate aims. More than 18 million Americans are today members of organized labor groups.

—Business is no longer principally confined to local firms operating in local markets. The complex mix of regional, national, and international markets involves the interests of all industries.

—In a growing range of federal programs—particularly those which relate to manpower training, regional and area economic development, and international trade—business and labor have a common interest and a vast potential for cooperative action.

Except for their names, the Departments of Commerce and Labor are not the same departments as those which existed in the past. Both were once almost exclusively involved with statistical and information programs and regulatory activity.

Today a major part of the efforts of the Department of Commerce is directed toward economic development and the promotion of international trade.

Today a major part of the efforts of the Department of Labor is directed toward the training and development of manpower.

Conversely, there are many activities directly concerning industry and labor which

are not in either Department.

My proposal for a new Department was designed not merely to merge the existing Departments of Commerce and Labor.

It envisioned the establishment of a single institution to unify the management of government programs which affect the economic health of the Nation.

Among its other functions it would be the federal agency responsible for:

- Manpower training and regional economic development;
- The promotion of international trade;
- Labor-management relations;
- The principal collection and analysis of economic data;
- Technological and science services; and
- A wide range of other services to both industry and labor.

An important further consideration is that the new Department would add a strong voice to the formulation of economic policy in government and would be the chief instrument for carrying out national policies affecting industry and labor. Its Secretary would be one of the primary Presidential advisers on matters affecting the entire range of national economic problems.

Finally, its unified system of field offices in local communities and cities across America would provide vital services to the worker, the businessman, and industry.

I strongly believe that, in the years ahead, the new Department will be a vital force for the prosperity and progress of a growing Nation.

Since I first suggested the desirability of creating a new Department, my advisers and I have consulted members of Congress and a wide cross-section of industry and labor representatives.

Many have expressed their belief that the new Department would be a distinct

and necessary improvement over existing arrangements.

But others, agreeing that the new Department offered substantial advantages, have voiced the concern that abolition of the separate Departments of Commerce and Labor might inhibit the free flow of communication between government and the communities of business and labor. Separate departments with their well-established channels of communication, many believe, continue to offer the best assurance that business and labor leaders will be able to present to the federal government their views on matters vitally affecting their interests.

I remain convinced that the establishment of a new Department would in no way diminish the legitimate voice of business and labor in the councils of the Nation.

Neither of these groups today depends on a special department to make its voice heard. Indeed neither uses a single channel of communication. The interests of both interweave so thoroughly through the entire fabric of government that no single agency can adequately serve the interests of either. Nonetheless, I respect the considerations which lie behind those views to the contrary.

In our democratic society, those whose lives and interests are affected by government policy must be assured full participation in the processes which lead to executive decision.

That is why I believe that further active development of my proposal is necessary before it can be submitted to Congress.

The mechanism by which this can best be achieved is available to us. It is the President's Advisory Committee on Labor-Management Policy. The Committee is composed of the Nation's wisest and most outstanding businessmen, labor leaders and members of the public. When it was established by Executive Order in 1961, President Kennedy

expressed this hope:

"... that the advice of this Committee will assist the Government, labor, management, and the general public to achieve greater understanding of the problems which beset us in these troubled times and to find solutions consistent with our democratic traditions, our free enterprise economy, and our determination that this country shall move forward to a better life for all its people."

I am asking the President's Advisory Committee on Labor-Management Policy to consider the proposal in all its aspects, and particularly to develop means to assure that a free flow of communications will be maintained between the government and the business and labor communities, both through the new Department and other governmental channels.

No matter which has come before the Committee in the six years of its existence is more important than that now committed to it for consideration.

I shall await the advice of this Committee before taking further action.

EFFICIENCY IN GOVERNMENT

Every citizen has the right to expect full value for his tax dollar. This is a clear principle I set forth in my first days in office. It is a principle which I reaffirm today.

The management objectives of this Administration rest on a pursuit of this principle. In all of our programs, we endeavor to:

- Obtain the greatest benefit for each dollar spent.
- Operate at the minimum cost for every service rendered.

Economy in government does not mean ignoring new needs or old problems. When

that occurs economy becomes stagnation. But economy becomes the companion of progress when we avoid overstaffing of government agencies, eliminate duplication and poor management, and discard what is obsolete and inefficient.

Seeking to improve the quality of American life, we are also improving the quality of government. We are now making the machinery of government more effective with two new management tools.

1. Planning-Programming-Budgeting System (PPBS)

More than a year and a half ago we began to apply a modern system of planning, programming, and budgeting throughout the federal government.

This system—which proved its worth many times over in the Defense Department—now brings to each department and agency the most advanced techniques of modern business management.

Analyzing other federal programs from child development to tax administration, this system is forcing us to ask the fundamental questions that illuminate our choices.

For example, how can we best help an underprivileged child break out of poverty and become a productive citizen? Should we concentrate on improving his education? Would it help more to spend the same funds for his food, or clothing, or medical care? Does the real answer lie in training his father for a job, or perhaps teaching his mother the principles of nutrition? Or is some combination of approaches most effective?

Under PPBS, each department must now:

- Develop its objectives and goals, precisely and carefully;
- Evaluate each of its programs to meet these objectives, weighing the benefits against the costs;

- Examine, in every case, alternative means of achieving these objectives;
- Shape its budget request on the basis of this analysis, and justify that request in the context of a long-range program and financial plan.

This new system cannot make decisions. But it improves the process of decision-making by revealing the alternatives—for decisions are only as good as the information on which they are based.

PPBS is not costly to operate, but the dividends it will yield for the people of America are large.

The system has taken root throughout the government, but it will not be able to function fully until more trained men and women, more data, better cost accounting and new methods of evaluation are available.

To continue this vital work I urge that Congress approve the funds for PPBS requested in the budgets of the various federal agencies.

2. Cost Reduction

As we take these steps to improve our programming and budgeting system, we also are continuing an unrelenting drive to reduce the government's cost of doing business.

The cost reductions we are achieving are more than bookkeeping entries. To the taxpayer, they mean real savings, now running into the billions of dollars.

- The Defense Department saved \$4.5 billion in fiscal 1966 as a result of actions taken over the past several years.
- The civilian agencies saved \$1.2 billion from steps taken in fiscal 1966 alone, and hundreds of millions of additional dollars as a result of actions taken in prior years.

These economies were not easily achieved. They came from the efforts of men and women in all our agencies, who represent

the real force of government. They are the consequence of a wide range of actions—the elimination of unnecessary paperwork, the improvement of purchasing methods, the closing of obsolete military bases. Some of these savings are small. Others run into the millions. All are important, for the saving of a single dollar is important. These are some recent examples:

- Engineers in the Commerce Department found ways to reduce by half the number of Tiros Weather Satellite launches, saving \$15 million, without reducing program effectiveness.
- Contracting and management experts at the Post Office devised rigorous procurement procedures and consolidated a number of small post offices, saving almost \$10 million.
- Medical specialists in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare developed a technique to rotate inventories of perishable drugs, saving over \$5 million.
- Scientists at a NASA test center developed a stainless steel rod that performed its mission more reliably than a more costly cadmium rod, saving \$20,000.

To broaden and strengthen the federal government's drive for economy and efficiency in all its operations, I will issue an Executive Order establishing an Advisory Council on Cost Reduction.

The Secretary of Defense, the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission and the Administrator of General Services will serve on the Council. It will be chaired by the Director of the Bureau of the Budget. I will also appoint other members from the Executive Branch, from private industry and from the public.

This Council will review our cost reduction programs, explore the opportunities for

increased savings, draw on wisdom and experience of business and labor leaders, and report periodically to me.

THE PUBLIC SERVICE

Government is personal.

It is as compassionate and vibrant—or as ineffectual and spiritless—as the men and women who shape the laws, who make the decisions, who translate programs into action.

Andrew Jackson once said that the duties of all public offices were “plain and simple.” We have journeyed far since then.

Today’s public servant—at all levels of government—is a servant of change. He works to make the American city a better place to live. He strives to increase the beauty of our land and end the poisoning of our rivers and the air we breathe. In these and countless other ways he seeks to enlarge the meaning of life and to raise the hopes and extend the horizons for all of us.

The work to be performed in the years ahead will summon trained and skilled manpower in quantities—and quality—we have never needed before.

Within the federal government, we are making careers more attractive. Since I became President, I have proposed and you in the Congress have approved pay increases in each of the past 3 years for federal workers, raising salary levels by an average of 12%. The new Executive Assignment System begun last year will re-shape the upper civil service so that talent is readily recognized and excellence is fully rewarded.

Later in this session of Congress, I shall submit additional proposals to enable the government to attract and retain the public servants it needs.

But nowhere is the magnitude of government manpower greater—and the accom-

panying challenge more critical—than at the State and local levels. Consider the following:

—Between 1955 and 1965 employment in State and local governments increased from 4.7 million to 7.7 million, or four times the rate of growth of employment in the economy as a whole.

—By 1975, State and local government employment will grow to more than 11 million.

—Each year, from now through 1975, State and local governments will have to recruit at least one quarter of a million new administrative, technical, and professional employees, not including teachers, to maintain and develop their programs.

—One out of every three of the Nation’s municipal executives, and one out of every two municipal health directors will be eligible for retirement within the next 10 years.

—There will be 2 vacancies for each new graduate of a university program in city and regional planning.

These statistics show that State and local governments are flourishing as they never have before. But they also contain a clear signal that in the chain of Federal-State-local relationships, the weakest link is the emerging shortage of professional manpower.

We can strengthen that link, or later pay the price of weakness with inefficient government unable to cope with the problems of an expanding population.

I believe we should take positive action now.

I recommend two legislative proposals to improve the quality of government in the years ahead—the Public Service Education Act of 1967 and the Intergovernmental Manpower Act of 1967.

My fiscal 1968 budget includes \$35 million for these proposals:

- \$10 million for the Public Service Education Act, and
- \$25 million for the Intergovernmental Manpower Act.

These measures are demanding. They will require the support of Congress, the Executive Branch, State and local governments, our colleges and universities and private organizations.

They recognize that the key to effective action remains with the State and local governments.

1. *The Public Service Education Act of 1967*

This legislation has a single clear goal: to increase the number of qualified students who choose careers in government.

The measure would authorize the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to provide fellowships for young men and women who want to embark on the adventure of government service.

It would provide support to universities seeking to enrich and strengthen their public service education programs.

This financial assistance can be used to support a broad range of activity including:

- Research into new methods of education for government service;
- Experimental programs, such as study combined with part-time public service;
- Plans to improve and expand programs for students preparing for government careers;
- Training faculties, establishing centers for study at the graduate or professional level, conducting institutes for advanced study in public affairs and administration.

2. *The Intergovernmental Manpower Act of 1967*

This legislation is designed specifically to deal with the varied manpower needs of

State and local governments.

It would authorize the Civil Service Commission to:

- Provide fellowships to State and local government employees.
- Make grants of up to 75% to help State and local governments develop and carry out comprehensive training plans and strengthen their personnel administration systems.

It would allow federal agencies to admit State and local employees to federal training programs, and to provide additional assistance for those employees who administer federal grant-in-aid programs.

Across America, many men and women of skill and vision work in State houses and city halls.

Their knowledge and experience can help us. And we are prepared to bring the special experience of federal employees to the local level.

The Intergovernmental Manpower Act would allow federal workers to take assignments in State and local governments for periods up to 2 years, with full protection of job rights and benefits. In addition, the federal agencies would be able to accept State and local employees for assignments of equivalent periods.

This proposal, I believe, fills a vital need. The mutual interchange of ideas and perspectives will benefit all echelons of government.

THE FEDERAL SYSTEM

Shaped by our Founding Fathers, the federal system has withstood a test of time and experience they could never have foreseen.

It has been adapted to a complexity of government functions unknown and unanticipated in the simpler times of its creation.

Today the federal system rests on an inter-

locking network of new relationships and new partnerships among all levels of government.

That structure is elaborate. It consists of 50 States, over 3,000 counties, 18,000 municipalities, more than 17,000 townships, and almost 25,000 school districts, all of which employ more than 7 million people with a monthly payroll of nearly \$5 billion.

Every American is served through these units of government.

In shaping programs to meet the needs of modern-day America, several factors have emerged which have important consequences for our Federal system:

First, many of the problems we are dealing with are national in scope, requiring national strategies to attack them. But these problems exist in communities and neighborhoods, so their solutions must be tailored to specific local needs.

Because broad national strategy must be fused with local knowledge and administration, the Executive Branch and Congress have chosen to operate through the mechanism of the grant-in-aid. The 1968 budget provides \$17 billion in Federal grants-in-aid to State and local governments. These range from old age assistance to infant care, from housing development to highway construction.

During the past three years, we have returned to State and local governments about \$40 billion in grants-in-aid. This year alone, some 70 percent of our Federal expenditures for domestic social programs will be distributed through the State and local governments. With Federal assistance, State and local governments by 1970 will be spending close to \$110 billion annually. As I said in my 1967 State of the Union Message, "these enormous sums must be used wisely, honestly, and effectively."

Second, attacking the major ills of our so-

ciety—poverty, crime, pollution, and decay—requires the interaction of many agencies working together at different levels of government. Coordinating and marshaling their efforts is a demanding challenge.

Third, many of the problems transcend established boundaries. Air and water pollution, for example, respect no State or municipal lines. Neither does mass transit—with commuters moving in and out of central cities and across different borders. Many of our programs, therefore, have resulted in new groupings and councils of old jurisdictions working together for the first time.

Careful study of these key factors reveals the need to strengthen the federal system through greater communication, consolidation, consistency, and coordination.

1. *Better Lines of Communication*

All levels of government must be able to communicate with each other more frequently and freely than they ever have before.

This does not require an Act of Congress. It simply requires an "open door" policy—a willingness by all who participate in the adventure of cooperative government to sit together to discuss their common problems.

The door of discussion will always be open in the federal government to the mayor of every city and the governor of every State.

I have invited and met with the Governors or substantial groups of them on at least seven separate occasions.

I have repeatedly assured each Governor that top officials of the Executive Branch stand ready to brief him and to visit his State Capital to discuss matters of mutual concern.

Over the past several weeks, a team of Government officials headed by Governor Farris Bryant, Director of the Office of Emergency Planning, has accepted the in-

visitations extended by 16 Governors and visited their State Capitals, where full and frank discussions with the Governors on the problems of Federal-State relationships have been carried on. Additional visits are planned in the weeks ahead.

I have extended invitations to the Governors of every state to come to the Nation's Capital this Saturday to meet with me and members of my Cabinet for discussions and briefings, and to exchange ideas on how the ties between the Federal Government and State and local governments can be strengthened.

In addition, I have directed the heads of all departments and agencies to consult on a frequent and systematic basis with governors, and mayors, and other local officials in development and administration of federal programs.

I have requested the Vice President and Governor Farris Bryant, Director of the Office of Emergency Planning, to confer with State and local officials whenever problems of intergovernmental relations arise.

2. Consolidation of Grant-in-Aid Programs

There are today a very large number of individual grant-in-aid programs, each with its own set of special requirements, separate authorizations and appropriations, cost-sharing ratios, allocation formulas, administrative arrangements, and financial procedures. This proliferation increases red-tape and causes delay. It places extra burdens on State and local officials. It hinders their comprehensive planning. It diffuses the channels through which federal assistance to State and local governments can flow.

There are several steps we should take to help remedy this situation.

The first step is to simplify procedures for grant application, administration and financial accounting.

A local health program, for example, may draw upon separate federal grants-in-aid for child health, training of health personnel and mental health. Similarly a governor often wishes to focus several related federal grant programs upon a single complex problem.

At the present time it is usually necessary for the governor or mayor to submit separate applications and follow separate financial and administrative procedures for each such federal grant.

Initially, we should make it possible, through general legislation, for federal agencies to combine related grants into a single financial package thus simplifying the financial and administrative procedures—without disturbing, however, the separate authorizations, appropriations, and substantive requirements for each grant-in-aid program.

The development of a workable plan for grant simplification will demand careful preparation. The statutes involved are varied and complex.

I have instructed the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, in cooperation with the federal agencies concerned and representatives of the States and local governments to form a joint Task Force to develop such a plan. The Task Force will report to me within one month. I will then submit to the Congress the necessary legislation to simplify our grant-in-aid procedures.

Beyond administrative and financial consolidation, an even more fundamental restructuring of our grant-in-aid programs is essential.

Last year's "Partnership for Health" Act pointed the way. With that measure Congress combined into a single package a number of health grants. It established for these activities a single set of requirements, a single authorization and a single appropriation.

I have requested the Director of the Bureau of the Budget to review the range of

federal grant-in-aid programs to determine other areas in which a basic consolidation of grant-in-aid authorizations, appropriations, and statutory requirements should be carried out.

As that review is completed, I will seek the necessary legislation to combine and modernize the grant-in-aid system, area by area.

3. *Consistency and Coordination*

Each major federal department and agency works through a series of regional or field offices. These offices are the vital links between Washington and people in States, cities and townships across America. Whether our programs are effective often depends on the quality of administration in these field offices.

Yet, for all their importance, there has been only infrequent critical analysis of their roles and performance.

The cause of intergovernmental cooperation is poorly served when these offices are out of touch with local needs, or when their geographic boundaries overlap or are inconsistent.

I have asked the Director of the Bureau of the Budget to undertake a comprehensive review of the federal field office structure and to develop a plan to assure the most effective use and location of these offices.

I have asked him to recommend a plan for the restructuring of these offices, and I hope to incorporate the first steps of this plan in my next budget message.

STATE AND LOCAL ACTION

Our federal system is strong. It is the best instrument we have—or any nation has ever had—for joint action.

If we observe strains in the workings of that system, they are natural consequences of the great stirring of governmental action at

all levels to cope with acute problems. When governments do nothing, when they are oblivious to the needs of the times, there is an illusion of order. It is an illusion both costly and disastrous.

But to survive and serve the ends of a free society, our federal system must be strengthened—and not alone at the national level.

Some State and many local jurisdictions maintain planning, budgetary and statistical systems unchanged since the nineteenth century. Obsolete and arbitrary fiscal restraints increase pressures for federal action in areas where State and local communities themselves should assume responsibility.

I particularly urge governors and mayors to take advantage of the channels of communication which I mentioned previously. I urge the governors to utilize that provision of the Model Cities Act which encourages, and helps to finance, the establishment of State centers for information and technical assistance to medium-sized and smaller communities.

Two years ago, discussing the challenges which the improvement of our society poses, I said, "The solution to these problems does not rest on a massive program in Washington . . ." I repeat those words today, with an emphasis even stronger.

No nation so great as ours can develop the society its people need if the federal government evades its responsibility. This government has not and will not. But neither can such a nation hope to succeed on the strength of federal action alone.

We began as a nation of localities. And however changed in character those localities become, however urbanized we grow and however high we build, our destiny as a Nation will be determined there.

Just as the effectiveness of every law must be gauged by its administration, many programs must succeed—or fail—in the local

health department or school board or urban renewal office or community action agency which turns it from plan to performance.

CONCLUSION

Because of the social and economic legislation passed by the 88th and 89th Congresses—legislation unmatched in all the annals of our history—this Nation now has programs which can lift the quality of American life higher than any before us have known.

What remains for us now is to improve the quality of government itself—its machinery, its manpower, its methods—so that those programs will touch and transform the lives of the people for whom they were intended.

The processes of government are vast, as is the Nation itself. But its vastness—and its strength as well—comes from the diversity of its many parts.

The partnership which links every level of our government is the genius of our system as that system took life under the Constitution.

We have never achieved perfection in that partnership any more than we have achieved perfection in the society it serves. But we have never stopped reaching for both, nor will we, even though the effort to improve each must now be accelerated in the intensity of change.

Only our traditions and our goals remain unchanged. So long as we are faithful to

these, we must pursue and endeavor as best we can to perfect the partnership which enables government to work—the partnership between the Executive Branch and the Congress, between the federal government and the States, between both and the local communities.

It is in the interest of this continued partnership, and in the spirit of hope it generates, that I present this program to the Congress and the Nation today.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

The White House

March 17, 1967

NOTE: The President's Advisory Committee on Labor-Management Policy was established by Executive Order 10918, February 16, 1961 (26 F.R. 1427; 3 CFR, 1959-1963 Comp., p. 445).

The President's Advisory Council on Cost Reduction was established by Executive Order 11353, May 23, 1967 (3 Weekly Comp. Pres. Docs., p. 775; 32 F.R. 7623; 3 CFR, 1967 Comp., p. 286). For the President's statement upon issuing the order, see Item 232.

The task force report on grant simplification was not made public. A proposed Joint Funding Simplification Act of 1967 was transmitted on August 17, 1967, by the Budget Director to the President of the Senate and Speaker of the House. See also Item 458.

In furtherance of the President's objective to improve Federal lines of communication with State governments, the White House announced on January 26 the first of a series of visits to States by senior Federal officials. At the invitation of Governor Charles L. Terry of Delaware, the announcement said, a group of 20 officials, representing several agencies, would go to Dover. The full text of the announcement is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 3, p. 105).

For the President's meeting with the Governors on Saturday, March 18, 1967, see Items 123-125.

122 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report Under the Communications Satellite Act. *March 17, 1967*

To the Congress of the United States:

Accomplishments of the past year under the Communications Satellite Act of 1962

have brought mankind to the threshold of a full-time global communications service to which all nations of the world may have

equal access, from which all nations of the world may derive their share of the benefits.

Our Space Technology is opening new doorways to World Peace. Within the grasp of the world's peoples is the potential for completely new, heretofore unimagined ways of peaceful cooperation for expanding world trade, for enhancing educational opportunities, for uplifting the spirit and enriching the lives of people everywhere.

Fifty-five nations of the world have joined the INTELSAT consortium and pledged their collective efforts toward establishing a single, global communications system which can advance the social, political, cultural and economic interests of all.

Our nation has stated in the past and it reaffirms its policy of making available as promptly as possible the vast benefits of this new technology to its own people and to the people of all nations.

This policy is deeply rooted in the belief that nations can come closer together and world peace can be obtained if all the peoples of the world are given the opportunity for

understanding the interests, the problems, the cultures and the aspirations of one another.

We will continue in full partnership with our international neighbors to seek an environment in which all nations—in particular the developing nations of the world—can obtain high-quality communications with all others.

There has been consistent effort and effective progress at all levels of our Federal agencies and of our committees in Congress on behalf of achieving the aims of the Communications Satellite Act. Under Section 404(a) of the Act, I am transmitting to Congress a report of this progress.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

The White House

March 17, 1967

NOTE: The 12-page report is entitled "Annual Report on Activities and Accomplishments Under the Communications Satellite Act of 1962, January 1–December 31, 1966."

The Communications Satellite Corporation made public its "Report to the President and the Congress for the Calendar Year 1966" (33 pages) to coincide with the release of the President's report.

123 Remarks at a White House Conference With the Governors.

March 18, 1967

I AM delighted to welcome to this House, the Governors of our great States and of American Samoa, Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands.

We are here to advise and consult with each other, as public executives, on the central business of our governments—the welfare of the American people. We are here on common ground, nonpartisan ground—as elected officials charged with the obligation of using public resources for the public good.

Individuals may differ about the wisdom of specific social or economic programs. But we are wholly in accord on this: Once we

commit public money to enhance the public well-being, to fight poverty, to improve the lot of our cities, we have a fiduciary responsibility. Many of my days are spent in trying to live up to that responsibility—in trying to find more efficient and effective ways to use the public's dollars for the public good. Certainly one of those ways is the constant improvement of relationships between Federal and State governments.

This has been a longtime concern of mine.

Nine years ago, as Senate Majority Leader, I spoke to the Texas Municipal League of my commitment to strong local government.

I said that we must "map for the Nation the future course of relations between all levels of government. We need to establish more carefully than we have and more fully than we have the needs of each level, the roles of each level, and the responsibilities of each level."

All of my experience since then has added to that conviction.

Today the remarkable system of government devised by the genius of the Founding Fathers faces a complex and bewildering world. As it enters the final third of the 20th century, our Union faces problems of a magnitude undreamed of by the drafters of our Constitution in mass education, hard-core poverty, both urban and rural, urban blight and renewal, modern law enforcement, transportation, and air and water pollution.

Essentially, these are local problems demanding local solutions. The Federal Government itself cannot teach a child, police a street, rebuild a neighborhood. These are tasks for the communities and States.

At the same time, they are problems that few if any States can meet alone. Crime, poverty, polluted air and water do not respect State or county boundaries.

A practical, working, Federal-State partnership has been imposed by the very necessity of responding to these problems—because they were too complex for either level of government to meet alone.

One measure of the impact of recent social legislation on State government is the level of funds appropriated for Federal grants in aid. In 1920 these totaled just \$30 million. This year they are expected to total \$15 billion, and in just 5 years they could quadruple.

A good instance of the administrative problems now confronting us all can be found in the existence of 400 authorities for

grant programs.

Last year, one Governor reported that 170 programs of Federal aid were being administered by 21 Federal agencies, through more than 200 agencies and subdivisions in his State alone.

The administrative and legal machinery of many States is heavily burdened by the strain of this sudden and unprecedented flow of Federal funds. And the pressures will continue to mount.

What we are living through together are the birth pangs of a fundamentally new process in American government—a new kind of federalism—Federal-State interaction never contemplated by the Founding Fathers.

In their desire to limit central power, they sought to define and separate as sharply as they could the respective roles of the Federal and State governments. Traditionally, we have not been concerned with the systematic exchange of communication, advice, and consultation between the President and State executives.

And in the past, the views of the States frequently were not solicited in the formulation of Federal programs affecting State and local interests.

A sound Federal-State relationship—a new federalism—that will meet the complexities of our time, must do the following things:

- It must delegate increasingly to the States authority and responsibility for the local treatment of local problems
- It must encourage the most productive and efficient use of Federal and local funds, and
- It must assure that State executives will freely advise and consult with the Federal Executive on all matters of mutual concern.

The essential element in making the new federalism work as it ought to is good communications between the President and the

Governors—between the White House and the statehouse.

As you know, I have taken steps to improve both our own communications, and the States' access to all of the processes of the National Government.

I instructed my Cabinet officers last November to afford to the executive leaders of the States every opportunity "to advise and consult in the development and execution of the programs which directly affect the conduct of State and local affairs."

My own direct contact with Governors and with State and local problems seems to increase with each passing week. I have, since I became President in November 1963, excluding travel and social activities, had approximately 550 personal contacts with 73 individuals serving as Governors of States or Territories; 88 Governors with me for office visits; 269 Governors in 20 group sessions and 193 telephone discussions with Governors. And my extremely able, energetic and dedicated ambassador to the Governors, and the States, Governor Farris Bryant, has been going flat out ever since he took on that job a year ago.

In the past 6 weeks alone, he and a team of top Government officials have made flying visits to 17 States to talk with their Governors and staffs. They have discussed with many of you new and better ways to manage partnership programs and to assure that the lines of authority and communication will pass through the Governors' hands. Many more of your invitations will be honored in the coming months.

I know that all of you will remember that at each meeting I have assured you that we would send a team to your State to meet with you and to brief you and to answer any questions you desired answered at any time you requested such a visit.

Our meeting today will expose you to the current thinking and plans of my Cabinet in areas of specific or general concern to you. But above all, we have not asked you here to preach or lecture to you; we have asked you here to counsel with us on the matters that concern us all.

I hope you will make use of every opportunity to do that today, tomorrow, and when you return to your statehouses.

With a few important exceptions, most of the authorizations we need to meet our most pressing national and local problems have been adopted or will soon be adopted. We need the funds to carry out programs already on the statute books—and we believe those funds can be provided by our expanding economy.

What remains is a tremendous job of organization and systematic management calling upon all our public and private resources at all levels of our national life.

The closer we can work together, the sooner, the better, the more economically the job will be done.

I want to thank you all for coming here today. I hope that it will be a useful and rewarding experience for you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:05 a.m. in the Fish Room at the White House.

As printed above, this item follows the text released by the White House Press Office.

124 Remarks at the Governors' Luncheon.

March 18, 1967

MRS. JOHNSON and I are happy and proud to have you here, visiting the White House.

As representatives of the people of 50 States, and of the Territories and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, you are the symbolic owners of this House. There have been some occasions in the past when Governors have not been satisfied with symbolic ownership, and they have attempted to assert a full possessory interest. I report this purely for its historical value.

Today I want to take a few moments to explore some of our mutual concerns as public men and women.

I have spent 36 years in Washington—first as an assistant to a Congressman, then as a Congressman myself, then as a Senator, and finally as a member of the executive branch.

In all candor, I cannot recall a period that is in any way comparable to the one we are living through today. It is a period that finds exhilaration and frustration going hand in hand.

—When great accomplishments are often overshadowed by rapidly rising expectations;

—When complaints about the suppression of dissent and violations of civil rights have accompanied the greatest breakthroughs in the history of civil liberties in America.

The President of the United States is naturally the focus of this frustration and discontent. It is part of his job description.

Still—when I look at our time in historical perspective, I confess that I would not wish to trade places with any other President.

For while we face crises in 1967, they are different in quality from any we have faced

before. They are crises born of responsibility, not of disaster. They are crises that have arisen from the American people's commitment to its ideals, not from public despair.

If we must have crises, these are the sort that a great nation should want to have.

The relationship between the various levels of government is one of these areas of continuing frustration and continuing accomplishment.

Never before has there been such a high level of State and Federal cooperation in the formulation and administration of vital social and economic programs.

Yet the increased involvement of the National Government has in some cases led to an increase in complaints about Federal power.

Never have the States received so much practical assistance and resources from the National Government in meeting our common obligations. Never, in concrete terms, have the States exercised more authority.

But our theory has not caught up with our practice. All of us—to some degree—are trapped by 19th century slogans or the stale ideologies of the 1930's.

If we are going to meet the challenges of the sixties and the seventies, we are going to have to abandon the old disputes about "States rights" and "State wrongs"—about "all-powerful Washington" and "unrepresentative State governments". These arguments make for good stump speeches, and good debates in the lecture hall, but they don't get us far down the road toward meeting the problems of modern America.

And the people want their problems met—more than they want answers to abstract questions of political science.

Meeting them will require mutual effort,

not mutual exclusiveness. It will call for cooperation among vigorous and independent government units—for joint action, not jealously guarded isolation.

That, of course, involves massive problems of management and administration. Think of the complexity of our government structure in the United States. We have 50 States, over 3,000 counties, 18,000 municipalities, more than 17,000 townships, almost 25,000 school districts and more than 18,000 special districts. You, and I, and thousands of other political leaders are serving nearly 200 million people through these units of government.

We are using the federal system of government to improve the quality of American life

- by helping the poor among us to become productive and independent citizens
- by attacking the decay of our central cities and the chaos of urban transportation
- by helping our rural population to gain a better life
- by bringing decent medical care within the reach of all citizens
- by cleaning up the pollution and the eyesores which blight the environment of the wealthiest nation on earth.

In setting out to reach these goals, the Executive and the Congress have kept several basic facts consistently in mind:

First, money alone will not solve our basic problems. Their solutions require more than the mere use of the Federal taxing power to strengthen the general finances of State and local governments. We are dealing with nationwide problems, and we must develop broad national strategies to attack them.

But just because these problems exist in the State and local communities, their solution must be adapted to specific State and local needs and conditions. And so the Executive, the Congress, and the States have

chosen to operate through the grant-in-aid mechanism. The grant-in-aid is designed to combine a broad national strategy with local knowledge and local administration.

Second, attacking the major problems of poverty and urban decay requires doing many things at the same time—providing education, jobs, housing, health, transportation, and improved law enforcement. We cannot make up for the neglect of years with one simple panacea.

Third, many of the problems we are dealing with at the State or local level, cannot be solved by a single government jurisdiction. Urban transportation is not a problem of the central city alone; the control of water pollution involves whole river basins; the smoke of one city or State may spoil the air in another; and the development of depressed rural areas cannot succeed as long as single counties or States go it alone. Joint planning and joint action are indispensable.

But the joint actions we have taken in the past few years to improve the quality of American life have placed a great strain upon our Federal system.

They have also showed us that there never are enough good managers to go around.

Our problem is not political federalism. It is administrative federalism—a system and method whereby the many units of government at the working level coordinate and join their resources to get a job done well.

Here, as I see them, are the immediate tasks before us:

- Federal assistance programs are in need of coordination and simplification—in Washington, and in the field. I have asked the Director of the Budget, Mr. Schultze, to develop a plan that will permit Federal agencies to combine related grants into a single financial package wherever that is possible—and thus simplify the Governor's and the mayor's

job in dealing with the Federal Government. Representatives of State and local governments will be working with him on a joint task force to produce this plan. I expect their report within a month, and shortly thereafter I will submit legislation to the Congress to carry out their plan.

—State and local governments are in need of modernization in organization and finances. Some of the assistance they need to do this can be found in the model cities program, for which we are asking the fully authorized funds this year.

—All levels of government need to communicate among each other more easily and regularly than they have in the past.

In my State of the Union Message this year, I said that one of our objectives is creating an effective partnership at all levels of government.

And that partnership rests, to some degree, on money. During the past 3 years we have returned to State and local governments almost \$40 billion in grants-in-aid. About 70 percent of our Federal expenditures for domestic programs will be distributed through State and local governments. If these enormous sums are to hit their mark—and improve the lives of 200 million Americans—we must work as partners to improve and simplify their administration.

But any sound partnership rests on some-

thing more important than money. It rests on trust—mutual confidence—and on common goals.

If that sometimes seems difficult to achieve as we argue over guidelines and criteria and matching funds, think what it was like two centuries ago when the Founders tried to make a nation out of thirteen proud colonies.

John Adams looked back on those days when he wrote to a friend, in 1818, that “The colonies had grown up under constitutions of government so different; there was so great a variety of religions; they were composed of so many nations; their customs, manners and habits had so little resemblance; and their intercourse had been so rare and their knowledge of each other so imperfect, that to unite them in the same principles in theory and the same system of action was certainly a very difficult enterprise. The complete accomplishment of it, in so short a time and by such simple means, was perhaps a singular example in the history of mankind. Thirteen clocks were made to strike together—a perfection of mechanism which no artist had ever before effected.”

Now there are 50 clocks. Through trust, through tolerance and good sense, and through an unswerving devotion to our people’s needs and dreams, they can be made to strike together—and they will.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:13 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House.

As printed above, this item follows the text released by the White House Press Office.

125 The President’s Toast at a Dinner for the Governors.

March 18, 1967

THE LONG shadow cast by the conflict in Vietnam still stretches across our land tonight. It reaches into this room. It touches the mind and the heart of each one of us. It is a painful course that we pursue to keep

hope alive in that land where our commitment is tested. But pursue it we must.

In just a short while I will have to take my leave of you. We are going out across the Pacific again—this time to Guam. There

we will review our course of action with our military commanders and the leaders of the Vietnamese Government.

But before I take my leave, let me say that it is a pleasure and a privilege to have you with us here tonight.

Theodore Roosevelt started something very valuable to this Government back in 1908 when he asked the Governors to come to Washington to meet with him. When that first Governors' conference passed a resolution supporting his great conservation program, President Roosevelt called the resolution—and I quote—"A document which ought to be hung in every schoolhouse throughout the land."

Generations of Americans have profited from the joint concern that was shared and voiced by the President and the Governors six decades ago. In the years since then we have learned time and again that the Nation always profits when the Federal Government and the States bring their combined energies and devotions to programs affecting the national welfare.

We are all witnessing now—more than witnessing, we are helping to create—a new and exciting phase of the ancient partnership that unites the States and local communities with the Federal Government. As America grows greater and stronger and more complex, that partnership, which underpins our entire philosophy of government, represents the most valid hope of our future.

In this busy day that is ending, we have tried to tell you what we are doing to strengthen the partnership between us. You have told us much that is valuable about the problems we face as a people. Together we have strengthened and extended the free communication on which our partnership is built. That is the basis for our common progress in the future.

Earlier this week I visited the home of one of the true giants of the American Presidency, Andrew Jackson. At a dinner 137 years ago, President Jackson gave a toast which is now a part of his legend. "Our Federal Union," he said, "it must be preserved."

No President could improve upon Jackson's words. But to the great good fortune of America, history has made his toast unnecessary to repeat. Our Union has been preserved. It is strong, it is durable, and it is confident.

Tonight, I would give you a new toast, voiced in the context of the America we live in today—

Our Federal Union: May we build on its past to lift the quality of its life in the future. May we build a land where the least among us can find contentment, and the best among us will find greatness.

Ladies and gentlemen, to the Union.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:33 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House.

As printed above, this item follows the text released by the White House Press Office.

126 Remarks at the Airport Upon Arrival in Guam for Discussions on Vietnam. *March 20, 1967*

Governor and Mrs. Guerrero, Admiral Bird, members of the legislature, village commissioners, distinguished United States officials, ladies and gentlemen:

We have come to Guam to confer with our military commanders, our diplomatic representatives, and with those who are helping to wage the peaceful campaign against poverty

and want in Vietnam.

We have come to meet once again with the leaders of South Vietnam, whose people continue to bear the great burdens of a war that they did not invite, but which was thrust upon them by Communist terror.

We will discuss the progress and the future course of our military effort.

We will review our diplomatic initiatives.

And we will try to estimate the chances of bringing peace to Vietnam through an honorable settlement.

Our new team of representatives in Saigon—Ambassador Bunker, Ambassador Locke, Mr. Komer—will be here with us, as will the great patriot whom Mr. Bunker will succeed—Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge.

We chose Guam as the site of our meeting for its convenience to those who are conducting the military and peaceful development campaign in Vietnam. But beyond that consideration, there is a historical significance to this island that stirs the memories of those who remember the dark hours of World War II, and which strengthens our determination to persevere in Vietnam today.

Guam knows a war in a way that no other part of America knows it. It was the only inhabited part of our Nation to be occupied by hostile forces during the Second World War.

That war, and all of its anguish, changed forever the world as we had known it. It taught us lessons that we shall never forget—most important, that the peace of all the world is threatened when aggressors are encouraged to feed on any part of it.

America, which lost Guam and then freed it again with blood that now stains this ground, has not forgotten that lesson. And so American boys in Vietnam are once again carrying the American commitment to resist aggression and to make possible the sacred work of peace among men.

We are grateful to you—all of you—for coming out here to welcome us. Pray that our work here will bear fruit, for we labor for you, for your fellow Americans, for the people of Vietnam, and for all of those who love peace and freedom throughout the world.

And now I should like to address a very special word to my Guamanian friends.

I am proud of the distinction which this trip gives me of being the first American President to come here while in office. I am very proud of Guam. All America is proud of the record that it has made toward self-government in the short time since civil administration came to this island in 1950.

We are proud of the strides that you have taken under a very fine public servant, Governor Guerrero. His first term of office is now ending. It gives me real pleasure to tell you that just before we landed I signed a nomination to go to the United States Senate giving my recommendation that the Honorable Manuel Guerrero be appointed to a second term as the Governor of Guam.

I hope that Governor Guerrero will be the last Governor to be appointed by a President. If the Congress acts favorably on legislation that I have proposed, he will be. That legislation will give the American citizens of Guam, along with your fellow citizens in other parts of the United States, the right to elect your own Governor.

Then all of you who are already contributing so much to the efforts of your country and the effort that your country is making in Vietnam will at long last have one of the great rights of the American democracy. I look forward to the day when I may sign that bill that is now pending into the law of our land.

Thank you, my friends, for this warm welcome. I know that I shall enjoy spending the next few days with you.

NOTE: The President spoke shortly after 11 a.m. at Guam International Airport. In his opening words he referred to Governor Manuel F. Guerrero of Guam and Rear Adm. Horace V. Bird, Commander Naval

Forces Marianas. The Governor's brief welcoming remarks were also released (3 Weekly Comp. Pres. Docs., p. 512).

127 Remarks of Welcome to Chairman Thieu and Prime Minister Ky Upon Their Arrival in Guam. *March 20, 1967*

Chairman Thieu, Prime Minister Ky, most distinguished officials from the Republic of Vietnam, and the United States of America, ladies and gentlemen:

Once again I am very pleased to welcome two brave Vietnamese leaders to American soil.

We met in Hawaii a little over a year ago. Then our talks were of plans and hopes.

Today, we meet in a time of progress. It is our common task to extend that progress in the days ahead.

Ever since our conference last fall in Manila, your country has traveled far on the road to democracy. Your assembly has hammered out a new Constitution. I am informed that I will see a copy of that Constitution during our meeting here.

It is the foundation stone of a freely and popularly elected government. You are the leaders of 16 million courageous and dedicated people who are determined to forge a free nation from the fires of war.

Your people look to a Vietnam that is unencumbered by a foreign presence on its soil, unhindered by acts of terror and aggression, free to determine its own destiny.

I hope that this conference will be of value to both of us in charting the course for the future of the struggle for freedom in Vietnam.

I am also delighted and particularly anxious for you to get to know Ambassador Bunker, who will shortly succeed Ambassador Lodge in Saigon.

I know that you will find him an able and

understanding Ambassador, as you will his associate, Mr. Locke.

I know you will find him a worthy successor to a very brave and distinguished patriot.

Last week I reassured my own people that America is committed to the defense of South Vietnam until an honorable peace can be negotiated.

I renew that pledge to you today.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:25 a.m. at Guam International Airport. In his opening words he referred to Lt. Gen. Nguyen Van Thieu, Chairman of the National Leadership Committee, and Prime Minister Nguyen Cao Ky, both of the Republic of Vietnam.

Chairman Thieu responded as follows:

Mr. President, thank you very much for your kind words of welcome.

I am happy to set foot again on American soil in the midst of the Pacific, and have this opportunity to meet again with you, Mr. President, and the distinguished members of your Government.

As we pointed out last year following our meeting in Honolulu, we must maintain close contact. There is no adequate substitute for exchanging ideas than face to face across a table.

At that Manila Conference last October we had again agreed upon the principle of close consultation for review of what we have done and for candid and thorough discussions of the various problems confronting us in the defense of freedom in Vietnam.

I am grateful that you have found it possible to cross the major part of the Pacific Ocean for this meeting to be had, an important juncture in our effort in Vietnam to stem off the Communist aggression from the North, and to give substance and solid foundations to democracy in the Republic of Vietnam.

Thanks to your help, we are now throwing a line against Communist aggression in Southeast Asia. The Vietnamese people will long remember that at this crucial moment of their history, their freedom is

preserved, thanks to the solidarity of millions of people around this Pacific Ocean.

Vietnamese soldiers are especially proud to fight side by side with valiant soldiers of the United States of America in this great struggle to defend freedom and to secure a long-lasting peace in this part of the world.

The Republic of Vietnam will do her best so that all the brave soldiers who have made the supreme sacrifices in the defense of freedom will not have given their lives in vain.

Vietnam is the crucial test case on which will hinge not only the fate of Southeast Asia, but also of many other areas in the world, where newly independent nations are groping for a path towards the future.

Together we will win this war not only against the Communist aggression, but also against the

immemorial enemies of mankind—hunger, disease, and ignorance—to launch a society in which everyone will find a rightful place in establishing a meaningful democracy under the sign of progress and social justice.

In the spirit of the Manila Conference, the Republic of Vietnam spares no effort to explore all possible avenues which may lead us to a just and honorable peace.

When such a peace is restored, a general reconciliation among all Vietnamese will be possible to put an end to the sufferings and ravages of the war, and open a new era in which all Vietnamese of good will can participate in the building of a free and peaceful nation.

With these hopes, I look forward to fruitful discussions at this meeting.

Thank you very much.

128 Remarks at the Opening Session of the Guam Conference.

March 20, 1967

I SHALL make my opening remarks very short. We are old friends and comrades-in-arms. We do not need to elaborate on preliminaries before getting down to work.

Our two Governments have developed methods of regular consultation that have served us well in the critical days in which we've been associated. I am confident this will continue.

Today I am introducing to you our new Ambassador, Ellsworth Bunker, and his deputy, Eugene Locke. He has served our country—and the cause of freedom—on three continents. It is typical of him that he is ready to serve in this struggle as well. His distinguished talents give us full confidence for the future.

Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge has represented the United States in Saigon with great dedication and ability. One measure of our appreciation for his splendid service is the caliber of the man we have chosen as his successor.

We meet at an auspicious time. The task of drafting a Constitution for South Vietnam, I am informed, has been completed.

The drafters were elected by people in every section of the country—except where they were prevented from voting by pressures of the Vietcong. I know you regret, as I do, that the Vietcong succeeded in preventing anyone from voting. We believe that a system which stands in the way of democratic process in this fashion cannot survive very long among the people—even when it uses terror and assassination to achieve its ends.

Now your great task is to conduct a national election for a new government. The success of that election is as important as any of the military operations we shall conduct in the months ahead.

There are many signs that we are at a favorable turning point. Your fighting men, aided by your allies, now hold the initiative and are striking heavy blows against the strongholds and refuges of the Vietcong and their North Vietnamese masters. And in the villages the medicine of the revolutionary development program is already beginning to take effect. The Vietcong are turning sharply against that program's administration. I think that is very solid tribute to its

effectiveness.

There are many other things I could cite that give us encouragement. But Vietnam is still a land of war and suffering, where the danger of inflation and epidemics and political conflict lie just beneath the surface. So let us turn today to see again what we can

do to make our joint efforts even more effective.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:15 p.m. at Nimitz Hill, Guam headquarters of U.S. Naval Forces Marianas.

As printed above, this item follows the text released by the White House Press Office.

129 Statement by the President on the New Constitution Adopted by the Constituent Assembly of the Republic of Vietnam.
March 20, 1967

I AM deeply pleased to hear from Prime Minister Ky that the Directorate has agreed to the new Constitution just adopted by the Constituent Assembly of the Republic of Vietnam.

The Constitution marks the most important step in Vietnam's progress toward representative government. It is the fruit of 6 months of labor by delegates whose very elections demonstrated the ability of the people of South Vietnam to move forward toward democracy in the midst of war, and despite the savage opposition of the Vietcong.

Many of the provisions of the Constitution were actively debated during 6 months of consideration by the Assembly. But when agreement was finally reached, the Constitution was approved by the unanimous vote of the Assembly.

Like the U.S. Constitution, the Vietnamese Constitution has been written by the democratically chosen representatives of the people. And like the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia two centuries ago, the Assembly in Saigon included many men in their late twenties or early thirties.

The Constitution secures freedom of speech and freedom of religion. It guarantees civil rights and due process of law, and provides for free political expression by the press,

political parties, and trade unions, as well as by individuals.

It establishes an executive branch and endows it with wide powers, but subjects it, at the same time, to strong measures of control by the legislature. The legislature will enjoy wide authority, perhaps wider than that of the U.S. Congress.

Three times in less than 2 years South Vietnam has moved closer toward establishing a government fully responsive to the people. The first of these steps was the provincial elections held in May 1965; the second step was the election, last September 11, of the members of the Constituent Assembly; now a democratic Constitution has been adopted.

There will be other steps on the road to more representative government in Vietnam during the coming months. A new round of village and hamlet elections will begin in April, when over 900 village councils will be elected. In May and June nearly 5,000 hamlet chiefs will be chosen. Then the election of a President and the Senate provided for in the new Constitution, are planned for late summer. Finally, the election of the House of Representatives will come within a month after the election of a President.

All those who have thoughtfully studied the modern history of Vietnam know that

military power alone cannot secure the peace and insure the progress of that nation—nor of any other. Free political institutions are indispensable to the success of South Viet-

nam's long struggle against terror—and those who support her in that struggle rejoice in the success of this past week.

NOTE: The statement was released at Guam.

130 Toasts of the President and Chairman Thieu at a Dinner in Guam.

March 20, 1967

IN 1873, when Vietnam was disputing the right of France to extend control over the whole country, a scholar named Bui Vien was sent by the Emperor to enlist the help of the United States. He was received by President Grant.

On his way home he was informed of President Grant's decision that—because of unforeseen circumstances—the United States would be unable to assist Vietnam.

He stopped in Japan to see an old friend, the American consul in Yokohama. As people did in those days in Asia, the two men exchanged poems. Here is what Bui Vien wrote:

"We pour out wine into glasses at
Yokohama in the ninth month—in
autumn.

Turning my head towards the clouds of
Vietnam, I am anxious about my
country.

Sea and land—memory and emotion—
remind me of my former journey.
Enjoying myself with you, I regret all
the more that we must part.

Spiritual companion, in what year will
we be together in the same sampan?"

Today we know the answer. We are together. And we know our destination. We established it years ago, and affirmed it at Honolulu and Manila. The brave sons of both our nations reaffirm it anew with every day that passes.

The trip is not yet over. The waters ahead may be rough. But together, with courage

and unflagging devotion to the duty we share, we will make it.

Gentlemen, to the free peoples of Vietnam and the United States, who love their liberty and fight to preserve it.

NOTE: The President proposed the toast at a dinner at Nimitz House, his residence on Guam. Chairman Thieu responded as follows:

Mr. President, gentlemen:

I would like to thank you most sincerely for making this gathering not only an opportunity for the leaders of both Governments to exchange views on common problems, but also a family affair in which protocol yields to informality and cordiality.

I am deeply touched by your evocation of the historical diplomatic mission. In the last century, Vietnamese Ambassador Bui Vien went on a good will mission to the United States, a great country from across the Pacific Ocean, in what was for us—may I say—the Far East.

What I would like to add in recalling the history of Vietnamese-American friendship is that, almost a century and a half ago, an American Ambassador of good will, named John White, also came to Vietnam. He was a well-respected citizen of Boston, a businessman, and traveler. History did not record his poems, but he wrote memoirs about his influences in our exotic land.

Today we have had the privilege and the great pleasure to have in Ambassador Lodge a much more illustrious Ambassador from Boston.

We are sad to see him leaving, but the years he spent in Vietnam will long be remembered.

We know that with Ambassador Bunker, another page of cordial and constructive friendship will be opened.

In this spirit may I ask you, Mr. President and gentlemen, to join me in a toast to the everlasting friendship and solidarity between our two nations, for freedom, peace, and progress.

[As printed above this item follows the text released by the White House Press Office at Guam.]

131 Joint Statement Following the Meeting in Guam With
Chairman Thieu and Prime Minister Ky. *March 21, 1967*

THE PRESIDENT of the United States and the Chief of State and the Prime Minister of Vietnam completed their discussions in Guam. These talks have demonstrated again their joint determination with their allies, to defend freedom in South Vietnam and at the same time to continue the earnest search for an honorable peace.

President Johnson took this occasion to present to Chairman Thieu, Prime Minister Ky, and their party the new leadership of the U.S. Mission in Saigon. Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker will take up from Ambassador Lodge the maintenance and strengthening of close relations with the Government of Vietnam. He will be working with that Government in its struggle to preserve the nation's freedom, in its steady progress toward economic and social development, and in the new political chapter now opening of constitutional and representative government under elected leaders. President Johnson introduced Ambassador Eugene Locke, who will take Ambassador Porter's place as Deputy Chief of the U.S. Mission, and he also explained that his Special Assistant, Mr. Robert Komer, would be in Saigon giving his attention to pacification/RD matters.

Meeting with their advisers, President Johnson and Chairman Thieu and Prime Minister Ky reviewed the encouraging progress on the various programs of the Vietnamese Government which had been discussed at Honolulu early in 1966 and were outlined in the communique of the seven allied nations meeting in Manila last October.

Discussion covered the military front, where the initiative lies increasingly with the allied forces and where the leaders of North Vietnam must recognize the futility

of their effort to seize control of South Vietnam by force.

The meeting also reviewed those programs of the Vietnamese Government to which the United States is providing assistance. They found that, a solid foundation having been laid, the pacification and revolutionary development program was now beginning to show encouraging results, despite Vietcong efforts to disrupt it by terror and intimidation. They noted the successful maintenance of financial stability while recognizing the need for continued vigilance on this front. They heard from Dr. Vu Quoc Thuc and Mr. David Lilienthal of the long-range economic planning now getting underway. Plans for continued efforts in the fields of national reconciliation and reform of land policies and tenure provisions were described by the Vietnamese leaders.

They also outlined the provisions of the Constitution drafted by the Constituent Assembly elected last September 11 and agreed by the Assembly and approved by the Directorate in the last few days. This instrument provides for the principal organs of a representative government and assures to the people civil and economic rights and social justice. The Constitution offers full civil rights to those who respect its provisions and the world looks forward to the day when the Vietcong will take advantage of this offer, abandon the course of terror and violence, and join in making a free, modern society in South Vietnam.

It was also announced that elections for a President will be held under the Constitution within 4 to 5 months and the elections for a legislature shortly thereafter. Meanwhile a major forward step will be made

toward the restoration of democratic local government when village hamlet elections take place, starting in April.

The numerous and varied efforts made in recent months to bring about a peaceful settlement were reviewed by the heads of both delegations. Thus far, they noted regretfully, North Vietnam has failed to respond to all such efforts. However, Chairman Thieu, Prime Minister Ky, and President Johnson reaffirmed their undertakings at Manila and Honolulu and pledged themselves anew to the diligent pursuit of peace. Continuing consultations about the search for peace will be maintained among the nations whose forces are now fighting

against aggression in South Vietnam.

The Vietnamese and American leaders also took note of the forthcoming meetings in Washington of SEATO on April 18-20 and of the Foreign Ministers of nations having troops in Vietnam on April 20-21. The latter will bring together again the Governments which met at Manila last October and provide an opportunity for them to review progress and programs in Vietnam and consult on future courses of action.

The Vietnamese leaders are leaving Guam for Saigon this morning and President Johnson is expected to depart at the end of the day.

NOTE: The joint statement was released at Guam.

132 The President's News Conference in Guam Following the Conference. *March 21, 1967*

REPORT ON THE CONFERENCE

THE PRESIDENT. [1.] Ladies and gentlemen, at Mr. Christian's¹ request, I am here to summarize for you the developments of yesterday and today.

We have just completed our exchange of views. That is: Yesterday was devoted primarily to exchanges with the leaders of South Vietnam. Today Ambassador Lodge and General Westmoreland, as our specially delegated representatives there, went into their respective responsibilities with us.

General Westmoreland reported to us on the military developments in that country, evaluated them and analyzed them. He went into some detail on the training, both of our troops and our allies; the supplies, the health conditions, the casualties, the accidents—more or less the general condition of our troops and their problems.

Ambassador Lodge reviewed the non-military matters.

He spent a good deal of the morning discussing the situation that we went into some detail on yesterday, and of which the leaders of South Vietnam are so very proud. That is the new Constitution that Premier Ky presented to me yesterday.

He reviewed the developments that led to that Constitution.

He went into some detail on the actual provisions of it—its strengths.

We discussed the elections that will follow in the aftermath of it—the hamlet and province elections that are coming up in the next few days and weeks; the presidential election that will come within 6 months; and the legislative election that will follow.

In addition to that, while we went into these things at some length yesterday, we really targeted in on them this morning with our own people—for the benefit of Ambassador Bunker, who will be taking over there,

¹ George E. Christian, Special Assistant to the President.

we trust, in the next month, so that we could have a proper transition.

We went into some detail on land reform, what has been accomplished, what is in the works, what the problems are, what we can do to be helpful, the problems of civilian casualties, and the medical treatment they are receiving. Dr. Humphreys² reported at some detail in that field.

I will be glad to take any of your questions.

I would sum up the whole conference by saying I think it has been a very constructive exchange. We have faced up to our problems frankly.

We have not made any momentous decisions of one kind or the other.

The problems we are working on have been with us all along, some of them being in much better shape than they were when we met last at Manila. Certainly great progress has been made since we first met at Honolulu.

The outstanding fact of the conference, I think, was Premier Ky's presentation to me yesterday of a Constitution that is really in being—the Constituent Assembly has already adopted it, and it is ready to be promulgated and will be promulgated shortly and the fact that local elections are on the way to being held, that presidential elections will follow in a matter of weeks. Then, too, the provisions of that Constitution.

I will be glad to take any questions. Then I will ask Ambassador Lodge and Ambassador Bunker to make any report they may care to make. They will be available for questions.

QUESTIONS

PROGNOSIS ON VIETNAM

[2.] Q. Mr. President, after having had the advice and counsel of not only the Viet-

² Maj. Gen. James W. Humphreys, Jr. See Item 235.

namese, but your own people out there, could you now give us your up-to-date prognosis of the war, and particularly your prognosis of peace efforts?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, I don't think they have changed any from what I have given you before.

I think we have a difficult, serious, long, drawn-out, agonizing problem that we do not yet have the answer for. We think that our military situation is considerably strengthened.

We think that the action the Constituent Assembly has taken, and the elections that are to follow in the wake of the Constitution, will be very helpful. But they are not the answer to our problem. It is going to take a lot of extra effort and a good deal more time.

I am unable to predict just how long or the extent of that effort, except to say that our Ambassador, who is in direct charge of our civilian activities, is highly pleased with the progress made. And General Westmoreland gave a very good report.

ENEMY SANCTUARIES IN CAMBODIA AND LAOS

[3.] Q. Mr. President, do you see anything that can be done about what Premier Ky calls "enemy sanctuaries" in Cambodia and Laos?

THE PRESIDENT. We are concerned with all of the matters that the Premier outlined in his prepared statement yesterday. We have been throughout the period that we have been there. We are handling those matters as best we know how.

We can understand the Premier's deep concern, because it is his people who are suffering the depredations that come from some of these problems that he mentioned. We are going to try to keep them uppermost in mind and do everything that we properly can about them.

MILITARY DECISIONS AT THE CONFERENCE

[4.] Q. Mr. President, sir, although the emphasis of the conference was on pacification, were any decisions taken that will result in an intensification of the Vietnamese war?

THE PRESIDENT. There were no military decisions taken of any nature. That was not the purpose of it, as we have tried to explain, Mr. Roberts,³ time and time again.

We have a new team going in there on the civilian side. There will be some additions on the military side due to changes of duty, but General Westmoreland will continue to head that up, and his top people will continue to be there.

Ambassador Lodge, as we have understood for some time, will be coming out of there and returning to Washington to help me there, and Ambassador Bunker will be going out. We wanted to try to have as smooth a transition as we could.

The Vietnamese leaders wanted to report to us on their views of what had taken place in their government, the Constitution, the details of it.

I wanted Ambassador Bunker to get the benefit of that. Generally, those were the subjects that were discussed. We did talk about the health, the welfare, the conditions, the supplies, the ammunition, the planes, the helicopters—things of that nature. But we took no decisions of a military nature, and we did not contemplate taking any.

As Premier Ky said yesterday, he was concerned about the infiltration, and we are concerned about it. He is concerned about the casualties, and we are concerned about them. He is concerned about sanctuaries, and we are concerned about them. But this wasn't a meeting to deal with those specific problems and they were not dealt with. As a

matter of fact, they were not even discussed other than just his mentioning them in part of his whole general outline.

MR. KOMER'S JOB IN VIETNAM

[5.] Q. Mr. President, in this workout of how this new team is going to fit in, was it decided for whom Mr. Komer would be working when he is in Saigon?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, he is working for me. He is my special assistant. He will be working with the United States missions there, civilian and military, and the Vietnamese Government.

The details of where he will spend his time, and how he will spend it, were not gone into. Mr. Komer will be going out there from here. He has been visiting there frequently.

But I anticipate that he will be spending a good deal more time there now. But we have no details that we can give you at this time because no decision has been made.

PACE OF PACIFICATION

[6.] Q. Mr. President, did the conference produce any fresh idea on speeding the pace of pacification?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, we talked about the various problems involved and what needed to be done. We evaluated them. We made no far reaching decisions that would bring about any revolutionary changes.

OBSTACLES TO PEACE TALKS

[7.] Q. Mr. President, Prime Minister Ky raised the question once again about dealing with the National Liberation Front. Do you see that as raising any obstacles to possible peace talks?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I was amazed that

³ Charles W. Roberts of Newsweek.

you all devoted the attention to it that you did yesterday. I remember your raising it at Honolulu. It seems to be a favorite subject. But it is a matter that was just mentioned by him in going through, that in no way changed our position, or so far as I know there were no changes.

We have said that if anyone can give us any indication they want to talk peace, conditionally or unconditionally, we think the Vietcong will have no difficulty having their views heard.

I know nothing that happened here that changed that position. As a matter of fact, I think it is blown up a good deal out of proportion to its importance in these meetings. There was no discussion of it except in the press conference.

AMERICAN TROOPS AND THE PACIFICATION PROGRAM

[8.] Q. Mr. President, did General Westmoreland during the conference bring up any suggestion or proposal for additional American troops in connection with the pacification program, that is, to secure and clear areas?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I must repeat to you again and again and again that there were no military proposals of any nature made. I repeat what I have said and what was said to you yesterday by Secretary Rusk and Secretary McNamara, that this is not a meeting to raise troops, or to disperse troops, or to raise forces. They were not discussed.

It was not a military meeting at all. I have outlined the purposes of the meeting. I have seen the news stories and the predictions, and so forth. But I have become accustomed to that, Bob.⁴

⁴Robert C. Young of the Chicago Tribune Press Service.

U.N. DIPLOMATIC ACTIVITIES

[9.] Q. Mr. President, there has been another flurry of speculation growing out of the U.N. for the last couple of weeks about some moves up there. Could you tell us whether the situation has changed in any way in terms of diplomatic activity related to the war?

THE PRESIDENT. I am not really aware of these flurries except that some people do have flurries from time to time. I am not aware of any serious change that has been made on the part of our adversaries in this situation.

I think we really do our people a considerable disservice when we imply that there is something just around the corner or something that may show up tomorrow, unless we have some factual basis for it.

I know of nothing that would lead me to believe at this point—as of this moment—that Hanoi is seriously interested in doing anything to bring the war to an end.

That is a repetition of a statement that I made to you several weeks ago, but the fact is there has been no serious change since then that I am aware of.

HANOI'S ASSESSMENT OF AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION

[10.] Q. Mr. President, Premier Ky this morning made an appeal to the American people, as he put it, in which he said that if all Americans and the American Government could demonstrate to Hanoi that we were united and in agreement against aggression, then Hanoi would come to the conference table.

Do you think that is the primary obstacle to getting peace negotiations; that is, a disagreement among the American people?

THE PRESIDENT. I think it is pretty dif-

ficult to search the minds and hearts of the people in Hanoi. I don't know what makes them react as they do. I think there has never been a period in American history when we haven't had a difference of opinion.

We provide for it and we want to preserve that right. We get a great many strengths from it.

It is very irritating and I think damaging at times to have any deep divisions among us. But I don't know what effect the divisions that have been expressed in our country have upon Hanoi.

My honest judgment is that they shouldn't get too much encouragement from our differences because in the last analysis you will find the American people will unite as they did last week when, after debating the situation of the bombing and cutting it off, the House voted, I think, maybe only 18 votes, or along that line, and the Senate voted 89 to 2 to pass the defense bill.

So I don't think Hanoi is going to get much encouragement from thinking that she can divide the American people.

PLANS FOR AMBASSADOR LODGE

[11.] Q. Mr. President, I wonder if you could tell us what you have in mind for Ambassador Lodge when he gets back?

THE PRESIDENT. Ambassador Lodge will be nominated to be Ambassador at Large, to serve the President, the Secretary of State, and our country first as an adviser and counselor in connection with all of the important decisions to be made in Southeast Asia, and to also handle any other big decisions that may develop in other parts of the world.

He is a very highly regarded and trusted public servant. I am very happy that he can have this change of duty and still be available to the President.

HANOI'S VIEW OF THE CONFERENCE

[12.] Q. Mr. President, sir, you say no military decisions were taken at this meeting?

THE PRESIDENT. I believe that is a correct statement.

Q. Then in light of that, sir, what conclusions do you think Hanoi should draw from this meeting?

THE PRESIDENT. I think you would have to talk to Hanoi about the propriety of the decisions she reaches. I think we are concerned with what we are doing out there. We want to be sure we are doing the most efficient and effective things that we can do.

We have brought our best men here to consider that. And we have done it. We are leaving feeling hopeful and feeling that we have had a constructive 2 days.

Hanoi's decisions will have to depend upon Hanoi. I am not sure she is willing to follow my advice anyway. If you have any indication that she would, I would suggest that she come to the negotiating table, as we have agreed to do on some 15 or 20 occasions.

AMERICAN TROOPS AND THE PACIFICATION PROGRAM

Q. Mr. President, was any decision made to use American troops to a greater extent in the pacification program?

THE PRESIDENT. No.

Reporter. Thank you, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. Do you have any questions of Ambassador Lodge or Ambassador Bunker?

REMARKS BY AMBASSADOR LODGE

[13.] AMBASSADOR LODGE. Perhaps I can grab the microphone in the approved style and say that to me the highlight of these 2

days was the fact that Prime Minister Ky arrived with the completed Constitution. I don't believe anybody who works in Vietnam expected the Constitution to be ready this soon.

It is a sign of what political energy and political evolution there has been in what is an underdeveloped country which is emerging from colonialism and has not had anything like the experience in self-government that we have had.

This is a Constitution that is worthy of respect. It provides for a President, a Prime Minister, a Lower House, and Upper House. It has substantially the Bill of Rights, the safeguards for the individual.

It is an interesting footnote that the legislative branch, under this Constitution, has

really more authority, relative to the President, than the U.S. Congress has. Because if the President vetoes a bill, they can pass the bill over his veto by a simple majority, which is a reflection of the fear that there is of dictatorial, arbitrary rule.

This is a step toward really popular government. So to me that was very impressive.

Then I would like to say what a fine thing I think it is for the President to have named Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker. He is a man of great talent and great experience. He made an excellent impression on the Vietnamese. I am sure he is going to render many valuable services. I am very happy that this appointment has been made.

NOTE: President Johnson's ninety-ninth news conference was held at 2 p.m. on Tuesday, March 21, 1967, at Top O' The Mar, Guam.

133 Statement by the President Following a Meeting With the High Commissioner of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

March 21, 1967

ALTHOUGH I very much regret that time won't permit a personal visit to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, I believe that Commissioner Norwood's impressive analysis has given me a vivid sense of the progressive spirit now at work in Micronesia. Under his inspired leadership, I am confident that the people of the Trust Territory can look forward to new victories in the never-ending battle against poverty, ignorance, and disease.

Mr. Norwood has the support of every American in this noble cause.

NOTE: The President's statement was made public as part of a White House press release which noted that High Commissioner William Norwood and other Trust Territory officials had been invited to Guam by the President "to brief him on conditions and prospects in the Territory," which the United States administers under United Nations supervision.

Commissioner Norwood described for the President recent advances in health and education, the release added, stressing the contribution of the 500 Peace Corps volunteers in the Territory.

The release also stated that the President was pleased with the political progress of the Territory as reflected by the formation of the Congress of Micronesia and the growing number of islanders in responsible government positions, and that the President expressed the full support of the American people for these developments. The full text of the release, which was made public in Guam, is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 3, p. 522).

On the same day the Guam press office announced the allocation of funds for disaster relief assistance to Koror and Babelthup Islands in the Trust Territory, which had been severely damaged by a typhoon (3 Weekly Comp. Pres. Docs., p. 521).

For a statement by the President upon approving increased appropriations for the government of the Trust Territory see Item 218.

134 Remarks at the Airport Upon Departing From Guam.

March 21, 1967

General Crumm, distinguished United States officials, men of the Andersen Air Force Base:

Before I returned to Washington, I wanted to come here to see some of the men and their families who are carrying the burdens of this war, as I did last fall when I went to Cam Ranh Bay.

In some respects, our engagement in Vietnam is familiar to America.

In World War II and in Korea, as in Vietnam, there was a conflict of ideology between ourselves and our adversaries. But the struggle was not limited to one of ideology.

Force had to be met with force. Americans had to shoulder rifles, man tanks and warships, and take bombers into the air, all at great risk to their lives and at a great distance from their homelands.

The ideological debates continued over the wisdom of involvement or noninvolvement:

The "America Firsters" had their say, but the aggressors could not be stopped by argument.

People who desired to live in freedom could not be protected by debating points.

The defense of freedom required then, as it requires now, the willingness of brave men to face danger, to risk death, and to live with their fears for months and years on end.

Today we are here to decorate 12 men, all of whom risked their lives many times in the air over Vietnam.

As their Commander in Chief and the representative of the people whom they have so gallantly served, I salute them with all my heart.

There are some respects, as professional soldiers know, in which this war is different from the others that we have waged. There are no sharply defined battlelines. The ran-

dom terror of the subversive—not the methodical power of a conventional army in the field—is the enemy's main weapon.

Political and social forces are at work that complicate the struggle and make it necessary to do far more than wage a traditional military campaign.

We met these past 2 days here with leaders—Vietnamese and Americans—to discuss some of the elements of this different kind of war in Vietnam.

We brought here the new team of American representatives to Vietnam:

Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker, who has served his country with great distinction in the Dominican crisis, in India, in Italy, and many other posts of the highest responsibility; Ambassador Eugene Locke, who now represents us in Pakistan; and Robert Komer, who until now has been in the White House as my counselor on the civil side of the Vietnamese war.

We wanted these distinguished Americans to meet the leaders of Vietnam with whom they will be working in the months ahead.

We came here to discuss seven of our major concerns in Vietnam today:

First, the military progress of the war, both in the South and in the North;

Second, the political progress that is being made in South Vietnam.

Prime Minister Ky gave me a copy of the new Constitution which the freely elected Constituent Assembly had just adopted in South Vietnam and which the Directorate had just approved. This is the third and the most significant step that South Vietnam has taken toward granting its people the fundamental rights of democracy.

Third, we discussed in some detail the morale, the health, the training, the food, the

clothing, and the equipment of our superb young fighting men.

I questioned General Westmoreland closely on all of these matters and his response was deeply gratifying to me.

Fourth, the national reconciliation program in Vietnam;

Fifth, the land reform program which is moving steadily forward;

Sixth, the extent of civilian casualties and what is being done to help those who are injured or who are wounded by the war;

Seventh, the possibilities of bringing an end to this conflict at as early a date as possible by an honorable settlement.

We did not adopt any spectacular new programs at this meeting. We said in advance that that was not our plan. The nature of this war is not amenable to spectacular programs or to easy solutions. It requires courage, perseverance, and dedication—exactly the qualities that men such as you are providing today.

So to all of the men of this Command, and their families who so loyally stand by them in this hour of trial, let me say as we leave Guam that all America honors you and is grateful to you.

We feel refreshed by the conviction that on every front—military, political, and social—we and our allies are making substantial progress. When the inevitability of that progress finally gets through and becomes clear to Hanoi, we shall then arrive at what

Churchill would have called “the beginning of the end.”

So I leave you today with pride—great pride—in what you are doing, and great confidence for the country that you serve.

I do not want to let this occasion go by without presenting to you some of the great public servants who lead this Nation in this critical period.

I want to introduce your Secretary of State—Dean Rusk.

Next I want to introduce your Secretary of Defense—Robert McNamara.

Ambassador Bunker and Ambassador Locke.

The Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Wheeler; Admiral Sharp; General Maxwell Taylor; General Westmoreland; and your distinguished Governor of Guam.

Thank you very much, ladies and gentlemen.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:16 p.m. at Andersen Air Force Base, Guam. In his opening words he referred to Maj. Gen. William J. Crumm, base commander. Later he referred to Ellsworth Bunker, successor to Henry Cabot Lodge as Ambassador to the Republic of Vietnam, and Eugene Locke, Deputy Ambassador. At the close of his remarks he referred to Gen. Earle G. Wheeler, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Adm. U. S. Grant Sharp, Jr., Commander in Chief, Pacific, Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor, Special Consultant to the President, Gen. William C. Westmoreland, Commander, United States Military Assistance Command, Vietnam, and Governor Manuel F. L. Guerrero of Guam.

135 Remarks at Andrews Air Force Base Near Washington Upon Returning From the Guam Conference. *March 21, 1967*

Good evening, ladies and gentlemen:

As I said upon my departure from Guam, we discussed seven of our major concerns at our meeting there.

First, the military progress of the war,

both in the South and in the North.

Second, the political progress that is being made now in South Vietnam. Prime Minister Ky gave me a copy of the new Constitution, which the freely elected Constituent Assem-

bly has adopted, and which the Directorate has just approved. This is the third and most significant step that South Vietnam has taken toward granting its people the fundamental rights of democracy.

Third, we discussed the morale, the health, the training, the food, the clothing, and equipment of our superb young fighting men. I questioned General Westmoreland very closely on these matters. His response was extremely gratifying to me.

Fourth, the national reconciliation program in Vietnam.

Fifth, the land reform program, which is moving steadily forward. Premier Ky told me that he had distributed 27,000 titles just recently.

Sixth, the extent of civilian casualties and what is being done to help those who are injured or who are wounded by the war.

Seventh, the possibilities of bringing an end to this conflict by an honorable settlement.

We did not adopt any specific or spectacu-

lar new programs at this meeting. The nature of this war is not amenable to spectacular programs or easy solutions. It requires courage, perseverance, and dedication.

During my flight home I learned that Hanoi had made public an exchange of letters between me and Ho Chi Minh. His reply to me of mid-February and his earlier public reply to His Holiness, the Pope, were regrettable rebuffs to a genuine effort to move toward peace. This has been the consistent attitude of Hanoi to many efforts that have been made by us, by other governments, by groups of governments, and by many leading personalities throughout the world. Nevertheless, we shall persevere in our efforts to find an honorable peace. Until that is achieved, of course, we shall continue to do our duty in Vietnam.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 6:53 p.m. at Andrews Air Force Base.

For the text of the President's letter to President Ho Chi Minh of North Vietnam, see Item 136.

136 Letter to Ho Chi Minh Proposing Bilateral Discussions on the Vietnam Conflict. *March 21, 1967*

[Released March 21, 1967. Delivered February 8, 1967]

Dear Mr. President:

I am writing to you in the hope that the conflict in Vietnam can be brought to an end. That conflict has already taken a heavy toll—in lives lost, in wounds inflicted, in property destroyed, and in simple human misery. If we fail to find a just and peaceful solution, history will judge us harshly.

Therefore, I believe that we both have a heavy obligation to seek earnestly the path to peace. It is in response to that obligation that

I am writing directly to you.

We have tried over the past several years, in a variety of ways and through a number of channels, to convey to you and your colleagues our desire to achieve a peaceful settlement. For whatever reasons, these efforts have not achieved any results.

It may be that our thoughts and yours, our attitudes and yours, have been distorted or misinterpreted as they passed through these various channels. Certainly that is always a

danger in indirect communication.

There is one good way to overcome this problem and to move forward in the search for a peaceful settlement. That is for us to arrange for direct talks between trusted representatives in a secure setting and away from the glare of publicity. Such talks should not be used as a propaganda exercise but should be a serious effort to find a workable and mutually acceptable solution.

In the past two weeks, I have noted public statements by representatives of your government suggesting that you would be prepared to enter into direct bilateral talks with representatives of the U.S. Government, provided that we ceased "unconditionally" and permanently our bombing operations against your country and all military actions against it. In the last day, serious and responsible parties have assured us indirectly that this is in fact your proposal.

Let me frankly state that I see two great difficulties with this proposal. In view of your public position, such action on our part would inevitably produce worldwide speculation that discussions were under way and would impair the privacy and secrecy of those discussions. Secondly, there would inevitably be grave concern on our part whether your Government would make use of such action by us to improve its military position.

With these problems in mind, I am prepared to move even further towards an ending of hostilities than your Government has proposed in either public statements or through private diplomatic channels. I am prepared to order a cessation of bombing against your country and the stopping of further augmentation of U.S. forces in South

Viet-Nam as soon as I am assured that infiltration into South Viet-Nam by land and by sea has stopped. These acts of restraint on both sides would, I believe, make it possible for us to conduct serious and private discussions leading toward an early peace.

I make this proposal to you now with a specific sense of urgency arising from the imminent New Year holidays in Viet-Nam. If you are able to accept this proposal I see no reason why it could not take effect at the end of the New Year, or Tet, holidays. The proposal I have made would be greatly strengthened if your military authorities and those of the Government of South Viet-Nam could promptly negotiate an extension of the Tet truce.

As to the site of the bilateral discussions I propose, there are several possibilities. We could, for example, have our representatives meet in Moscow where contacts have already occurred. They could meet in some other country such as Burma. You may have other arrangements or sites in mind, and I would try to meet your suggestions.

The important thing is to end a conflict that has brought burdens to both our peoples, and above all to the people of South Viet-Nam. If you have any thoughts about the actions I propose, it would be most important that I receive them as soon as possible.

Sincerely,

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

[His Excellency Ho Chi Minh, President, Democratic Republic of Vietnam]

NOTE: The President's letter was made public on March 21 after the text of the letter and President Ho's reply had been broadcast in English by Radio Hanoi earlier that day. A translation of President Ho's reply is printed in the Department of State Bulletin (vol. 56, p. 596).

137 Message to the Congress Transmitting First Annual Report on the Operation of the Automotive Products Agreement With Canada. *March 22, 1967*

[Released March 22, 1967. Dated March 21, 1967]

To the Congress of the United States:

I am pleased to transmit to the Congress the First Annual Report on the operation of the Automotive Products Trade Act of 1965. By this Act Congress authorized implementation of the United States-Canada Automotive Products Agreement.

This historic Agreement is a joint undertaking by the United States and Canada to create a broader market for automotive products, to liberalize automotive trade between the two countries, and to establish conditions conducive to the most efficient patterns of investment, production and trade in this critical industry. It is symbolic of the spirit of cooperation between these two

friendly neighbors.

The first year of operations under the Act provides solid proof of its importance. The value of total trade in automotive products between the United States and Canada during 1966 exceeded \$2 billion—compared with approximately \$1.1 billion in 1965. The benefits to the people of both countries are impressive and fully detailed in the Report.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

The White House

March 21, 1967

NOTE: The report was made public as a committee print, Senate Committee on Finance, 90th Congress, 1st session (Government Printing Office, 85 pp., March 22, 1967).

138 Statement by the President Upon Signing Order Providing Emergency Feed for Livestock Owned by Indians in Disaster Areas. *March 22, 1967*

IN MY 1967 State of the Union Message, I called for self-help assistance to the American Indians as "the forgotten in our midst." I am pleased to provide the means for rapid assistance to those needy Indians whose plight is compounded by acts of nature beyond their control.

NOTE: The President's statement was made public as part of a White House press release which announced

that feed would be distributed to needy members of Indian tribes who graze livestock on reservations or other lands designated for Indian use.

The release stated that under delegated authority the Secretary of Agriculture would make available in natural disaster areas feed owned by the Commodity Credit Corporation.

On the same day the President signed Executive Order 11336 "Delegating to the Secretary of Agriculture Certain Authority Relating to Emergency Livestock Feed" (3 Weekly Comp. Pres. Docs., p. 526; 32 F.R. 4489; 3 CFR, 1967 Comp. p. 265).

139 Memorandum on Aircraft Noise and Land Use in the Vicinity of Airports. *March 22, 1967*

Memorandum for Heads of Departments and Agencies

SUBJECT: Aircraft Noise and Compatible

Land Use in the Vicinity of Airports

Air traffic in the vicinity of airports has increased enormously in recent years and the

expansion of air commerce and air travel promises to continue. One of the results is that persons and property in the vicinity of airports are being exposed to an increasing amount of aircraft noise. At the same time, our growing economy and population create pressures for increasingly intensive land use near transportation facilities, including airports.

It is imperative to the growth of aviation and to the welfare of our people that means be found to contain such noise within levels compatible with the pursuit of other desirable activities and the quiet enjoyment of property. We must do all in our power to assure that the environment in which we live is not overburdened with any form of pollutant, including excessive noise.

Various agencies of the Federal Government either have programs which affect land use near airports or participate in various ways in actions affecting such land. They must all be deeply concerned with seeking solutions to the problems of noise and compatible land use around airports. To obtain the maximum benefit from knowledge and technology developed within the Federal Government, each Federal Agency or Department should coordinate its efforts and cooperate fully with the particular Departments most concerned, which are the Department of Transportation in matters relating to the prevention, control and abatement of aircraft noise, and the Department of Housing and Urban Development in matters relating to the compatible use of land in the vicinity of airports.

The Heads of the Departments, Agencies and Establishments of the Executive Branch of Government are therefore directed, consistent with the performance of their mission and the relevant legislation, to take into explicit and due account aircraft noise whenever it is relevant to any of their programs or to action in which they may participate, and to cooperate with the Secretaries of the Department of Transportation and the Department of Housing and Urban Development in efforts to control and reduce the problems of aircraft noise.

NOTE: On the same day the White House Press Office made public a report to the President from Dr. Donald F. Hornig, Special Assistant to the President for Science and Technology, summarizing steps taken by him in collaboration with officials of the Federal Aviation Agency, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, the Department of Commerce, and the Department of Housing and Urban Development to frame a program to alleviate problems of aircraft noise in the vicinity of airports.

The cooperating agencies, the report said, had agreed on a program aimed at ascertaining how such noise can be reduced through design of engines and airframes, procedures and techniques of flight operations, and land use in the vicinity of airports. In furtherance of the program, the report continued, the Federal Aviation Agency had proposed legislation to authorize the Secretary of Transportation to certify new aircraft on the basis of noise as well as safety standards.

Dr. Hornig's report stated that in its first year of operation the program had "achieved an industry and governmentwide consensus" on two basic approaches to the problem of aircraft noise abatement: a generally accepted method of assessing human reaction to aircraft noise, and agreement that noise level as well as safety must be a criterion in aircraft certification.

The report is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 3, p. 527).

140 Statement by the President on the Cost of the Pay Increase for Federal Employees and Military Personnel. *March 23, 1967*

I AM SENDING to Congress today a supplemental request for \$479 million to cover

the additional cost of the fiscal 1967 pay increase authorized last year for some Federal

employees and military personnel.

The total cost of these pay increases is \$1,080 million. The appropriations I am requesting today, together with the \$339 million supplemental appropriation requested last week, amounts to \$818 million—\$262 million less than the full cost of the increases.

I do not intend to ask Congress for the remaining \$262 million. I am pleased to report that this amount will be met from available funds, as a result of tighter management in response to my request that agencies absorb the costs of the pay increases to the fullest possible extent without interrupting essential services and functions.

Many agencies were able to absorb 100

percent of the additional cost of the pay increase. Overall, some 24 percent of the pay increase is being met by economies and efficiencies in operations.

This is being done by leaving unfilled less essential job vacancies as they occur, by cost reduction programs, and other management improvements.

These actions are the result of a growing cost consciousness at all levels of the executive branch. They are the fruits of our efforts to use each tax dollar wisely and well.

NOTE: The appropriations requested by the President were included in the Second Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1967, approved on May 29, 1967 (Public Law 90-21; 81 Stat. 30).

141 The President's Birthday Greetings to General Westmoreland. *March 23, 1967*

YOUR BIRTHDAY is a day all men of peace can celebrate with pride and hope. I am happy to join with the millions who salute your leadership and devotion. They promise us the day of greater celebration when conflict has ceased and reason is restored. May it come soon for you and all the brave who follow you.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

[General William Westmoreland, U.S. Military Assistance Command, Vietnam, APO San Francisco, California 96243]

NOTE: The text of the telegram conveying greetings for General Westmoreland's birthday on March 26 was posted on the bulletin board in the White House Press Office on March 23. It was not made public in the form of a press release.

142 Statement by the President on the Swearing In of William Roth as Special Representative for Trade Negotiations. *March 24, 1967*

THE FORTUNES of the Kennedy Round will greatly influence the future of international trade. Agreement by the United States and other trading nations on tariff reductions providing new opportunities and stimulation for productive enterprises everywhere will open the path to a world economy of abundance.

On the other hand, if such reductions

cannot be managed, if narrow special interests prevail, divisive forces may gain the upper hand, with grave damage to the economic and political fabric of the world community.

William Roth combines all the assets this Nation should bring to bear on so important a problem.

He was Governor Herter's deputy for

more than 3 years. He has had a part in every step on this long road. He knows his fellow negotiators, and they know and respect him.

Ambassador Roth has just returned from Geneva, where he reports that agreement has been reached on a timetable for bringing negotiations to a successful conclusion. This is good news for all nations. The world may be certain that the United States will be ready to move as quickly and imaginatively as our partners.

Successful conclusion of the Kennedy Round will not mark the end of the drive toward trade liberalization. Ambassador Roth will begin preparations for a long-range study of our foreign trade policy. He will

recommend such legislative and other measures as may be required.

Ambassador Roth will focus this study on ways of improving the trade positions of the developing countries as well as further reduction of trade barriers between industrialized nations.

A Public Advisory Committee will assist Ambassador Roth and will consult with Members of the Congress and other interested and knowledgeable people both here and abroad.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:30 a.m. in his office at the White House. During his remarks he referred to Christian A. Herter, former Governor of Massachusetts who previously served as Special Representative for Trade Negotiations.

143 Remarks of Welcome at the White House to Prime Minister Maiwandwal of Afghanistan. *March 28, 1967*

Mr. Prime Minister, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

I am very happy, on behalf of all Americans, to welcome you back to our country, Mr. Prime Minister, and to this Capital City that you know so well.

All of us will remember that you came here before as the Ambassador from your country. Today you return as Prime Minister. We are very proud that a good friend who lived among us has found time to pay us a cordial visit in the position of great trust and distinction which you now hold.

Mr. Prime Minister, Afghanistan is far from us in miles and hours as we meet here this morning. But for us it is no longer a distant, far-off, remote place.

Countless Americans have come to know your country and to know your people.

President Eisenhower was your guest. Their Majesties King Zahir and Queen Homaira are warmly remembered by all of

us for their visit here in 1963.

Ambassador Pazhwak is our good neighbor in New York where he now serves as President of the United Nations General Assembly.

So we meet today as friends. We live on opposite sides of the globe, yet we have much in common:

—Your land, like ours, has a strong tradition of freedom and independence.

—Your people, like ours, cherish diversity while they seek unity in mutual respect and justice.

—You, like us, are experimenters in the art of government and social reform.

—And we share a common dedication to peace, and to the ideal of a world community based on freedom.

Mr. Prime Minister, these are only a few of the ties which bind our nations and our peoples together. Historically, the relations between our countries have been very close

and cordial. Today they are warmer than ever before. It is a very great honor and privilege to have you with us to discuss an even more productive future.

We are so happy that you could come to our land.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:38 a.m. on the South Lawn at the White House where Prime Minister Mohammad Hashim Maiwandwal was given a formal welcome with full military honors. The Prime Minister responded as follows:

Mr. President:

I wish to thank Your Excellency most sincerely for your warm words of welcome and kind expressions of friendship towards Afghanistan.

First, I have the honor to convey the heartfelt greetings of my sovereign, King Mohammad Zahir, to you personally and, through you, to the Government and the people of the United States of America.

His Majesty recalls with the greatest of pleasure and satisfaction the cordial hospitality accorded to him and Her Majesty, Queen Homaira, during their memorable state visit to the United States in September 1963.

For my own part, I wish to thank you for inviting me to make this visit to the United States which I remember so fondly from my two previous official assignments in this country.

It will afford me a welcome opportunity to meet and talk with you, Mr. President, as well as other officials and citizens of the United States, including many old friends.

Although a considerable geographic distance separates our two countries, our common belief and devotion to liberty and respect for the inherent dignity of man has bridged this distance.

I am confident that my visit will serve to

strengthen and promote the friendly and cultural relations which so happily have prevailed between Afghanistan and the United States since the establishment of formal ties in 1943.

I find it an interesting and noteworthy coincidence that the day before yesterday, my first full day in the United States on this visit, marked the anniversary of the signing of the historic agreement in Paris 31 years ago establishing diplomatic and consular representation between our two countries for the first time.

It was during these years that Afghan students began coming to the United States for higher studies, and the flow has increased steadily through the years since then.

Also over the past 20 years many Americans have been coming to Afghanistan to assist our country in its economic development, along with specialists and technicians of other countries and the United Nations.

Afghanistan is engaged in an all-out effort to develop its economy while at the same time modernizing its political and social institutions.

Our people deeply appreciate the assistance which the friendly countries, including the United States, have contributed to these goals.

Afghanistan follows a policy of active nonalignment, and is determined to exercise its free judgment in international affairs.

It endeavors wherever possible to serve the cause of international peace and the rights of nations and peoples in the firm belief that only in peace can the progress of all nations, including Afghanistan, be assured, and that international understanding is the best way of insuring human prosperity throughout the world.

My Government is strongly dedicated to working for reform in the economic, political, social, and cultural affairs in the country.

I am looking forward, Mr. President, to friendly exchanges of views with you and other members of your Government in the hope that they may contribute to the achievement of the peace and prosperity for which we and our peoples strive.

Thank you, Mr. President.

144 Toasts of the President and Prime Minister Maiwandwal.

March 28, 1967

Mr. Prime Minister, Your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen:

Among the last state visitors that our beloved President John Kennedy received in this White House were Their Majesties King Zahir and Queen Homaira of Afghanistan. They won our hearts during that visit. They

reminded us that, although their country and ours are half a world apart, we are neighbors in thought and we are kindred in spirit.

Today it is our good fortune to welcome the distinguished diplomat, the professor and the journalist who heads the Government of Afghanistan.

You, sir, are no stranger here with us. You are, rather, an old and very honored friend of many in this room, and of many more elsewhere in this city and in this Nation.

There was a time, Mr. Prime Minister, when we knew little of your country, except that it was a land of adventure, a romantic land where cultures met, rich history was written, a place where spirited and sturdy men fought with pride to maintain and to keep their independence.

We know this still, but now we know a great deal more about your land.

We know today that you and your countrymen, under the leadership of His Majesty King Zahir, have set as your high goal Afghanistan's "experiment in democracy."

We know today what you are doing to develop your country. We know what you are doing to enrich the lives of all of your people.

Mr. Prime Minister, we here in America, all of us, are very proud to be associated with you in that effort.

If it would be useful to you, Mr. Prime Minister, if you think it would be helpful, we are prepared to send to your country a team of this Nation's best agricultural experts, directed by Secretary Freeman, who would be delighted to work with your specialists in the vital achievement of agricultural self-sufficiency that we both know is so very important to this and to future generations.

Mr. Prime Minister, you have come to visit with us just after the festival of the New Year in your country. That season, like the coming of spring for us, is a time of reaffirmation and rededication. It is a time when we can, together, rededicate ourselves to the great tasks that each of us, in our own way, in our own land, are trying so hard to do:

—to build a better framework of social justice for all of our people;

—to devote our energies and our resources to better lives for all of our people;

—to strengthen the strong roots of freedom and the spirit of independence that has motivated us both throughout our histories;

—and, most important of all, to make a contribution, individually and collectively, to a lasting peace among men throughout the world.

This morning as we were talking, the Secretary General of the United Nations made public the main lines of his new proposal for a general truce and cessation of hostilities in Vietnam. He presented that proposal to our honored and most distinguished Ambassador, Arthur Goldberg, who is privileged to be with us here today, in New York first on March 14th.

On March 15th, under Secretary Rusk's and Ambassador Goldberg's direction, we promptly replied, welcoming the proposal and noting that it contains "constructive and positive elements toward bringing a peaceful settlement of the Vietnam conflict."

We promptly told the Secretary General that we would be consulting immediately with the Government of South Vietnam and with our other allies, and that we would provide him with a full and very prompt reply. On March 15th we said that.

On March 18th Ambassador Goldberg delivered that reply. It was positive. It was definitive. It was affirmative.

The Government of Vietnam also responded constructively.

Yesterday we regretfully learned from Radio Hanoi that they were informing the world that they apparently were not prepared to accept the Secretary General's proposal. As they stated through their radio, "The Vietnam problem has no concern with the United Nations, and the United Nations has absolutely no right to interfere in

any way with the Vietnam question."

We respectfully disagree. War and peace are concerns of the United Nations. They are concerns of all people.

We welcome the efforts of not only the United Nations but any nation, large or small, if they have any suggestion or any contribution they are prepared to make.

I would hope that the Secretary General was correct this morning when he said that none of the parties has categorically—categorically—turned his plan down.

We have seen over the past several years—and, yes, recently in the past several months—one effort after another to bring peace to Southeast Asia fail because Hanoi rejected it.

But, Mr. Prime Minister and honored guests, I want everyone who can hear my voice or see my words to know that this Nation will continue to persist. Deep in our history is the memory of what President Abraham Lincoln said to his countrymen in the dark days of 1861:

"Suppose you go to war, you cannot fight always; and when, after much loss on both sides, and no gain on either, you cease fighting, the identical old questions as to terms of intercourse are again upon you."

In Southeast Asia the terms for the relations among states were set in 1954 and 1962 by international accords. In the end they must be honored. In the end the people of South Vietnam must be given the chance to determine **their** destiny without external interference.

So all of our power, our intelligence, and our imagination will be devoted in the future, as in the past, to bringing that day nearer.

As we meet here in this spring, in this period of dedication, this spring of 1967, let us together pledge anew our dedication to the achievement of the objectives of social

justice, devoting our energy and resources to better lives; to strengthen the roots of freedom and independence, and to making a contribution, individually and collectively, to peace among men.

Mr. Prime Minister, I have no doubt after our extended visit today, that we are joined in these objectives and in this resolve.

Now I should like to ask our friends who have come here from other parts of the Nation out of friendship and respect for the distinguished Prime Minister to join me in a toast to His Majesty King Zahir and to the great Nation of Afghanistan.

NOTE: The President proposed the toast at 2:17 p.m. at a luncheon in the State Dining Room at the White House. Prime Minister Maiwandwal responded as follows:

President Johnson, Your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen:

I wish to thank you again, Mr. President, as I had the occasion to do on my arrival earlier this morning, for your very kind words of welcome to me personally, and your expressions of friendship for my country and the people of Afghanistan.

It is gratifying to know that the visit of Their Majesties, the King and Queen of Afghanistan, in 1963, is still so fondly remembered in this country.

I can assure you that the friendly sentiments you have expressed are warmly reciprocated by them.

I am pleased to be here and to visit the United States again.

Mr. President, the experiment of Afghanistan in democracy, I am proud to confirm, is a noble endeavor and is in full swing under the wise and benevolent leadership and guidance of His Majesty, our King.

When he visited the United States in autumn 1963, this experiment was merely a new seed planted in our ancient soil, but it has been carefully nurtured since then and now has grown into a sturdy young plant.

Its blossoms include a liberal new constitution which appeared in 1964, free nationwide parliamentary elections by universal suffrage and secret ballot in 1965; establishment of an independent parliament representative of their Nation, and the adoption of a host of progressive new laws designed to reform and modernize our society and political institutions.

Our experiment, in short, has had a healthy start and is beginning to bear fruit.

But we have chosen to modernize not on merely

one but on several fronts at once—economic as well as political and social—and in some of this we highly value the great assistance which friends like the United States of America have been giving us in developing our economy.

We appreciate your help in building our infrastructure, especially the construction of roads like the magnificent Kabul-Kandahar highway, a gift of the American people dedicated only last August in a ceremony attended by Secretary Freeman.

And the highway between Herat and the Iranian border currently under construction.

Similar cooperation between our two countries is, to a considerable extent, helping to develop our educational system, our agriculture, our water resources, and our transportation system.

All of this will pay repeated dividends for the future lives of our people.

May I assure you, Mr. President, that our prime aim and driving ambition is to reach self-sustained economic growth in as short a time as possible so as to free ourselves from the need for foreign assistance.

Still, we continue to need your help in many ways in order to accelerate our growth and reach our national goals in the shortest possible time.

Your kind offer of assistance by a special team of experts to advise us on ways and means of achieving agricultural self-sufficiency would indeed be useful, and we look forward to discussing this, as well as other aspects of cooperation, with the responsible officials of your Government.

Mr. President, Afghanistan is a real example of a country in which the sincere efforts of the people and friendly assistance of foreign countries have combined to create an area of peace and stability

in an all too often turbulent and insecure world.

We firmly believe in the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, including the necessity of solving international problems by peaceful means.

In this spirit, we continue to pursue our efforts aimed at the peaceful settlement of the Pakhtunistan problem which constitutes the major issue in our relationships with Pakistan.

As a living example of international cooperation in peace, our policy of active and positive nonalignment, and of coexistence, has worked for the advantage of our country, our region, and, we hope, the world.

This is not a new policy for us, but rather one we have pursued throughout this century as a national struggle and a consequence of our geographic position and historical experience.

You have aptly referred, Mr. President, to the present season of the Afghan New Year, which falls also in the beginning of spring, as a time of rededication. In our case it marks this year the beginning of our third 5-year plan through which we hope to make further substantial progress in improving the life of our people.

The Government and the Nation of Afghanistan are grateful for the friendship, understanding, and interest manifested by the Government and people of the United States in our struggle for economic and social betterment.

Ladies and gentlemen, friends, I invite you to join me in a toast to the health and prosperity of the President of the United States and to the great American people.

[As printed above, this item follows the text released by the White House Press Office.]

145 Joint Statement Following Discussions With the Prime Minister of Afghanistan. *March 28, 1967*

AT THE invitation of President Johnson, Prime Minister Mohammad Hashim Maiwandwal of Afghanistan visited Washington from March 28–30, 1967. The President and Prime Minister met on March 28 and exchanged views on matters of mutual interest.

President Johnson took particular pleasure in welcoming the Prime Minister back to Washington, recalling his long and distinguished role as Ambassador from Afghanistan to the United States. The President also recalled the state visit to the United States in

September 1963 of Their Majesties King Mohammed Zahir Shah and Queen Homaira, a visit which added substantially to the long record of close friendship between the United States and Afghanistan. He asked the Prime Minister to convey to His Majesty the King the warm affection and admiration of the American people for the Afghan people.

Prime Minister Maiwandwal described for the President Afghanistan's continuing efforts, under the leadership of His Majesty

the King, to build and strengthen democratic institutions and to press economic and social progress. He outlined his government's intention, under the Third Five Year Plan, to intensify economic development efforts. The President assured the Prime Minister of the continuing desire of the United States to do its part in assisting Afghanistan's efforts for implementing the Third Five Year Plan. The Prime Minister expressed to the President the deep appreciation of the Afghan people for United States economic assistance.

In this connection the President noted with special satisfaction cooperative efforts of long duration by the United States and Afghanistan in many fields of education.

The Prime Minister reviewed Afghanistan's foreign policy of nonalignment and friendship and cooperation with all nations. He described the problems existing among the countries of the region to which Afghanistan belongs and reiterated Afghanistan's view that these problems can be solved

through peaceful means and in an atmosphere of understanding, confidence, and realism.

The two leaders talked about current developments elsewhere in Asia, particularly the urgent need for peace and stability in Southeast Asia. They outlined their respective positions on the problem of Vietnam and agreed that a peaceful and just settlement is urgently needed. The President described for the Prime Minister the many and persisting efforts of the United States to achieve a cessation of hostilities in Vietnam consistent with the freedom and independence of the people of South Vietnam. The Prime Minister stated that implementation of the 1954 Geneva accords is a sound basis for the settlement of the Vietnamese problem.

The President was delighted to know of the intention of the University of California at Santa Barbara to bestow an honorary degree on the Prime Minister during his current visit.

146 Remarks to the Delegates to the National Conference on Crime Control. *March 28, 1967*

Mr. Chief Justice, Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Secretary Katzenbach, Director Hoover, distinguished Members of the Congress, Mr. Vorenberg, ladies and gentlemen:

The newspaper the other day carried a story of the brutal murder of a young man. He was a college student, 20 years old, who had just made the honors list. He was accosted at night a few blocks from his school in Brooklyn, by a band of four other youths. They demanded cigarettes. When the student said he had none, one of the group stabbed him in the chest.

That young man, whose life was bright with promise, died there on that city street.

This tragic story is all too familiar to the readers of American newspapers. Each one of its kind brings its own sickening realization of the high cost of crime in this country. But the heartbroken mother of the young victim voiced that cost in a cry which must haunt us all. Her grief, she said, would have been easier to bear if her son had died—and now I quote her anguished words—"in Vietnam, for his country." "But to die for nothing," she said, "for a cigarette—it's monstrous."

It is monstrous that while more than 8,000 Americans were dying for their country 10,000 miles away in Vietnam, more

than 50,000 Americans met violent death here on the streets of America, at the hands of other Americans.

That stricken mother spoke in her sorrow to the conscience of all America. The murder of her son was monstrous. And so was the pattern of crime into which it fits, the entire burden of crime that this country bears—monstrous, yes; senseless, and at violent odds with the goals of our society. The grim statistics of our crime record is America's national disgrace.

There is no reason for me to recount to you those statistics tonight because you know them. You know them perhaps better than anyone else in our country. Because the Crime Commission report—which you have met to study, and which you have met to implement—describes them, and describes them in very sobering detail.

Even beyond the statistics themselves, there is the climate of fear—the climate of fear that crime creates.

We are now mutually pledged—all of us who are in this room tonight, with all the resources that we command—to control and to finally eliminate that climate of fear in this country.

The war which we must now wage on crime will be fought on many fronts, and with many weapons. It must and will be fought with full dedication to the principle that in a democratic society there can be no contradiction between civil rights and civil order. It will be fought in the knowledge that safe streets are just as critical to a decent life in poor neighborhoods as in the suburbs of affluence.

The report of the National Crime Commission is a landmark in the systematic appraisal of the entire crime problem. But it will mean little—very little—until its findings and its recommendations become the actual impulses for change and redirection

throughout this land.

That is why this conference is a hopeful conference. It is looking at the problem whole. It is convened in the awareness that the many disciplines represented here must not be isolated in their efforts.

Many of you are on the front lines in the fight against crime. You know the drudgery and the danger of that fight, and the occasional small triumphs that really make it all very worthwhile.

Not long ago someone told me, "Mr. President, there are three ways to lower the crime rate: You can reduce the number of people. You can limit the number of acts that you classify as crimes. Or you can get hold of the statistics and fudge."

I don't accept that prescription.

I think you lower the crime rate by improving the law enforcement and correction systems, by improving the conditions of life for all of our people, by teaching respect for law and order, and by supporting the police officers and the courts as they do their duty.

Clearing away the myths that obscure and obstruct our tasks ought to be first on the agenda of this conference.

What are some of these myths?

The first is the notion that crime can be described in a single category. It cannot. It is violent crime that creates the climate of fear in the streets of our cities. But in economic terms, white-collar crime—although it is much less visible—is considerably greater. The economic cost of crimes such as petty theft, consumer fraud, antitrust violations, and embezzlement dwarf all crimes of violence.

Moreover, there is more than one environment in which crime occurs.

We are all familiar with the crime that breeds in the cesspools of injustice and poverty in urban slums and in the ghettos

throughout this great land. The great immigrant reformer, Jacob Riis, once wrote of the American slumdweller: "They are the victims, not the masters, of their environment. . . . The bad environment becomes the heredity of the next generation."

Tonight we know the forceful and tragic truth of this. And we know that a major part of our assault on crime must be an attack on the conditions of despair and denial of human opportunity in which it can grow.

But there is also crime which thrives under conditions of affluence. Crime is neither the concern nor the responsibility of any isolated minority. No sector of our national life is untouched by its effects or freed of its responsibility.

A second myth is that all our law enforcement agencies and correctional institutions are already adequate to the job they must do.

We know from the recent exhaustive studies that many police forces are inadequately trained and poorly organized.

We know from these studies that antiquated prison facilities are themselves the major breeders of crime and return to crime.

We know that congested courts can produce assembly-line justice which sometimes is no justice at all.

Reforms and improvements in these areas are as vitally important as any other of our endeavors to isolate and to eliminate crime.

In making these improvements, we bear in mind that law enforcement is an exercise of local initiative and responsibility. It must always remain so. But the Federal Government will not abdicate its responsibility to help where it can in maintaining public order. The criminal intelligence network pioneered under the leadership of that great American, Edgar Hoover, and his Federal Bureau of Investigation, and made available

to a growing number of State and city police agencies:

- the creation of halfway houses and work release programs in the Federal correctional system;
- the help given to local governments under the Law Enforcement Assistance Act of 1965.

These are all active, living examples of Federal assistance.

And finally—the Safe Streets and Crime Control Act of 1967, that I have just forwarded to the Congress. I believe it provides the kind of assistance local governments need to meet the problems that local governments face.

We will need all the help that we can get to secure the passage of this urgent legislation. All volunteers will be gladly recognized.

We are ready to provide the funds for it after its enactment. We have asked the Congress to appropriate \$50 million for the first fiscal year under the act, and \$300 million for the second year. Beyond that our investment will depend on the response of State and local governments.

Many of you in this room tonight will be joined in breaking this fresh ground. You will be seeking to bridge the gaps that often exist between different jurisdictions of government, between different units of the criminal justice system, between those who gather information and those who bear the responsibility of acting upon information.

I hope that by the end of this year each State in this great Union will have a strong planning committee, made up of its leading citizens, and an agency whose vision embraces the whole sweep of the criminal judicial system.

If the new act is to do its job, then these

committees and these agencies will be essential.

The Safe Streets and Crime Control Act is fundamental to the safety of the individual, fundamental to the security of our homes, and is fundamental to the enduring stability of our great society.

But until that legislation is passed, there is much that every State and every city and every county can and should do.

The revision of State criminal codes—the pooling of facilities—experimenting with community treatment of lesser offenders—new efforts at cooperation among all governments—all of these can be undertaken now, without any legislation, and not in the distant future.

“Public order,” I said to the Congress in my message on crime in America, “is the first business of government.”

I have come here to meet with you tonight because we are allies in the maintenance of public order. We share a trust which this Nation has reposed in us.

So together let us make it clear beyond the possibility of doubt or disbelief that, given the weapons we need, our war on crime in

this great country of ours, from this hour on—from this night on—with this little guard of courageous and enlightened leaders—this war on crime will be unrelenting.

Thank you and good night.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:07 p.m. at a dinner at the Willard Hotel in Washington. In his opening words he referred to Chief Justice Earl Warren, Attorney General Ramsey Clark, Under Secretary of State Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, Director J. Edgar Hoover of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and Chairman James Vorenberg of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice.

A memorandum to the President from Attorney General Clark, dated March 5, stated that the conference, called at the President's direction by the Attorney General, would be held March 28 and 29 at the State Department, and that delegates had been invited representing the 50 States and Puerto Rico, cities with more than 50,000 residents, and leading professional, civic, business, religious, and service organizations.

The conference, the memorandum said, would inform delegates concerning results of projects already begun in certain cities and States. It would examine proposals of the National Crime Commission to help States, cities, and private groups decide which proposals would be applicable to their particular areas, and it would consider how the Federal Government could best help the States and cities improve their control of crime (3 Weekly Comp. Pres. Docs., p. 378).

147 Statement by the President Concerning the Report on the Relationship Between the CIA and Private Voluntary Organizations. *March 29, 1967*

I HAVE received the report from the committee which I appointed on February 15 to review relationships between the Central Intelligence Agency and private American voluntary organizations. This committee consisted of Under Secretary of State Nicholas Katzenbach, as Chairman, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare John Gardner, and CIA Director Richard Helms.

I accept this committee's proposed statement of policy and am directing all agencies of the Government to implement it fully.

We will also give serious consideration to the committee's recommendation “that the Government should promptly develop and establish a public-private mechanism to provide public funds openly for overseas activities of organizations which are adjudged de-

serving, in the national interest, of public support." To review concrete ways of accomplishing this objective, I am requesting Secretary Rusk to serve as chairman of a special committee which will include representatives from the executive, the Congress, and the private community.

NOTE: The report, in the form of a memorandum to the President signed by the committee members, is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential

Documents (vol. 3, p. 556). The proposed statement of policy is as follows:

"No federal agency shall provide any covert financial assistance or support, direct or indirect, to any of the nation's educational or private voluntary organizations. This policy specifically applies to all foreign activities of such organizations and it reaffirms present policy with respect to their domestic activities.

"Where such support has been given, it will be terminated as quickly as possible without destroying valuable private organizations before they can seek new means of support."

148 Remarks to the Directors of the State Departments of Commerce. *March 29, 1967*

I HOPE that you will indulge me and understand my delay. I am running a little bit behind schedule.

Nevertheless, I am very glad that you honored us by coming here to see us today.

Ten days ago we had a most productive session here in the White House with the Governors of the various States in the Union. There were some 49 present.

Just before they came, I submitted to Congress a message on improving the quality of government at all levels—Federal—and I guess we need it more than anybody—State and local.

I spoke of the urgent need to improve the administration of the new programs that we have adopted in the last few years, for when there is inefficient, shortsighted, or wasteful administration of health, education, economic development, or welfare programs, really it is not us bureaucrats who suffer. It is the people who suffer in the long run.

Your hands, as directors of the State departments of commerce, will be operating the levers of many of these new programs.

While we can plan together and while we can offer resources, experience, and techni-

cal assistance to you, their success or their failure will depend in the final analysis on your success and on your performance.

I said in this year's State of the Union message, "Federal energy is essential but it is not enough. Only a total working partnership among the Federal, State, and local governments can succeed."

One example of the kind of cooperative program that we are trying to establish is the State Technical Service Act.

I called it a sleeper when I signed it into law in September of 1965. Little was even written about it, but much has already been achieved under it.

In 1966, 24 States submitted annual programs under the terms of the act leading to the approval of 600 technical service projects.

More than 100 of your institutions of higher learning have participated in projects that were approved last year.

This year we expect to nearly double the number of State programs approved.

The Federal Government has spent more than \$6 million strengthening local businesses under the act.

This year I asked Congress to appropriate

\$35 million for two measures to help State and local governments prepare their citizens for careers in public life.

Under the Public Service Education Act, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Mr. Gardner, would be authorized to provide fellowships for young men and women who want to embark on the adventure of government service.

Funds would be available for research in the new methods of education and training facilities for advanced study in public affairs and administration.

I have asked \$10 million to finance this act.

The Intergovernmental Manpower Act, which I have just submitted, would be in part an exchange program between the Federal Government and the State governments.

The Civil Service Commission would provide fellowships to State and local employees in order that they can take graduate training.

The act would allow increased mobility between the Federal and State governments, Federal employees could spend up to 2 years working for State and local agencies with no loss of job rights or job benefits.

I have asked for \$25 million under this act.

I think it is of vital importance for it encourages the exchange of thoughts and ideas that will benefit all realms of government—State and local as well as national.

It will give public servants in the statehouses, city halls, and Washington a better appreciation of the problems that their counterparts are facing.

As you know, I have suggested the formation of a new Cabinet post, the Department

of Business and Labor, combining the Departments of Commerce and Labor into one.

Both of these great components of our dynamic society would, operating in unison, enjoy greater strength than they have today.

The new department will have a voice that will be heard loud and clear throughout the land on all the economic policy decisions of the country.

It will be the chief instrument for implementing national policies affecting business and labor.

Our progress has been substantial but our work is not done.

I recently told your Governors that we face "a tremendous job of reorganization, of systematic management, calling upon all of our public and private resources at all levels of our national life."

The closer we can work together the sooner, the better, the more economically we can get the total job done.

I was happy to have had this chance to see you today, although I have been delayed.

Your interest in our ideas is a healthy and a very encouraging sign. If we are to operate this Government—this Government of, for, and by the people—nothing is more important than public knowledge and an awareness of its goals and its aspirations.

It is our common obligation to make this process of education meaningful.

I want to think that I can count on your help.

I want to thank you for coming here and meeting with me.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:24 p.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House. As printed above, this item follows the text released by the White House Press Office.

149 Statement by the President Upon Signing Order "Effective Date of Department of Transportation Act." *March 30, 1967*

PRIMITIVE trails united our early colonies. After we became a Nation, horse-drawn wagons carried our settlers—and our Union—westward.

Today a complex network of waterways, railroads, highways, and airlines interlaces our Nation.

In the process of its growth, transportation has become America's biggest industry.

More than 2½ million people and \$1 of every \$5 of our national economy today operate the vast transportation network which moves the people and the products of this society. Last year:

- More than 90 million motor vehicles passed over some 3 million miles of paved roads and streets.

- Almost 100,000 airplanes traveled more than 1 billion miles.

- 1.5 trillion ton miles of cargo moved by railroads, highways, and waterways.

But the very size of our transportation system and the rapidity of its growth have produced problems which this Nation can no longer tolerate:

- Traffic clogs the streets of our cities and the airplanes above them.

- Accidents and safety abuses bring unnecessary death and injury to thousands.

- Outmoded and inefficient services and equipment add unnecessarily to the costs of consumer goods.

- The countryside is needlessly defaced.

Congestion, inconvenience, costly delays, death and suffering—all of these, and more—demonstrate the urgent need for action.

For this reason I proposed, and the Congress last year approved, the creation of the Department of Transportation.

The Executive order signed today, following months of extensive planning, will bring

this vital new Department of Government into operation on Saturday, April 1. It will consolidate 35 programs previously dispersed through 7 departments and independent agencies. It will bring together nearly 100,000 employees, and annual expenditures of more than \$6 billion.

The tasks of this new department are as complex and difficult as they are challenging and important:

- To modernize and unify our national transportation policy.

- To bring greater safety to the travels of all American citizens.

- To apply the best of an expanding technology to every mode of transportation.

- To strengthen our partnership with private enterprise and State and local governments in meeting America's urgent transportation needs.

- To improve our transportation links with the rest of the world.

The country looks to Alan Boyd, the Secretary of the new Department on transportation matters, to set in motion the programs which will move us rapidly toward these goals.

The Secretary should:

- Give top priority to the safety of our people as they travel by land, sea, or air.

- Step up our efforts to improve traffic flow and ease congestion without scarring the beauty of our cities and countryside.

- Call upon the technological genius of this country to provide better roads and highways, vehicles which do not pollute the atmosphere, faster and more efficient modes of transportation.

- Enhance our foreign trade through improved connections with the larger

systems of world transportation.

—Assist, in cooperation with the Agency for International Development, the less fortunate nations of this world to overcome their critical transportation problems.

The Executive order signed today opens a new era for transportation in America. It marks the beginning of a determined effort

to achieve that transportation system which the America of today critically needs—and on which the productive America of tomorrow depends.

The well-being of all Americans will be affected, directly and vitally, by the progress we make toward the goals which we have set.

NOTE: The President referred to Executive Order 11340 (3 Weekly Comp. Pres. Docs., p. 560; 32 F.R. 5453; 3 CFR, 1967 Comp., p. 267).

150 Remarks at a Dinner for the Democratic State Chairmen.

March 30, 1967

IT IS A PLEASURE for me to welcome so many of my old friends to Washington.

I want to talk to you tonight about the future of the Democratic Party, and of our Nation.

All of us cherish the vitality of our two-party system. I would be unforgivably partisan if I suggested to you that the fate of the Nation hinges on the success of the Democratic Party in 1968.

A Republican victory in 1968 would not destroy the Nation, but—as their record clearly indicates—it would signal a retreat in the 35-year campaign for a modern, responsible, compassionate America.

I do not believe that retreat will occur. But I know it can occur unless we make clear what we are doing in our time for the people we serve.

Inevitably the party in power is subject to daily attacks—in the press and on the stump. Our job is to build; the opponent's to tear down.

But there is no need for us to be defensive in any fundamental sense.

Never in American history has any party matched our record of responsibility. Never has a party fulfilled as many of the promises it made to the American voter.

I am somewhat chagrined when I read

about the trouble our party is supposed to be in. You hear stories of dissension and disaffection that almost make you believe there are no Democrats left—despite the majorities we have in both Houses of Congress, despite the greatest victory—in 1964—that any party ever enjoyed. Some of the columnists, a great many Republicans, and even a few Democrats are unpacking the crepe for next year.

As he did so often, Speaker Rayburn had just the right prescription for this kind of ailment. At the Democratic convention in 1948 the atmosphere grew so thick with bitterness and despair that Mr. Sam had to take an even stronger hand than usual in bringing things back on the track. He had this to say:

“The Democratic Party has been the majority party in the United States of America for 16 years, and for God's sake at this convention let us act like it.”

Now, in 1967, the Democratic Party is still the majority party. We ought to act like it.

In politics, after awhile one side learns the responsibilities that go with winning, and the other gets accustomed to the pain of losing. I recommend that we leave to the Republicans the dubious pleasure of behav-

ing like losers. Let them make the job of being State chairmen difficult. Let us not do their work for them. Let them try to raise Republican funds in a climate of do-nothing Republican defeatism. Let's don't help them by outcrying them.

We have the winning issues. We have legislated as winners. For 35 years we have behaved as winners. The last Congress—the 89th—was controlled almost two to one by Democrats; and it enacted more and better legislation than any previous Congress.

But does every family in every precinct in your State know about these accomplishments, and do they know who brought them about?

If you have any doubt about that, it's time now to get to work and make sure the people know where the credit belongs.

We have a capable, industrious Democratic National Committee. You can count on it for support. It has recently added some extremely competent officials. It has blended its work effectively with the Senate and House Campaign Committees.

But the Democratic National Committee cannot register voters in the precincts. It cannot discover the most intelligent and attractive candidates. It can help, but it has to rely on leaders such as you to broaden the base of the party in each of the 50 States. The final responsibility for this job is where it always is—on the leaders.

Finally, I want to speak about Vietnam.

Every American wants peace. Every American is concerned about the war in Vietnam.

In the months to come, every American must realize why we have taken on the obligations of freedom in Vietnam—not only for ourselves, our children, and our grandchildren, but for hundreds of millions throughout the world who prefer the possi-

bility of democracy to the certainty of totalitarianism.

Thus our obligations in Vietnam are obligations to the future: to generations yet unborn, as well as to those who must suffer the agonies of the present conflict.

I have not viewed the war as a political matter. I never will.

I believe that there is a basic understanding in America today regarding Vietnam that is shared by Republicans as well as Democrats—hawks as well as doves—Easterners as well as Westerners.

But if the conduct of this struggle is brought into our public discussions in 1968, let us be ready for that. Let us ask any of those who challenge us how they would pursue this engagement with terror: by gambling with a total worldwide war, or by running from their responsibilities or by permitting our adversaries to descend, unimpeded on the men who fight for us in the hills and jungles and rice paddies—or instead, by pursuing a policy that will stop the aggressor in the South, increase his costs in the North, and bring him ultimately to the bargaining table.

Democrats have fought for a policy of measured strength before. America and the free world are the stronger for what we did. The names of Franklin Roosevelt, Harry Truman, and John Kennedy are inscribed on the rolls of American honor not because they were foolhardy or weak—but because they were wise and courageous when it counted. As you go back to your people, you take with you a record that you can be proud of—and that Americans can endorse with a free mind and conscience. For my part, I have no fear of the outcome.

NOTE: The President spoke at a dinner at the Washington Hilton Hotel. As printed above, this item follows the text released by the White House Press Office.

151 Remarks Upon Arrival in Texas With Latin American Ambassadors for a Weekend Visit. *March 31, 1967*

Congressman Gonzalez, Mr. Mayor, Your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen:

We have had a very delightful trip from Washington coming to this beautiful city of San Antonio.

We have visited individually with most of our neighbors in this hemisphere.

We have talked about our problems and our future.

Now we are going to enjoy a wonderful Texas weekend here as your guests to

visit with you and exchange views about what is to come.

We thank you so much for all the time and talent that has gone into this planning.

We are so grateful to you for giving us this wonderful welcome.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:10 a.m. at Randolph Air Force Base, Texas. In his opening words he referred to Representative Henry B. Gonzalez of Texas and Mayor Walter W. McAllister of San Antonio.

152 Proclamation 3774, Pan American Day and Pan American Week, 1967. *April 1, 1967*

[Released April 1, 1967. Dated March 31, 1967]

By the President of the United States of America a Proclamation

There is special meaning this year in the hemispheric tradition of Pan American Day.

On April twelfth, for the first time in a decade and the second time in history, the Presidents and Heads of Government of the American nations will meet to fortify the foundation of the house of the Americas.

Seventy-seven years ago we first joined our hearts and hands as brothers in a hopeful hemisphere. We pledged a common pledge—we dreamed a common dream. We have since translated that pledge into progress. And we have founded the Organization of American States as a firm framework for the fulfillment of that dream.

We have recently strengthened that Organization by amending its Charter to meet the challenge that our changing times demand.

We have extended our unique experiment in international living by welcoming into

our membership the new nation of Trinidad and Tobago.

We have enhanced the meaning of that experiment by forging within it an Alliance for Progress in which our goals for the good life are matched only by our desire to achieve them. And the impressive accomplishments of these last six years trace that desire's growing satisfaction.

When the Alliance was formed in 1961, it was estimated that our Latin American neighbors could supply about 80% of the capital required. In fact, they have done better than this. By the end of this year, the gross investment in Latin America will have totaled over \$100 billion—and 95% of it will have been from domestic sources. This ability of our neighbors to save and invest in their own future is a most striking indication that Latin America can, with relatively modest external help, mobilize the resources needed for its own development—and thus strengthen the foundations of the house we

share in this hemisphere.

The cooperative spirit of the Alliance is bringing new-found confidence and hope into this house.

—Per capita growth rates show that more and more countries are breaking the economic stagnation of earlier years.

—Men, women and children are alive today who would otherwise have died. In ten countries, deaths caused by malaria dropped from 10,810 to 2,280 in three years' time. Smallpox cases declined almost as sharply. And new health centers and hospitals are growing everywhere.

—Men whose fathers for generations toiled on land owned by others are now working it as their own. With U.S. assistance, 1.1 million acres have been irrigated and 106,000 acres reclaimed. 15,000 miles of road have been built or improved, many of them farm-to-market access roads.

—For tens of thousands of families, the most fundamental conditions of life are improving. 350,000 housing units have been, or are now being, constructed. New and modernized water supply systems have been built to benefit some 20 million people.

So as we assemble under the banner of the Alliance for Progress, we are cheered by success and encouraged in the task that lies ahead.

With the confidence born of achievement, we know that we can prepare a better world for the new generation of Americans who will come after us.

We look to the 60% of Latin America's 245 million people who are now under the age of 25, and we know that the task of meeting their aspirations is great. But we also know that we have forged the tools to

do the task. And there is promise in what we see.

The sustaining arm of education is reaching out to more and more of this strategic 60% of Latin Americans.

—Since the Alliance was formed, school enrollments have increased at an average annual rate of over 6%. This rate represents more than twice the rate of increase in the total population.

—For each 1,000 inhabitants, there were 124 students enrolled in schools in 1960, 170 in 1965, and 174 in 1966.

—28,000 new classrooms have been built. —160,000 teachers have been trained or given additional training.

—More than 14 million textbooks have been distributed.

—13 million school children and 3 million pre-schoolers participate in school lunch programs.

And more than this, what statistics cannot adequately relay is the emergence of a generation of vigorous, confident and responsible leaders throughout Latin America—leaders who are ready to help their countries help themselves. These leaders are beginning to include more and more women doers in their ranks. And since women comprise over half the population of Latin America, there is new potential in this leadership.

The successes scored by the Alliance have been aided by the United States—but they have been realized by the cooperative spirit that resides in the commitment and dedication of the Latin American nations themselves. Their unrelenting perseverance has been a keystone in the firm foundation of our house of hemispheric progress.

So as together we seek to strengthen—we seek a realistic goal.

As together we build to better—we build on solid ground.

Bound by geography, born of a common revolutionary heritage, nurtured by common ideals, committed to the dignity of man, and sustained by the youth and vigor that have been our common strength, we will project our traditions into a promising future—and we will prevail.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, LYNDON B. JOHNSON, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim Friday, April 14, 1967, as Pan American Day, and the week beginning April 9 and ending April 15 as Pan American Week; and I call upon the Governors of the fifty States of the Union, the Governor of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, and the officials of all other areas under the flag of the United States to issue similar proclamations.

Further, I call upon this Nation to rededicate itself to the fundamental goal of

the inter-American system, embodied in the Charter of the Organization of American States and in the Charter of Punta del Este: social justice and economic progress within the framework of individual freedom and political liberty.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Seal of the United States of America to be affixed.

DONE at the City of Washington this thirty-first day of March in the year [SEAL] of our Lord nineteen hundred and sixty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and ninety-first.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

By the President:

DEAN RUSK

Secretary of State

153 Statement by the President Upon Signing Resolution Providing Additional Emergency Food for India. *April 1, 1967*

THE WAR on hunger is the work of the entire world. H.J. Res. 267—supporting emergency food assistance to India—is a new expression of America's commitment to that humane task.

In passing the resolution by an overwhelming vote, the Congress has once again responded compassionately to India's critical food needs. We will provide her people with up to three million additional tons of food grain. An additional \$25 million worth of food is authorized for distribution by CARE and other voluntary agencies to families in drought-stricken areas.

The joint resolution demonstrates our faith in India's own drive to achieve self-sufficiency in food grains. We believe that her ambitious program of agricultural development will be rewarded with steadily

increasing food grain production. What we and the other more fortunate nations do to help India through a crisis will enable her to push forward with an economic development plan which will, we hope, bring sufficient food within the reach of her 500 million people.

The resolution also underlines the fact that success depends on other nations' help. The United States is not able to supply all the assistance that India needs. This offer endorsed by the Congress of up to 3 million tons of food grain in this resolution is contingent on appropriate matching from other countries. Other nations have responded in the past. We hope and trust they can and will meet these new and compelling needs.

The World Bank is already playing an important role in mobilizing the worldwide

effort to assist India. It has called a meeting of the nations belonging to the India consortium in early April to discuss this and other economic problems which India faces. We will carefully follow these deliberations and decisions.

I urge the nations attending that meeting to continue and to expand their food aid and general economic aid. I hope that nations which have not been associated with this

effort in the past will join with us now, either formally or informally.

Hunger transcends national borders and ideologies. It is a condition that all understand and none can countenance. This resolution reaffirms America's intention to do its part to help India meet the threat of hunger that confronts her today.

NOTE: As enacted, H.J. Res. 267 is Public Law 90-7 (81 Stat. 7).

154 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report of National Capital Transportation Agency. *April 3, 1967*

To the Congress of the United States:

I am pleased to transmit the second annual report of the National Capital Transportation Agency for calendar year 1966.

Significant steps were taken during 1966 by the Congress, the Executive Branch, and the State and local governments of the National Capital Region toward solving the transportation problems of the Washington Metropolitan Area.

During the year evidence of progress first became visible to Washington commuters. Survey markers and boring equipment on streets and sidewalks show that we are finally beginning to move.

In October, the Congress approved the interstate compact between Maryland, Virginia, and the District of Columbia creating the Washington Metropolitan Area Transit

Authority. That Authority will assume responsibility for the Washington rapid transit system and plan its extension into the Maryland and Virginia suburbs. At year's end, with the assistance of the experienced staff of the Transportation Agency, the new Authority had already embarked upon the preparation of a regional mass transit plan.

Progress has been made. We have the authority to attack the severe traffic problems plaguing the Nation's Capital and its suburbs. Now we must, and will, make every effort to implement that authority—wisely, rapidly and efficiently.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

The White House

April 3, 1967

NOTE: The second annual report of the National Capital Transportation Agency (25 pp., processed) is dated January 1, 1967.

155 Remarks of Welcome at the White House to President Sunay of Turkey. *April 3, 1967*

Mr. President, Mrs. Sunay, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

Mrs. Johnson and I are especially happy to see you, Mr. President. Your presence in America will give us a chance to return some

of the warmth and the friendliness that we received from the people of Turkey on our visit to your country almost 5 years ago.

Your people won our hearts, as they had already earned the respect and the admira-

tion of all the American people.

Our century has been greatly enriched by the goals and the achievements of the Turkish nation. More than four decades ago, the emergence of modern Turkey, under the guiding genius of Kemal Ataturk, was one of the great revolutions of our age. It remains an inspiration to all who have since won their independence or who still seek to unshackle the fetters of the past.

You have proved, by your example, that free men can create strong and independent institutions. Inscribed as a reminder to all who enter the halls of your parliament are the words: "Sovereignty belongs to the people."

Your citizens have demonstrated repeatedly their commitment to constitutional government. Your vigorous parliamentary democracy is a tribute to that dedication. You have jealously guarded your freedom of conscience and protected your independence.

Free men are also natural allies.

Turkey has been one of the most active members of the United Nations. It has served on the Security Council as well as on other United Nations bodies. A member of the Council of Europe and of the United Nations Palestine Conciliation Commission, Turkey was one of the first countries to answer the United Nations' call for troops for Korea. In 1952 Turkey joined the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, officially committing its strength to the cause of preserving peace.

Between Turkey and the United States there is a bond, a special sense of fellowship which can be known only to those who belong to the strong fraternity of free men.

It is in this spirit that we meet here today, Mr. President. I am looking forward to exploring with you the great issues of the day and the paths we might together follow to bring greater harmony among all of the nations of the world. And, too, I am looking

forward to learning more about the impressive and the exciting progress that is being made in Turkey towards a more abundant and creative life for your people.

There is a vigor and a momentum in Turkey today which your friends in America have long and enthusiastically applauded.

We know that the future belongs not merely to the strong, but to those who will labor hardest at the constructive works of peace. And, as so often in this century, Mr. President, we see Turkey leading the way.

Mr. President, we are delighted to have you and your gracious lady with us today.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:45 a.m. on the South Lawn at the White House, where President Cevdet Sunay was given a formal welcome with full military honors. The Turkish President responded as follows:

Mr. President, Mrs. Johnson, ladies and gentlemen:

I am very grateful for this most cordial and warm welcome.

As I come to Washington to pay a state visit to the United States upon your kind invitation, my memory goes back to 1962 when we had the pleasure and the privilege of greeting you and Mrs. Johnson in Turkey. We were all, at that time, very much impressed by your powerful personality, your statesmanship, your dedication to the cause of peace and human progress.

As the President of the United States you have devoted all your boundless energy to the ideals which are dear to you.

My visit coincides with a very happy anniversary. That anniversary is the anniversary of the Truman Doctrine, under which the United States undertook for the first time a commitment towards the free world. The implementation of this doctrine opened the way for a lasting solidarity and partnership between Turkey and the United States.

We have so much in common with you. We share the same love of freedom and the same dedication to democracy. We are equally attached to the objective of a just peace and to the building of a community of free and equal nations. Our nations have proved throughout history how much they are determined to safeguard their liberties and how much they can meet with courage and determination any challenge.

The cooperation we inaugurated 20 years ago is as strong as ever. This association has been sealed

and reinforced by our ties of alliance within NATO which we both consider as an indispensable element of equilibrium, security, and peace. We value deeply this partnership and we are equally convinced of the need to work relentlessly to strengthen peace and promote mutual understanding and confidence among the nations of the world.

Mr. President, I am looking forward to meeting and discussing with you the matters of mutual

interest, and I also rejoice at the prospect of meeting other good friends of Turkey in the United States.

It is my fervent hope and expectation that our personal contacts will serve to strengthen further the ties of friendship which bind our two countries and to promote a greater understanding between our peoples.

Thank you.

156 Remarks at a Ceremony Marking the 50th Anniversary of the Federal Land Banks. *April 3, 1967*

Governor Tootell, Congressman Mahon, Mr. Knutsen, my old friend Charlie Thompson, ladies and gentlemen:

Two weeks ago I sent a message to Congress on poverty in America. At the end of the message, I remarked that the poverty of the thirties—the poverty of the Dust Bowl and the breadlines—was now ancient history to most Americans.

More than half our population has been born since 1940. The New Deal's great struggle to provide job opportunities, subsistence for the aged, and the simple necessities of life for millions of American men and women is something that most of our population now knows only from hearsay and only second hand.

I think still fewer of our people remember the farm depression that undermined the boom of the twenties. That is so not only because of their age, but because of the very rapid and steady decline in our farm population over the past 40 years. A phrase like "farm credit system" does not strike a chord of recognition in most of our people today—particularly these young ones who were not here when it was being formed.

I am old enough to remember when Bill Myers came down here from Cornell and we had to work through the nights to get extra appraisers on the job down in some of the areas of our country, before they threw

the Secretary of the Farm Association out of the window, when those insurance companies were foreclosing.

Nevertheless, the prosperity that most Americans have known in recent years is built in great part on our incredibly productive agriculture. And that, in turn, has been made possible by technology, hard work, and plentiful farm credit.

The majority of Americans may not be consciously celebrating the 50th anniversary of the Federal Land Bank this year, but they are benefiting every single day from what you have helped to make possible.

Twenty years ago the average family in America spent 26 percent of its after-tax income on food. Today the average family doesn't spend 26 percent of its after-tax income on food—it spends 18 percent. The difference between those figures represents a tremendous advance in prosperity. It has come about because today's farmers can produce about as much before breakfast as their fathers did working all day, with the handicaps that they had.

Now the benefits of this revolution in farm production are not limited to the grocery store or the family kitchen. Our foreign trade balance has been strengthened every year by our agricultural exports. The American farmer has helped meet his Nation's moral obligation to the world's poor. Since

1954, 145 million tons of American food has gone to feed millions of hungry people throughout the world.

Only last Saturday I signed a resolution that the Congress had passed on food for India. That resolution represents hundreds of millions of dollars of food that we will send to the starving people of that nation.

Obviously we must do more than preserve this asset. We must strengthen it. We must help it grow. The Food and Agriculture Act of 1965—one of the most reasonable, and at the same time one of the most imaginative farm bills that the Congress ever passed—is the main tool that we are using in America to do that.

Under it, net income per farm set a new record last year. The surpluses that depressed farm prices during the fifties—most of them—have already been eliminated and they no longer cast a shadow hovering over that price to depress it.

Yet despite the advances we are making in improving farm income, farmers still lag a third behind the income of city people. They are caught in a vise between stable prices and rising costs.

I have heard some voices—completely non-political, of course—say that the administration views this situation with complacency or satisfaction. Well, anything that will depress farm prices is said to be all right with us by some of our critics.

I guess you have to consider the source when you hear that statement. Farmers usually do. I used to hear Mr. Rayburn say that he would rather trust a farmer's judgment than nearly anyone else, because the farmer sat there all day on that tractor and he had a lot more time to evaluate, judge, and think than the man who got in his Cadillac and looked at his Wall Street Journal on his way to work for 30 minutes that morning.

Now anyone who believes that a

Democratic President, who was born and raised in a democratic country, in a farm area, who grew up on a farm, walked 4 miles to school, and who spent 35 years among Congressmen and Senators from farm States, can look with any pleasure at all on declining farm incomes, is either pretty naive, or pretty misinformed, or he is looking for a political issue that doesn't exist.

We are trying to use the act of 1965—and the 4 years of stability it gives us—to increase farm income substantially. There will be price fluctuations. There will be price frustrations. A lot of things contribute to it—one of which may have something to do with it now is the weather, the insects, and a few other things. But these—we believe, during this 4-year period—will straighten out.

We are on a long uphill climb, and we are going to make it. The stakes are high. Years of continued prosperity for all of our people must be built on a healthy agriculture. With reason, with determination, with mutual understanding between producers and consumers, we cannot fail.

The credit problem has always been a farmer's number one problem—along with his prices. I think that we have been able to develop an efficient and effective credit situation. I am hopeful—during the period of this 4-year program—that we can have a stable and improved price situation.

I think the American people—as well as all the eaters of the world, wherever they live—owe a deep debt of gratitude to the American farmer and to the credit system that has financed him.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:10 p.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. In his opening words he referred to R. B. Tootell, Governor of the Farm Credit Administration, Representative George H. Mahon of Texas, Fred A. Knutsen, President of the Federal Land Bank of Spokane and chairman of

the 50th anniversary committee, and Charles C. Thompson, Chairman of the Tenth Farm Credit Board, Colorado City, Texas. Later he referred to William I. Myers, former professor at Cornell University and Governor of the Farm Credit Administration 1933-1938, and to Sam Rayburn, Representative from Texas 1913-1961, who served as Speaker of the House 1940-1947, 1949-1953, 1955-1961.

Following the President's remarks Mr. Knutsen presented him with the first of 2,000 medals struck by the U.S. Mint in commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the Banks. Accompanying Mr. Knutsen were the presidents of the 11 other land banks, the 13-member Federal Farm Credit Board, district farm credit board chairmen, and officials of the Farm Credit Administration.

157 Statement by the President Reviewing Actions Taken To Carry Out Recommendations of the White House Conference on International Cooperation. *April 3, 1967*

IN LATE November of 1965, as part of this country's International Cooperation Year (ICY) program, I convened the White House Conference on International Cooperation. The Conference brought together more than 5,000 American leaders who exchanged views with people in the Government and produced over 400 recommendations in 30 reports dealing with specific subject areas for international cooperation. On August 1, 1966, I appointed a White House committee to oversee a review of the ICY recommendations. This committee, which has continually advised me on actions taken on these recommendations, has now completed its work.

It is with great pleasure that I can report that action has been taken or is now in progress in fields covered by about three-fourths of the more than 400 recommendations. Others are being subjected to further study. Fewer than 10 percent are considered to be impractical at this time.

This is a splendid example of cooperation between private citizens and their government. It confirms what I said when I called the Conference: that international cooperation is no longer an academic subject; it is a fact of life.

The ICY recommendations in the time ahead will continue to guide us. A number of the issues they dealt with are high on our agenda of business at this moment:

War on Hunger.—The ICY reports brought out the critical interrelationship between the supply of food and the rapid increase of the world's population.

In recognition of these problems, we made major adjustments last year in our Food for Peace Act and other laws. In my message to the Congress this year, I reaffirmed our intention to make the present food emergency in India the occasion for all nations to launch a new, continuing international campaign against hunger. The Congress approved the resolution to commit the United States to share fully in this effort to meet India's remaining food grain deficit.

World Weather Watch.—The ICY reports recommend active U.S. participation in the development of a World Weather Watch—an international system to observe the world's atmosphere and to communicate and analyze worldwide weather data rapidly and efficiently.

For centuries man's inability to predict weather far enough ahead has caused incalculable human suffering and property damage from storms, floods, and other natural disasters. The Congress of the World Meteorological Organization is meeting this week to consider plans for the World Weather Watch. The proposed system will, through international cooperation, lead to improved weather forecasting and protection

of life and property and deserves the wholehearted support of the American people. I am instructing our representatives to the meeting to pledge the full and continuing participation of the United States in this important endeavor.

Outer Space Treaty.—The ICY reports urged an international agreement to assure the exploration and use of outer space solely for peaceful purposes.

On January 27 of this year the United States signed such a treaty with the Soviet Union and more than 60 other nations. Hearings are now underway in the Senate on the question of U.S. adherence.

Moratorium on Antiballistic Missiles.—The ICY reports recommended a U.S.-U.S.S.R. moratorium on new deployment of systems for ballistic-missile defense.

We are taking no actions to deploy ABM's, pending the outcome of discussions with the Soviet Union. Responding to our initiative, Chairman Kosygin has confirmed the willingness of his government to discuss the question of both offensive and defensive systems.

U.S.-U.S.S.R. Consular Convention.—The ICY reports called for ratification of this convention to provide greater legal protection to our citizens visiting the Soviet Union.

In response to my request, the Senate has now given its advice and consent and I have ratified and confirmed this treaty as a constructive step in our policy of "bridge-building" with Eastern Europe.

East-West Trade Relations.—The ICY reports pointed to the necessity for new ground rules to liberalize U.S. trade with Eastern European countries.

I have recommended to the Congress early passage of the East-West trade relations bill as an essential move in this direction.

New Directions for Foreign Assistance.—

The ICY reports recommended continued commitment of substantial U.S. resources to foreign assistance, with emphasis on changed foreign assistance policies, strengthening of technical assistance and greater utilization of private resources in assistance programs.

In my message of February 9, I asked the Congress to enact a new foreign assistance bill based on six guiding principles: (1) self-help, (2) sharing costs with other nations, (3) encouragement to regional development, (4) emphasis on agriculture, health, and education, (5) protecting our balance of payments, and (6) improved administration. Early enactment of that bill is essential to an effective foreign assistance program.

A Nonproliferation Treaty.—The ICY reports called for the early conclusion of a treaty to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons.

We are continuing to press our negotiations with other nations for a nonproliferation agreement, recognizing this problem as one of the most urgent of our times.

These are only a few of the outstanding recommendations in the ICY reports on which the Government is seeking completed action.

The White House committee which over the past 8 months has been evaluating these recommendations was chaired by Director of the Bureau of the Budget, Charles L. Schultze. Other members were my Special Assistants, Walt W. Rostow and Joseph A. Califano, Jr. The Executive Director of the White House Conference and also Chairman of the ICY Committee on Urban Development, Mr. Raymond D. Nasher of Dallas, Texas, also served as a member.

In order to make sure that action does not end here, I am sending a memorandum to the heads of those departments and agencies that took part in the ICY program, directing

them to take specific further actions as required and to continue the dialogue with interested citizens. I have also asked Mr. Schultze to work with the agency heads in order to assure action on and attention to the recommendations.

It has long been my conviction that those of us in Government can greatly profit by a continuing and frank exchange with people in business, education, other professions, and in civic life. For this reason, at my direction, there have been appointed, in the State Department alone during the past year, seven citizens' committees including over 125 individuals to serve in an advisory capacity. The ICY program has convinced me there can be no substitute for this dialogue in a

vital democracy. The White House committee's review indicates that this sort of contact can be an extremely useful part of the regular business of government. It is one of the best ways to keep the people and their government close to each other.

I again express my gratitude to all those who participated in the ICY program. The future of mankind demands ever-increasing international cooperation. It must become a way of living—a way that will lead to better living for all peoples.

NOTE: For a statement by the President on the observance of International Cooperation Year and for his message to the Conference, held in Washington November 29—December 1, 1965, see 1965 volume, this series, Items 96, 630. See also 1966 volume, Item 370.

158 Toasts of the President and President Sunay of Turkey.

April 3, 1967

Mr. President, Mrs. Sunay, distinguished guests:

This house is honored tonight by a distinguished visitor from a very famous land. A bridge between two continents, Turkey had become a melting pot of races long before the first explorers ever reached our shores. Great empires, which have left their stamp on history, have risen and fallen in this land. Its people have contributed profoundly to the arts of civilization.

But nothing in Turkey's ancient past surpasses its modern achievements.

When this century was still young, from the ashes of an empire a great new Turkish nation was formed. The remarkable energy, vision, and wisdom of a great leader, Kemal Ataturk, set his people on the path of 20th century accomplishment.

A great philosopher once said that the creator of a commonwealth must toil in one century for the benefits that his descendants will reap in the next.

Turkey has proved that we need not always wait so long. The Turkish people today are already enjoying many of the fruits of their own efforts.

They have joined the mainstream of economic progress. They are shaping events rather than being shaped by them. Their borders are secure, their democratic institutions are strong.

But, Mr. President, as the American philosopher Ralph Waldo Emerson once said, "The true test of civilization is not the census, nor the size of the cities, nor the crops, but the kind of man that the country turns out."

Mr. President, our countries are different in many ways. But I think we can both be proud that they turn out men that have much in common.

Americans and Turks—alike—are devoted to social justice, to the preservation of freedom, to democracy.

Our peoples—alike—seek personal participation in the affairs of their government.

Americans and Turks—alike—desire greater educational opportunities for their children, for we realize that the future belongs not to us, but to them.

Americans and Turks—alike—are seekers after a world that is free of war and strife—and a world where each of us, to the limits of his capacity, can pursue excellence.

Mr. President, your life has been spent in dedicated service to your countrymen, first as a soldier, now as President of the Republic, always as a faithful servant of your people. There is no higher dedication.

On this occasion tonight I cannot help but reminisce.

This is the anniversary of the Truman Doctrine. Twenty years ago, when President Truman called upon the American people to rally in defense of the freedom of Greece and Turkey, there was a great deal of criticism in this land about that decision.

Mr. Truman was accused of arrogance, of wanting to play “world policeman.” In the words of one commentator, who is still with us, the Truman Doctrine was a disastrous entanglement in an anti-Communist crusade which could only lead to a much wider war.

Some of us refused to believe this. Indeed, one of the proud moments of my life was on May 7, 1947, when I rose in the House to support President Truman and his supposedly “disastrous” policy of containment.

In voting for aid to Greece and Turkey, I said on that day, “I do so with the hope that Russia has peaceful intentions; that she desires to live at peace with other nations; that she will cooperate in the restoration of a wartorn world; but, if it be otherwise, then I am certain as I stand here that the passage of this measure is the only course that this country can in decency take, and the only course which may avoid war.”

Tonight, as we meet here in the White House, Greece and Turkey—and Korea—are taken for granted as dynamic, freedom-loving nations. And I hazard the guess that in 20 years the Republic of Vietnam will similarly be taken for granted.

These things have been accomplished because the United States of America and its allies throughout the world have stood firm before the tide of aggression—and the tide has receded. And among those who unflinchingly confronted the risks and obligations, there has been—and, I think, always will be, Mr. President—a very special bond of fellowship.

We have a unique tie. For two decades our peoples have shared a vigil beside the gates of freedom—not for ourselves, but for the entire fellowship of free men; the weak as well as the strong; the timid and the meek as well as the brave. The graves of brave Americans and brave Turks in the hills of Korea tonight are an eternal testament to our comradeship.

We honor this great common tradition tonight, as we honor you. May it grow and prosper in the years ahead, as new generations, inspired by common ideals, make freedom, justice, and progress their common cause, as it has been ours.

Ladies and gentlemen, I should like to ask you to join me in a toast to the people of the Republic of Turkey and to their President, Cevdet Sunay.

NOTE: The President proposed the toast at 9:57 p.m. at a dinner in the State Dining Room at the White House. President Cevdet Sunay responded as follows:

Mr. President, Mrs. Johnson, ladies and gentlemen:

I am deeply moved by your warm and cordial welcome. I would like to express to you on my behalf and on behalf of my wife our sincere thanks for your kind words about us and for the gracious hospitality we have received here in Washington.

I have been to Washington several times before, but this time I have the great privilege, as President of the Republic of Turkey, of being here as your guest.

I am particularly happy to be surrounded here tonight by so many distinguished Americans, many of whom I had the pleasure of meeting earlier.

I think, Mr. President, that my visit is timely, not that there are any unresolved problems between our countries but because for more than a decade a Turkish President has not visited the United States and because, this year, as you have mentioned, we are celebrating the Truman Doctrine which constitutes a landmark in the history of Turkish-American relations.

It is proper that on this occasion I pay a warm tribute to President Truman for his farsightedness and wisdom in laying down the basis of a policy which culminated later on in the signing of the Atlantic Alliance.

President Eisenhower, whom we remember with respect and admiration as a great soldier and a great statesman, and whom I had the honor of meeting personally, also visited us in Turkey in 1959.

Mr. President, in 1962 we had the privilege of welcoming you and your charming wife. I have a very vivid recollection of this visit and of the spontaneous demonstration of friendship and esteem with which you were greeted wherever you went in Turkey.

I am referring to these events to illustrate the closeness of our relations and the depth of our friendship.

We have in Turkey a profound admiration for the great American democracy from which all struggles for freedom have drawn such inspiration.

I know, Mr. President, that you know how much the Turkish nation is resolute in its unflinching adherence to the ideals of individual and political freedom. We are proud, in Turkey, of the strength and vitality of our democratic institutions.

It is within the framework of liberty and democracy that the Turkish nation also undertook the difficult task of insuring rapid economic growth and social progress. In this field also we feel encouraged by our recent progress.

The rate of our economic growth is not far behind the target set for us by the five-year development plan and there is strong hope that this rate may be increased in future years.

We are in need of foreign economic aid to attain our target at the present, but our intention is not to rely indefinitely on the inflow of such assistance.

Our goal is, on the contrary, to use our internal and external resources as effectively as possible in order to reach the stage of self-sustaining growth during our third five-year development plan.

Mr. President, great changes have occurred in the international field over the last 20 years. Europe, which was, for the most part, desolate in the aftermath of a tragic war, has now reached behind the

shield of NATO a peace of stability, prosperity, and progress never attained before in all its history.

Vast areas in Asia and Africa have entered the cause of freedom, independence, and technical progress.

In recent times we have also observed and shared hopes for a *détente* in East-West relations.

The valuable objective of building and maintaining bridges of contact between the West and the East, which I know, Mr. President, you attach special importance to, is a further indication that progress has been made in this direction.

Any decrease in international tension and any progress towards a stable peace and greater international cooperation is, of course, of deep satisfaction to the people and Government of my country.

Indeed, Turkey is not failing to bring fully its contribution to this end in its international relationships. But as long as peace does not rest on solid foundations, insuring effectively the security of each nation, we cannot afford to relinquish our individual and collective strength.

NATO remains, therefore, in our view, an essential element of peace and security.

NATO is even more than that. It is, we believe, the instrument of the close partnership in which we can cooperate to an ever-growing extent for reinforcing peace and enhancing international cooperation.

Mr. President, we are grateful to the United States for the military and economic aid extended to Turkey since the inception of the Truman doctrine. This aid has contributed greatly to the strengthening of our defensive capability and furthering our economic development.

But I am convinced, Mr. President, that you would agree with me that this assistance is serving our common interests.

To safeguard her own security and to contribute to the mutual defense effort of the free world Turkey is indeed under a heavy defense burden. On the other hand, a strong, vigorous, and developing Turkey is certainly to the best interests of the free world. We value deeply in Turkey our partnership, our friendship, and our alliance with the United States.

No relationship can flourish if it is not based on mutual respect, equality, and confidence.

I am certain that our two governments will develop their close associations in that spirit.

We can only regret that we continue to be involved in an unfortunate dispute in our area. You know how much effort we spent to solve this problem peacefully in a way to safeguard the legitimate interests of the parties concerned.

We will continue on this path, but at the same time we are determined not to permit or tolerate

any attempt to impose a unilateral solution or any pressure to that end.

Mr. President, in closing my remarks I would like to say how happy we are in Turkey to have as your representative a distinguished and most capable diplomat—Ambassador Parker Hart. His

contribution to Turkey-American understanding and cooperation has been invaluable.

I invite you, ladies and gentlemen, to join me in drinking a toast to the health of the President of the United States of America and the people of the United States of America.

159 Statement by the President Stating His Objections to Restrictive Provisions in a Supplemental Appropriations Bill. *April 4, 1967*

I HAVE today signed into law H.R. 7123, "Making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and for other purposes."

In this bill, the Congress, while appropriating \$12,196,520,000 for the support of operations in Southeast Asia, has placed mandatory restrictions on the deactivation of certain airlift and troop carrier units in the Air Force Reserve and Air National Guard.

The phasing out of certain of these units is part of an overall airlift growth and modernization plan currently in progress within the Department of Defense. This involves the modernization of the Active Air Force strategic intertheater airlift capability and the reequipping of Reserve Force elements with newer aircraft released from the Active Forces, the result of which will be an increased and much more efficient strategic airlift capability.

It is recognized that the trained and skilled personnel in these units are an asset to the Nation, and Secretary McNamara has advised me that he is giving personal attention to finding new ways to utilize their services

consonant with the needs of modernizing our airlift force.

While similar restrictions have been included in the Defense Department appropriations bill in recent years, I am becoming increasingly concerned about them because of the undesirable rigidity they impose on our military structure. Our defense responsibilities throughout the world require that the President, in discharging his constitutional duties as Commander in Chief, have maximum flexibility in determining the composition and relative strength of the Active and Reserve Forces.

Since these restrictions are designed to take effect in fiscal year 1968, I strongly urge the Congress, in considering the regular Department of Defense appropriations bill for that year, to repeal these restrictions and to refrain from continuing other restrictions like these in the future. The President and the Congress will then be in a position to carry out, on a more appropriate basis, their respective constitutional duties with regard to the national defense.

NOTE: As enacted, H.R. 7123 is Public Law 90-8 (81 Stat. 8).

160 Remarks at a Ceremony Honoring the Winners of the Fourth Annual Physical Fitness Leadership Awards. *April 4, 1967*

Distinguished award winners, Mr. Suttle, ladies and gentlemen:

"A sound mind in a sound body" is an

ancient formula for a good life.

Accordingly, we will seek better ways to educate the minds of our fellow Americans.

And we seek better means to protect our bodies. But freedom from physical illness is not the same as physical fitness. It is toward that positive goal that the men and women that we honor here in the White House today aspire.

Physical fitness is too often overlooked in our modern society. Today, we tend to think of ourselves as thinkers or planners who are bound to a desk and an office. We forget that we are still made of sinew and bone. We too often forget the rare joy of physical activity—particularly those of us who get our main exercise running for office.

We forget, too, that a sound body will sharpen a sound mind.

Because they have not forgotten, the 12 winners of this year's Physical Fitness Leadership Awards are to be congratulated. They, and their colleagues across America, play a very major role in preserving America's vigor and vitality. I am pleased this morning to congratulate also the United States Jaycees for recognizing their achievements and encouraging the President's Council on Physical Fitness through their 6,000 local chapters.

It is quite important, I think, to note today just how much has been accomplished in America in the 6 years since the Council was reorganized.

—Thirty-two of the 50 States have increased the physical education requirements in their schools.

—The number of school children who participate in supervised play and exercise has just about doubled—to 40 percent.

—The number of youngsters who now have physical education classes at least three times a week has increased by about one-third—to 80 percent.

Today, our children leave school health-

ier, stronger, and more confident in their abilities than any who have gone before them.

We have come a long way since it was said that an abundant society would naturally produce nothing but flabby Americans, that an abundant America would not possess the physical mettle to cope with a dangerous world.

That has not happened, and it will not happen. We have come far in improving the strength and endurance of our young people.

Yet, as you know, there is more, much more, to be done.

There is a job of educating all our people to the importance of fitness. I am glad that you are helping.

I am also glad that local chapters of the Jaycees are assisting the Council to make sports and recreational facilities in the schools available for public use after school hours.

America can afford the best in schools. But we cannot afford to close their gyms and athletic fields and exercise equipment after an 8-hour day, or even after 180 days a year.

Our country, our beloved America, needs to be stronger. You are helping to keep our people healthy, and consequently happier, and therefore stronger. Thus you serve your Nation well.

For this I congratulate you, I thank you, and I wish you continued success.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:16 p.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House. In his opening words he referred to William W. Suttle, president of the United States Jaycees.

The group of 12 winners, finalists in the fourth annual Physical Fitness Leadership Awards Program, was being honored in Washington as guests of the United States Jaycees and the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., cosponsors of the program.

161 Remarks to Directors and Managers of the Veterans Administration. April 4, 1967

Mr. Driver, distinguished public servants, ladies and gentlemen:

I am pleased to be able to meet you as you assess your progress and plan your work ahead.

I think all of you realize that you administer one of the most far-reaching of our entire Government programs.

American veterans and their dependents, and the widows and orphans of those who have died, total about 49 percent of this Nation's population. This is the size of your clientele.

Legislation that we have proposed which is now on its way through the Congress will entitle the veterans of Vietnam to the same benefits available to those who served in earlier wars.

This is work that is close to the Nation's heart. This country has a very deep commitment to the men and women who serve in its defense. The programs, therefore, that you administer for them are of fundamental human importance.

So I ask you to please keep three things constantly and clearly in your mind:

First, remember always that yours is the voice and the hand of the people's government. We here in Washington can dream up and design programs, but you and your 169,000 employees across the land actually represent the Government's 26 million veterans and their families. You are the Government to them.

This is a very heavy responsibility, but it is also a very great honor.

The bigger the government, the more urgent is the need to keep that government and government services personal. They must always be available to the people. The kind of government Americans appreciate

most is illustrated by new Veterans Administration services.

You have teams in Vietnam now talking to men who will be coming home for discharge when their duty is over. They are counseling fighting men on the rights they will be entitled to when they come back to civilian life.

You have other teams visiting military hospitals, seeking out the wounded and disabled, advising them of the special assistance that their countrymen have accorded them in partial recompense for their suffering.

Second, I ask you to recall the constant need for better service through cost reduction. The record of the Veterans Administration in this area is quite good. Although you spend billions of dollars of Federal funds, your administrative costs account for only 2.8 percent of that amount. Only 3 years ago that figure was 3 percent.

In percentage terms, this sounds trivial, but in net terms it amounts to more than \$10 million.

We are very proud of Mr. Driver. We are very proud of all of his staff here. We are particularly proud of you and these results that you have obtained.

But none of us can ever allow ourselves to be completely satisfied. Any record, even though it is good, can always be improved.

So I ask you this afternoon to keep improving the record you have already made, the good record you have made.

Keep searching for new ways to shave costs so that the dollars that we have to spend on the crucial work of caring for our veterans can be used as effectively as possible.

Finally, I want to emphasize your obligation to work with other Federal offices, with

State and local governments, and with the civilian community.

The needs of all Americans are too intertwined to permit any agency or any field office of our Government to try to operate alone, or try to operate in isolation.

The recent history of the Veterans Administration provides stirring examples of what can be accomplished.

Three months ago your hospital in Baltimore was redesignated for general use. It was the last of 23 that were devoted exclusively only a decade ago to the treatment of tuberculosis. Now only one wing of one hospital is needed for that purpose.

This resolution was made possible by massive research in drug therapy conducted in Veterans Administration laboratories. Not only are many veterans alive today, leading active lives, because of this pioneering work, but that research was utilized for the welfare of all Americans, and, for that matter, all people throughout the world.

Tuberculosis has virtually disappeared as a major killer in the United States. The Veterans Administration thus launched a worldwide campaign against this ancient scourge of mankind.

While you are here visiting us in Washington, I hope that you will stand for a few moments in front of the Veterans Administration building and read Abraham Lincoln's century-old dedication: "To care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphan."

There is no job in all of our Government that is more important than to be the trustee, to be the guardian, and to provide the care for him who shall have borne the battle, and

for his widow and for his orphan.

So you and your children should be thankful that you have been selected from a very special group in this Nation to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and to care for his widow and his orphan.

Today, as we enjoy the peaceful serenity of the beautiful Rose Garden here at the White House, there are those who are acting as our trustees in faraway lands, in most difficult circumstances. We are very proud of what they are doing.

I want to ask you to make them proud of what you are doing to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphan.

I welcome you here to the White House with a special sentimentality. The first assignment I had when I was a youngster and came to this town 36 years ago was to frequent the Veterans Administration in General Hines' day, and even go all the way up to those appeal boards, most of which I thought had already arrived at a conclusion before I got there.

Generally, I found that if you were willing and persistent enough even on those most difficult cases the compassionate hand of understanding would try to help care for him who had borne the battle. So never let that get far from you.

If you have a doubt to resolve—and we live in a world that is filled with doubts—resolve it in their favor, won't you?

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:27 p.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. In his opening words he referred to William J. Driver, Administrator of Veterans Affairs. Later he referred to Brig. Gen. Frank T. Hines, Administrator from 1931 to 1945.

162 Joint Statement Following Discussions With President Sunay of Turkey. *April 4, 1967*

AT THE invitation of President Johnson and Mrs. Johnson, President Cevdet Sunay of the Republic of Turkey and Mrs. Sunay are paying a state visit to the United States.

The warm welcome and cordial hospitality extended to President Sunay and his party reflect the deep and traditional friendship between the peoples of Turkey and the United States. President Sunay expressed his sincere thanks to the Government and the people of the United States for the warm and friendly reception accorded him.

During the visit to Washington, April 3-5, the two Presidents, joined by Foreign Minister Caglayangil and Secretary Rusk, engaged in wide-ranging talks during which they reviewed the relations between the two countries and the important international problems affecting world peace and security.

The two Presidents recalled the history of Turkish-United States relations and recognized the substantial contributions made by Turkey to the free world. They also stressed the close association between the two countries which began with implementation of the Truman Doctrine in 1947.

Both Presidents found themselves in agreement that Turkey and the United States continue to share a community of interests in questions affecting the peace of the world, a devotion to democracy and freedom, a commitment to the principles of harmony and mutual respect among nations. It is on the basis of these common interests and principles that they reaffirmed the determination of their countries further to develop their relations based upon mutual respect, understanding, and trust.

One of the main subjects dealt with was the economic development of Turkey. President Sunay described the encouraging prog-

ress in this field and stressed the efforts of Turkey to achieve the objectives set forth in the five-year development plan. The two Presidents agreed that the consortium for aid to Turkey has provided an efficient multilateral mechanism for securing the foreign aid needed by Turkey, and that this cooperative endeavor should continue. President Johnson reaffirmed the United States determination to continue to support the development efforts of Turkey by maintaining at a significant level its economic assistance, the aim being to assist Turkey to reach its declared goal of vigorous, self-sustaining economic growth.

Both Presidents recognized the need of promoting cooperation in areas of science and technology for peaceful purposes. The two Presidents discussed the problems concerning the Atlantic Alliance. They welcomed the lessening of tension in Europe. They agreed, however, that the Atlantic Alliance remains an indispensable safeguard to peace and security in Europe and in the world. They reiterated the need to maintain the integrated military structure of NATO as the basis of an adequate defense and deterrent, and to reinforce the solidarity of the Alliance in the spirit of partnership. They noted with satisfaction that the arrangements for nuclear planning constitute a development reflecting allied solidarity and cooperation.

President Johnson, recognizing the vital role which Turkey plays within the NATO defense alliance, pledged the continuing assistance of the United States for the strengthening of Turkey's defense capabilities. Reviewing the situation in Europe, the two Presidents agreed that a stable peace requires the healing of the division of that

continent. In this regard they also discussed the efforts which their Governments have been making to ease East-West tensions. They stressed the importance of improving East-West relations and of developing an atmosphere of mutual trust. They agreed that this development would contribute to peace.

The two Presidents reiterated the attachment of their countries to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and expressed the hope that the United Nations would become increasingly an effective instrument for the maintenance of international peace and security.

President Sunay and President Johnson stressed the need to work unceasingly towards complete and general disarmament under effective international controls. They stressed their concern over the dangers inherent in the spread of nuclear weapons and expressed the hope that a nonproliferation treaty would soon be completed in a way that would take fully into account the interests of all.

During their talks the two Presidents reviewed recent developments in Southeast Asia. President Johnson described the situation in Vietnam and the efforts of the United States Government to bring about a peaceful settlement. President Sunay expressed his appreciation for the reaffirmation by the United States Government of its desire for early negotiations. Both Presidents expressed regret that recent intensive efforts to find a way to a solution had not so far yielded any positive results. They found themselves in agreement on the need

to support the right of the Vietnamese, both in the South and in the North, to determine their own future in peace.

President Johnson and President Sunay discussed also the problem of Cyprus in all its aspects. They reviewed the developments since the unhappy events of 1963, which caused so much distress and suffering on the island, especially to the Turkish community. They emphasized the need to refrain from any action likely to increase tension on the island and between interested parties. President Sunay invited the attention of President Johnson to the sufferings resulting from the present situation on the island. He reiterated Turkey's desire to arrive at a peaceful and agreed settlement. Referring to bilateral talks between Turkey and Greece, both Presidents expressed the hope that such talks would lead to an honorable solution reconciling the legitimate interests of all the parties concerned, including the communities living on the island. In their discussion, proceeding from the binding effects of existing treaties, both Presidents agreed that these remain an essential factor in seeking such a solution. The two Presidents expressed their appreciation of the task performed by the United Nations force in Cyprus and discussed ways in which the efforts of the United Nations to preserve peace and to secure a return to normal conditions can be strengthened.

The two Presidents expressed the conviction that their frank and cordial talks would further the bonds of friendship, alliance, and cooperation between Turkey and the United States.

163 Special Message to the Congress on Federal Pay and Postal Rates.

*April 5, 1967**To the Congress of the United States:*

Two weeks ago in my Message to the Congress on the Quality of American Government, I stated:

"The machinery of our Government has served us well. It has been the vehicle of the greatest progress and prosperity any nation has ever achieved.

"But this record should give us no cause for complacency. For any realistic review today reveals that there are substantial improvements to be made."

Today I ask the Congress to take two vital steps to help bring about those improvements:

—Increase the salaries of Government employees.

—Increase postal rates and improve postal services.

In America we demand the highest level of excellence in the public service. If we expect high quality,

—We must be able to attract and keep highly competent career employees.

—We must be willing to give them the machinery they need to do an effective job.

SALARY INCREASES

Through the years, this Nation has built a corps of public servants whose quality is unmatched by any other country in the world.

Our career employees are well-trained and experienced. In ever-increasing numbers, they are skilled professionals. They include not only administrators and managers, but doctors, lawyers, diplomats, economists, scientists, engineers, actuaries, systems analysts, law enforcement officers, nurses—and

many others critically needed to provide public services in a complex world.

These men and women come to the public service not by chance, but by choice. They come because they are challenged by problems that are far-reaching—and fateful. They come because Government offers unique opportunities for unselfish service.

From them, we expect unusual dedication. In turn, they have a right to expect from their Government rewards that match their contributions.

We have made great progress recently toward a pay scale which approaches that of private industry. Since 1962, civilian employees have received pay increases amounting to more than 23 percent. We have improved retirement and other fringe benefits so that they now compare favorably with benefits in private industry. There have been corresponding increases in military pay, and fringe benefits have been improved substantially.

Yet we still fall short of comparability with private industry. The Annual Report of the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission and the Director of the Bureau of the Budget describes the gap which remains between Government and industry pay scales. I am transmitting that Report to the Congress today with the renewed conviction that this gap must be closed.

To close this gap in one year would require an average pay increase of 7.2 percent. With a similar increase for the armed forces, the cost would be more than \$2.5 billion per year.

In view of today's fiscal and economic conditions, my advisers inform me that a pay raise of this magnitude would not be prudent. While inflationary pressures in the

economy have lessened in recent months, they have not disappeared. They could easily recur. We must therefore continue to seek restraint in private wage settlements and to exercise restraint in the operations of Government.

But a pay raise for the Government's employees clearly is needed. We must avoid placing the Government at a serious disadvantage in recruiting and retaining competent workers—and we must keep faith with our employees.

To do so requires that we achieve comparability with private pay levels—and that we do it in a way which does not endanger our unparalleled economic prosperity.

As President Kennedy said five years ago, "to pay more than this is to be unfair to American taxpayers—to pay less is to degrade the public service and endanger our national security."

I recommend a 4.5 percent pay increase for civilian employees effective October 1, 1967.

I recommend that the Congress take the final step this year to achieve full comparability with private industry. I propose a two stage plan to remove the remaining comparability lag in all grades by October 1, 1969. The first step would take effect in October 1968 and the second a year later.

For our military personnel, pay alone can never reflect the full measure of our debt. On the battlefields, in outposts where there is tension but no battle, in the vast defense installations of our country, these men and women protect our national security. We must assure them and their families that they will be compensated for their service on a scale which is comparable to that of their 2.5 million civilian coworkers. As civilian pay goes up, so should the pay of the Armed Services.

I recommend an increase in regular mili-

tary pay similar to the raise for civilians—an average 4.5 percent effective October 1, 1967.

This year the Secretary of Defense has been conducting a searching review of the principles underlying the military compensation system. When these studies have been completed, I will recommend further changes in the Armed Forces pay system.

We must also take steps to ensure the adequacy of salaries for top officials in the Legislative, Judicial and Executive Branches of the Government. To this end, I have established a special Commission headed by Frederick R. Kappel to study executive pay in the three branches of the Federal Government.¹ When I have reviewed its report, I will make recommendations for appropriate adjustments in these areas.

Salary reform for the government of an increasingly complex and ever-changing society is never complete. The entire structure and interrelationships of all Federal pay systems, civilian and military, should be continually reviewed and improved. The adequacy of the basic pay system itself must be periodically re-examined.

I recommend that a special Joint Salary Commission, representing the Executive, Legislative, and Judicial Branches, be established to examine all Federal pay systems and report to the President and Congress within two years.

POSTAL RATES AND SERVICES

The Postal Service is the key link of the Nation's commerce. It is also the personal

¹ The President's appointment of an eight-member Advisory Committee on Top Federal Salaries, chaired by Frederick R. Kappel, former chairman of the board of the American Telephone and Telegraph Co., was announced by the White House on March 22, 1967 (see Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents, vol. 3, p. 526).

communications network of some 200 million private citizens. It must be responsive to the needs of the public and the needs of the business community.

That system now bears a tremendous burden. Each year the Post Office Department processes as much mail as the rest of the world combined. To cope with the great outpouring of mail created by our country's increasing social and economic activity, we must have a modern, highly mechanized postal service.

We do not have such a postal service today.

The Post Offices in many of our major cities were built during the 1930's—built to handle between 25 and 30 billion pieces of mail a year. This year, nearly 80 billion items will move through the postal system. Next year still another 3 billion pieces of mail will be processed. If this growth rate continues, mail volume will exceed 100 billion pieces a year by 1976.

These figures make it dramatically clear that we must remodel old Post Offices and build new facilities. We must equip them with modern, high-speed mail processing machines—the most efficient our Nation's technology can produce.

We have made a good start in the past few years on modernizing and mechanizing the Postal Service. That pace must now be quickened. We must place even greater emphasis on research, engineering and new technology. We must intensify our efforts to enlist the support of all Americans to increase their use of the ZIP code.

In the 1968 Budget I have recommended more than \$300 million for postal modernization. This represents a 40 percent increase in expenditures for research and engineering and a 46 percent increase in funds for plant and equipment.

These are substantial increases. But they

are fully justified by the planning that has preceded them and the size of the task that lies ahead.

To keep pace with the demands of a growing Nation, we must also modernize the postal rate structure. We must bring postal revenues into line with operating costs.

Present rates do not provide sufficient funds for necessary improvements in postal facilities and equipment. *Indeed, present revenues do not even cover normal operating costs.*

For fiscal 1968, the Post Office Department deficit will be about \$1.2 billion—and this does not include the pay increase I am recommending today. Less than half of this deficit is attributable to the "public service" functions of the Department.

Yet the Postal Policy Act of 1958 calls for postal revenues "approximately equal" to operating costs after public service expenses have been deducted.

I recommend that the Congress increase postal rates for all classes of mail:

—*First class and airmail:* a one cent increase in postage for cards and letters sent first class or airmail, effective July 1, 1967.

—*Second class:* an average increase of 22 percent for all categories of second class mail, phased over a three-year period beginning January 1, 1968.

—*Third class:* an average increase of 28 percent for all categories of third class mail. The rate increase for single pieces of mail will go into effect July 1, 1967 and the bulk rate increase on January 1, 1968.

—*Fourth class:* an average increase of 21 percent for special rate fourth class mail (mainly books and records), effective July 1, 1967.

—*A special surcharge* on odd-sized en-

velopes which cannot be processed by postal machinery. This surcharge, which will go into effect in two years, is designed to discourage the use of envelopes which cannot be rapidly processed through postal machinery.

The rate increases for second and third class bulk mail would have been substantially higher and would have been needed sooner if the ZIP Code presorting regulations had not become effective on January 1 of this year. In recognition of the cost to mailers of ZIP Coding and the savings anticipated from this program, I am recommending that the effective date for second class and bulk rate third class increases be delayed until January 1, 1968.

These postal rate increases will produce \$700 million in postal revenues in fiscal 1968. When fully effective, they will add more than \$800 million annually to postal revenues.

This legislation will provide the necessary funds for postal modernization and the proposed pay increase for postal employees. It will enable the Post Office Department to begin immediately to provide better services for all Americans:

- Faster and more efficient delivery of the mails,
- Restoration of six-day parcel post service,

—Door delivery in some residential areas now served by road-side boxes.

A BETTER GOVERNMENT

The pay and postal rate increases I recommend in this message are essential if we are to have a government of responsive and talented people and an efficient postal system.

Delay in attaining comparability beyond the effective dates I have suggested is inexcusable. To neglect—and thus impair—the public service would be far more expensive for the American people in the long run.

Delay in enacting the postal rate increases I request will hamper significantly our efforts to build a modern and efficient postal system.

The government of this nation can never be any better than the people who work for it, the tools they have, and the people whom they serve.

I urge the Congress to act promptly on these proposals to insure those who work in our government just pay for the dedication they bring to the task of serving everyone of us.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

The White House

April 5, 1967

NOTE: The Postal Revenue and Federal Salary Act of 1967 was approved by the President on December 16, 1967 (see Item 546).

164 Statement by the President Upon Announcing Allocation of Funds for Educational Opportunity Grants to College Students.

April 5, 1967

THE INVESTMENT which makes a college education possible for these young people is a deeply satisfying one. This investment will be returned many times over when they take their places as highly trained and contributing members of our society.

Students helped by grants last year have varied backgrounds, talents and aspirations; they come from all sections of the country.

NOTE: The President's statement was made public as part of a White House release announcing that 217,000 students, otherwise unable to attend college,

would receive Federal grants for the 1967-1968 academic year. The release stated that \$108 million would be distributed to 1,518 colleges and universities under a program administered by the Office of Education and authorized by the Higher Education Act of 1965.

To be eligible for grants, the release noted,

"beginning full-time students must be in extreme financial need and must have been accepted by a college participating in the program."

Examples of students assisted by the program during its first year of operation are included in the release (see Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents, vol. 3, p. 595).

165 Message to the Congress Transmitting 16th Annual Report of the National Science Foundation. April 6, 1967

To the Congress of the United States:

I am pleased to submit to the Congress the 16th Annual Report of the National Science Foundation.

This Fiscal 1966 Report tells a proud story of continuing progress on many scientific frontiers—of bold and creative men and women pitting their skill and imagination against the challenges and opportunities posed by Nature.

Scientific research is the key with which we can unlock the doors of the future. As a nation we have learned this only recently. Not long ago our scientists usually had to go abroad to learn of the newest discoveries—but now the world often comes here to learn. In our universities, our government and our industrial laboratories, the quality of our scientific research is second to none.

We intend to maintain this high standard. The task we have set ourselves is to wrest from Nature the intellectual treasures with which we will build the world of tomorrow.

Scientific research has given us new insights and provided tools for practical progress:

- New metals which can stand up to the fierce heat of rocket engines make our space flights possible.
- New ultra-miniature electronic devices, born of basic discoveries made only two decades ago, guide our spacecraft in orbit and our aircraft in Vietnam.

—The frontiers of the known universe have been pushed back in the last decade and shown to contain energy sources of unprecedented magnitude, thanks to developments in astronomy, and especially in the new use of radio-telescopes.

—Experiments with the atomic nucleus have led us to power reactors which will make electricity more abundant and cheaper throughout the world.

The already visible horizons of the future are even more exciting.

—Our scientists are increasingly confident that we will be able to modify the weather significantly and perhaps even to do away with drought and flood.

—Computers are already revolutionizing our ways of thinking and our ways of doing things, and we have only just begun to sense the impact they will have on our industry, our education, and the abundance of our society.

—Desalting the waters of the seas and the brackish ground waters which underlie great parts of our own and other countries will help meet the needs of parched and thirsty lands.

—New fuels, new plastics, synthetic materials of a thousand kinds, will make life better for our citizens.

—New technologies will give us better ways to eliminate the pollution of our air and water.

—The work of our researchers who probe the chemistry of life itself, and unravel the marvelous molecular codes which hold the secrets of heredity, will also teach us to avert or to cure disease, and perhaps one day may delay the effects of inevitable aging which afflict us all.

We know that we can continue this flow of benefits to mankind only if we have a large and constantly replenished pool of basic knowledge and understanding to draw upon. For the path between basic discovery and its application can be both long and uncertain.

We intend to maintain such a pool with all our talents and resources, so that we can apply it to our needs. Perhaps most important, we intend to maintain this pool of basic knowledge and understanding because of the stimulus it provides to our young minds in the challenge of ideas. Knowledge, as we have learned from our rich experience, is not a laboratory curiosity. It is a critical tool for our national health, our national growth, and the sound education of all of us. The very process of generating knowledge produces the highly trained scientists and engineers that are needed to man our universities, industries and government.

The National Science Foundation is entrusted, more than any other single national institution, with the responsibility to expand our reservoir of basic knowledge through research, and to promote excellence in our scientific education. It is doing this job admirably, as the attached report shows. It must—and will—do even better.

Under the programs proposed to you in the Congress for next year, the National Science Foundation would:

—Sponsor the research of faculties and postgraduate students in more than 450 schools in all fifty states.

—Develop new approaches in science education.

—Provide laboratory facilities in at least 30 graduate schools.

—Assist more than 35,000 secondary school and college teachers to improve their teaching capabilities.

—Help to improve the quality of 25 or more institutions of higher education which have shown the capacity to develop outstanding capabilities in one or more scientific disciplines.

—Provide funds to explore and test the effectiveness of computers in all stages of the educational process.

In these ways, the Foundation is substantially expanding its efforts to improve the quality of science education at all levels. It is helping to increase the number of colleges and universities which can provide truly excellent scientific training and research. In doing this, it is continuing to expand our capabilities for basic research in all fields of modern science.

To be fruitful, scientific and technical information must quickly reach those who can use it. As the volume of research results grows, this becomes harder to achieve. But the stakes are well worth the effort. Every increase of one percent in the efficiency of our \$22 billion public and private research and development programs is worth \$220 million per year. The Foundation will therefore institute new programs to devise improved systems for handling scientific information, and will work with other government agencies to establish standards for Federal technical information programs.

Many of the most pressing problems of our times depend for their solution on a better understanding of man and his interaction with the highly technological society in

which he lives. For this reason, the Foundation has more than doubled the funds for basic research in the social sciences over the past five years.

The story of scientific achievement and challenge told by this Annual Report is a story of a sound investment which will pay handsome dividends. I commend the Report

to the attention of the Congress and the American people.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

The White House

April 6, 1967

NOTE: The report is entitled "National Science Foundation, Sixteenth Annual Report for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1966" (Government Printing Office, 175 pp.).

166 Remarks Upon Presenting the Medal of Honor Posthumously to Specialist 4 Daniel Fernandez, USA. April 6, 1967

Mr. and Mrs. Fernandez, distinguished Members of the Congress, Secretary Vance, Secretary Resor, General Abrams, General Johnson, ladies and gentlemen:

We have come here to the Rose Garden today to speak of a very brave young American who gave his life for us in Vietnam.

Specialist 4 Daniel Fernandez earned his country's highest military honor by a classic act of courage and self-sacrifice. He threw himself across a live grenade that had been fired among his comrades. By that act, he saved the lives of four other Americans. Two of them are here with us today.

Daniel Fernandez died before he was 22 years old. He was not yet born when other Americans crossed the Pacific in World War II. He was not yet in school when others went to fight for freedom in Korea. Yet today, and forever, he is joined to a legion of American heroes.

The land in Asia where he gave his young life is half a world away from his home in Los Lunas, New Mexico. Yet he did not see much of the world. He went to school in Albuquerque and Los Lunas. He enlisted in the Army after high school, took basic training in Louisiana, served in Hawaii for a time. Then he went to Vietnam, to a little deserted hamlet northwest of Saigon, and

finally to his fatal encounter with a Vietcong grenade.

Daniel Fernandez died on February 18, 1966. He died less than 3 weeks after we, in our ceaseless search for peace, had made our longest pause in the bombing of the North.

The question that haunts me as we meet here today should really concern every American. It is this: Was that grenade on one of the trucks, or on one of the trains, or on one of the sampans that we let pass unmolested during that long 37-day pause?

If it was, then Daniel Fernandez died as more than a hero of battle. He died a martyr in our search for peace.

And those who today are urging an unconditional permanent cessation of bombing should ask themselves: "What are the consequences?" It is one thing to talk abstractly of peace and war. It is something quite different to think of a young man named Daniel Fernandez who will dream no more.

Mr. and Mrs. Fernandez, in the name of the Congress, I pass to you the Medal of Honor of the United States, won so deservedly by the hero who was your son.

I give you this, our country's greatest honor.

It is poor compensation for your loss. But

be assured that the death of your son will have meaning. For I give you also my solemn pledge that our country will persist—and will prevail—in the cause for which your boy died.

Mr. Stanley R. Resor, Secretary of the Army, will now read the citation.

[Secretary Resor read the citation, the text of which follows.]

The President of the United States of America, authorized by Act of Congress, March 3, 1863, has awarded in the name of The Congress the Medal of Honor, posthumously, to

SPECIALIST FOUR DANIEL FERNANDEZ,
UNITED STATES ARMY

for conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity in action at the risk of his life above and beyond the call of duty:

Specialist Four Daniel Fernandez distinguished himself by gallantry and intrepidity at the risk of his life above and beyond the call of duty on February 18, 1966 while serving as a member of an eighteen-man patrol engaged in a vicious battle with the Viet Cong in the vicinity of Cu Chi, Hau Nghia Province, Republic of Vietnam.

Specialist Fernandez demonstrated indomitable courage when the small patrol was ambushed by a Viet Cong rifle company and driven back by the intense enemy automatic weapons fire before it could evacuate an American soldier who was struck down in the initial attack. Specialist Fernandez

and three comrades immediately fought their way through devastating gun fire and exploding grenades to reach the fallen soldier. After the volunteers reached their fallen comrade and attempted to return to their defensive positions, a United States Army sergeant was struck in the knee by .50 caliber machine gun fire. Specialist Fernandez rallied the left flank of his patrol, went to assist in the recovery of the wounded sergeant and, while first aid was being administered to the wounded man, an enemy rifle grenade landed in the midst of their group. Realizing there was no time for the wounded sergeant or the other men to gain protection from the grenade blast, Specialist Fernandez threw himself on the grenade as it exploded, saving the lives of the four men at the sacrifice of his own.

Specialist Fernandez' profound concern for his fellow soldiers, his conspicuous gallantry, and his intrepidity at the risk of his life above and beyond the call of duty are in the highest traditions of the United States Army and reflect great credit upon himself and the armed forces of his country.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:05 p.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. In his opening words he referred to Mr. and Mrs. Jose I. Fernandez of Los Lunas, N. Mex., Deputy Secretary of Defense Cyrus R. Vance, Secretary of the Army Stanley R. Resor, Gen. Creighton W. Abrams, newly appointed Deputy Commander, U.S. Military Assistance Command, Vietnam, and Gen. Harold K. Johnson, Chief of Staff, U.S. Army. Also attending the ceremony were Specialist Fernandez' two brothers, Peter and James, his sister Rita, of Los Lunas, and two of the four men whose lives he saved: Sgt. Ray E. Sue of Fort Hood, Texas, and James P. McKeown, Jr., of Willingboro, N.J.

167 Remarks at a Press Briefing Following a Meeting With the NATO Nuclear Planning Group. April 7, 1967

[The briefing was already in progress when a stenographic reporter arrived. The text printed below begins with the reporter's arrival.]

THE PRESIDENT. We have demonstrated that aggression just doesn't pay. The purpose of this committee, and the enterprise in which they are engaged, is assurance that it never will pay. It was largely a welcome, an assurance of cooperation, and an exchange of views.

We wanted to share with them all the information and analysis that we had related to nuclear planning. We believe that joint planning is the best guarantee of effective deterrence. We believe that if we, together, can handle this awesome military power intelligently, prudently, and responsibly it will be a mighty force for peace in the world.

Secretary McNamara told me yesterday that he went into some detail with them on the problems of ABM deployment, what we are doing in that regard and our consultations with other nations about it.

We pointed up some of the things that NATO could now begin to push forward positively on—like bridges to the East, trying to lower ugly lines of walls and watchtowers that deface the map of Europe, and resolving some of the bitter controversies which have so divided neighbors.

Some of the things they are discussing are detailed ABM presentations, NATO's various capabilities, the views of various members on their country's attitudes on deployment of nuclear weapons, the East-West strategic balance, and generally things of that kind.

I reviewed with you the seven items that are here. I welcomed them. I encouraged them. I reviewed with them the success of NATO and its future. I expressed great pleas-

ure that Secretary McNamara had brought them here for this very historic meeting.

As you know, Mr. Harlan Cleveland, our U.S. Ambassador to the North Atlantic Council, was also here.

That was what happened in the meeting.

QUESTIONS

Q. Did you discuss, Mr. President, troop cuts by American forces?

THE PRESIDENT. No. I reviewed with you what we discussed. I took them one by one.

Q. Did you, Mr. President, give them assurance that the United States, in its current talks with Russia, would do everything it could to end this spiraling arms race?

THE PRESIDENT. No. I gave no assurances of any kind. I discussed the subjects I outlined with you. I told them we heartily concurred in this kind of thinking, this kind of planning, this kind of exchange of views, but it wasn't for me to say to them that I will give you this guarantee or this assurance. We just didn't get into that.

Q. Mr. President, did you discuss the question of nuclear landmines that Turkey was reported to have requested?

THE PRESIDENT. No. I welcomed them to the White House and discussed with them what I told you.

Each one of you can ask a question about what I discussed and I will tell you the same. I just reviewed my statement. It is there for you to look at.

Maybe if they had had more time and I had had more time we could, but that would be the function of the committee to take up the various subjects. ABM deployment is one of them, nuclear capability is one of them, building bridges is another one.

There are a good many studies that will come out of this meeting. They will come back in September or later in the year and make reports on it. This is a historic meeting. It is a very effective organization. It is one of the things that NATO can do and I am glad is doing. That is it.

There is one other thing I said to the countries represented, like the Germans, the English, and the Netherlands, about the Vice President's visit. I told them I had full reports from him. I expressed my appreciation and gratitude for the very thorough, fruit-

ful, and, I think, profitable exchange between their governments and ours.

That was not on the agenda, but I thought of that while I was trying to figure out if we discussed anything else. We talked about his visit to England and Germany and so on and so forth.

Reporter: Thank you.

NOTE: The briefing was held at 12:30 p.m. in the President's office at the White House following a meeting of the defense ministers of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

For the President's remarks of welcome to Vice President Humphrey following the Vice President's return from his tour of Europe, see Item 169.

168 Statement by the President Upon Signing Order Establishing the Commission on Postal Organization. *April 8, 1967*

I HAVE today called upon 10 distinguished Americans to conduct the most searching and exhaustive review ever undertaken of the structure and organization of the Post Office Department.

Our postal service handles more mail than the rest of the world's postal systems combined. It is a primary lifeline of communication, affecting the daily lives of all citizens and the operations of every business.

Americans want and deserve the most efficient and modern postal system. Yet today we are in danger of falling behind in our effort to provide the very best service.

It is now time to determine whether the postal system as presently organized is capable of meeting the demands of our growing economy and our expanding population.

The Commission I have established today is eminently qualified to deal with this problem.

I have specifically asked the Commission to determine whether the high quality postal service which Americans have come to expect can better be performed by a Cabinet depart-

ment, a Government corporation, or some other form of organization.

I have asked the Commission to consult with Government officials, private interests who are significant users of the postal service, Members of Congress, and postal employee organizations.

I have asked Chairman Kappel to submit the Commission's recommendations to me within a year.

I urge all Americans to cooperate with the Commission in its important work.

NOTE: The President's statement was made public as part of a White House announcement of the signing of Executive Order 11341 establishing the President's Commission on Postal Organization.

The announcement stated that the Commission would be chaired by Frederick R. Kappel, former chairman of the board of the American Telephone and Telegraph Co. The other members were listed as follows: George Baker, dean, Harvard Business School; David Bell, vice president, Ford Foundation; Fred Borch, president, General Electric Corp.; David Ginsburg, Washington attorney; Ralph Lazarus, president, Federated Department Stores; George Meany, president, AFL-CIO; J. Irwin Miller, chairman of the board, Cummins Engine Co.; W. Beverly Murphy, president, Campbell Soup Co.; and Rudolph A. Peterson, president, Bank of America.

169 Remarks of Welcome to the Vice President Upon His Return
From Europe. April 10, 1967

Mr. Vice President, Mrs. Humphrey, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

Mr. Vice President, you will see here this morning, assembled to greet you, a large part of the Government of the United States, as well as many of our most distinguished private citizens.

We have with you here the Cabinet, the Under Secretaries, the heads of many of the most important agencies. We have the Speaker, the Majority Leader, and other Members of the leadership in Congress, as well as many of the leading Members.

Their presence here this morning speaks, more eloquently than any words of mine, of the importance your country attaches to the mission that you and your charming wife have just completed.

For more than 2 weeks now you have been the authentic voice of America in the council halls of our European allies.

You have told both the leaders and the peoples of seven friendly nations that America is still the daughter of Europe and that we intend to continue doing our share as we pursue our common destiny.

You have also carried to them, with great eloquence and ability, our conviction that peace, like freedom, is indivisible. Neither the New World of the Americas nor the Old World of Europe can ever hope to fulfill either its dreams or its ambitions, until the ancient world of Asia has become a full and equal partner in the forward movement of men.

No one knows better than you, Mr. Vice President, that this conviction lies at the very roots of American policy in Vietnam, and throughout Asia. I believe that that conviction and that policy are much clearer

today in the minds of our friends in Europe, because you and Mrs. Humphrey were there to personally express it to them.

During these past 2 weeks, you have been more than America's spokesman: You have also been America's eyes and ears. You left here bearing an American message to the people of Europe, and now this morning you return with Europe's message to the people of America.

Within a few hours, I expect to depart on a similar mission to our friends in Latin America.

Between us, we will then have shared within a few weeks a degree of consultation and discussion with other nations that is unequaled—so far as I can recall—in American history.

There is good reason for these consultations. I think it was very well expressed during your visit to Europe.

"The essence of statesmanship," you said, "is not a rigid adherence to the past, but a present and probing concern for the future."

We have that concern.

We hope that others share it.

We seek their advice and recommendations, as earnestly as we ask them to consider ours.

In all of this, Mr. Vice President and Mrs. Humphrey, you have played a profoundly important part. You have served as a bridge for better understanding—and better understanding among nations, in this nuclear era, is really the best hope of mankind.

Mr. Vice President and Muriel, we welcome you home. We were very proud of you. We followed you every step of the way.

We are so glad to have you back.

And now you can pick up for the next week some of the problems here that I will leave with you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:05 a.m. on the South Lawn at the White House where Vice President Humphrey received a formal welcome with full military honors. The Vice President responded as follows:

Mr. President, Your Excellencies, Members of the Cabinet, Mr. Speaker, leaders of the Congress, and my fellow Americans:

Mr. President, I am sure you know, first of all, that my heart is filled with appreciation and gratitude for the opportunity that you have afforded me, because it has been, indeed, a high honor to represent you and our beloved country these past 2 weeks in several of the nations of Europe.

But, as you have indicated, it is so good to be home once again and to be with fellow Americans to continue our efforts in the cause of peace and freedom.

Now the purpose of my mission was to listen, to look, and to learn—and where, if called upon—to explain. In so doing, I was given the opportunity to see Europe as it is more than two decades after the end of World War II—20 years after the inception of the Marshall Plan—and 10 years after the signing of the Rome treaties.

I saw a new Western Europe that has achieved an unprecedented degree of well-being, prosperity, and security, and an increased sense of identity and pride. That Europe, Mr. President, is testimony to the soundness of our policies, past and present, and to the genius and industry of the people and of the nations of that continent.

My discussions with European leaders covered the Kennedy Round trade negotiation, which now is entering its final stage—discussions toward a nuclear nonproliferation treaty—relations between East and West—the building of a larger European unity—the revitalization of the NATO alliance—the responsibility of the rich nations to the poor—the need for modernizing our international monetary system—and, above all, the strengthening of international institutions for peace.

I found the leaders of Western Europe ready and eager to join with us in meeting these challenges—but as our equal partners. I gave them our assurance that a full and equal Atlantic partnership—a partnership based on true equality—was and continues to be the objective of American policy. I assured them that we welcomed a growing sense of “Europeanism” and independence. I expressed our confidence that this new assurance and vitality would be directed toward cooperation internationally as well as within Europe’s own borders.

Mr. President, as you have stated on several occasions in these past months, we are entering a new era in our relations with the peoples of Europe.

We are, in a sense, at the end of the postwar period. Now, in this last third of the 20th century, we are moving forward in a period of productive partnership in the West and of peaceful engagement with the East.

There are concerns, yes, and there are questions. There is the need for an even closer relationship between ourselves and our European partners. But there is even more a common basis of understanding, and agreement on fundamental principles and values, and a willingness to work together which I believe can open the road ahead.

Twenty years ago the most that any of us dared even hope for was the revival and the renewal of a war-torn continent.

Today, our expectations have been fulfilled and far beyond. I believe that if we and our partners can maintain our unity, our cohesion, and our common will, the next 20 years can bring to full realization the final healing of Europe’s old wounds and divisions—the replacement of the Iron Curtain with an open door—and a chance to meet the new priorities of nation building and peaceful development all around the world.

Mr. President, I shall give you a full report on my mission. In the meantime, I bring back to you and to the American people my firm belief that our friends in Europe remain our good friends and that we do have reason for optimism.

While I have this moment, Mr. President, may I wish you a very successful and, indeed, a most productive voyage to Latin America where the mission that you undertake is of the greatest significance.

It is a high honor and a rare privilege to be your partner in these endeavors.

170 Special Message to the Congress on the Impending Nationwide Rail Strike. *April 10, 1967*

To the Congress of the United States:

The threat of a crippling and paralyzing nation-wide railroad strike now faces America.

At 12:01 a.m. on Thursday, April 13th, 137,000 shopworkers—mechanics, powerhouse employees and shop laborers—without whose services the trains cannot operate are scheduled to begin a walkout against virtually every major railroad in this country. Over 95 percent of the Nation's railroad mileage will be affected.

For almost a year the parties have engaged in extensive collective bargaining to reach a settlement. These negotiations have proceeded with a seriousness of purpose. The parties have bargained hard and with skill.

The major issues on the bargaining table are traditional but vital. They include higher wage rates, larger wage differentials between skilled and unskilled workers, and the length of the contract.

Since October, 1966, the negotiations have taken place under the Railway Labor Act—the machinery established by the Congress to handle disputes involving the Nation's railroads.

Through mediation and through the recommendations of an Emergency Board that I established last January, some progress has been made.¹ Recently, at my direction, Secretary of Labor Wirtz and Under Secretary of Labor Reynolds have worked, with National Mediation Board Chairman O'Neill,

¹ The Emergency Board was established on January 28, 1967, by Executive Order 11324 (3 Weekly Comp. Pres. Docs., p. 129; 32 F.R. 1075; 3 CFR, 1967 Comp., p. 245). On the same day the following members were appointed to the board: David Ginsburg, Washington attorney, Chairman; John W. McConnell, president of the University of New Hampshire; and Frank J. Dugan, dean of the Graduate School of Law, Georgetown University.

to achieve a fair settlement. Out of this process many of the issues have been narrowed. Others have been eliminated.

Now, however, the procedures under the Railway Labor Act have run their full course—but the parties have still not been able to resolve their differences.

Under the law, the unions are free to strike on 12:01 a.m. April 13th unless:

- A settlement is immediately reached.
- The unions agree to a voluntary extension of the “no strike” period. The government's request for such an agreement has already been rejected.
- Congress takes special action to keep the trains running while the parties can continue to work toward a settlement through collective bargaining without a nation-wide strike.

In this Message I call upon the Congress to take that special action.

THE PROPOSAL

I have carefully weighed the type of action Congress might usefully consider to meet the needs of the immediate situation.

I have consulted with the wisest advisors available to a President.

The legislation I am proposing takes full account of two central considerations. The first is the significance of uninterrupted rail service to the national welfare and safety, and particularly to defense production. The second is that even in these extreme circumstances, collective bargaining must be given every opportunity to work—with the bargainers fully aware of the national significance of their responsibility.

With these considerations in mind, I recommend that Congress approve a joint reso-

lution to extend the 60-day "no strike" period in this case for an additional 20 days.

The resolution would have the effect of extending the "no strike" period under the Railway Labor Act for this case to a full 80 days—the same period allowed under the Taft-Hartley Act. The normal period of restraint under the Railway Labor Act has already expired.

The proposed joint resolution follows the finding made by the Emergency Board of three distinguished Americans to whom this case was referred under the Railway Labor Act. The Board was of the conviction that:

"There should be established a longer period of statutory restraint subsequent to the submission of an Emergency Board's report in order to give the parties additional time to negotiate a settlement. The Board notes that under the Taft-Hartley Act the parties have a period of 80 days after the Board Report is submitted to the President."

The proposed resolution gives the process of collective bargaining a last clear chance in this case, while giving the Nation the uninterrupted railroad service it must have. I have always believed that solutions arrived at through hard and honest negotiations are preferable to those imposed by decree.

I will appoint a panel of special mediators to assist the parties in reaching a settlement during this 20-day period. I have also asked the Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz, Secretary of Transportation Alan Boyd, and representatives of the other interested government agencies to work with the parties.

THE IMPACT OF A STRIKE

The differences which remain in this dispute are important. But they are slight when compared with the price to the country and to these parties from a suspension of rail service.

The purpose of this Message and of this proposal is to impress upon the parties and to make clear to the Nation what is at stake here.

The cost of a nation-wide railroad strike would be incalculable. I urge you to consider these facts:

- On the first morning of the strike three-quarters of a million rail commuters in New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia alone would be unable to take their trains to work.
- Shipments of perishable foodstuffs to many major cities would be halted at once.
- Actual food shortages could soon occur in several cities.
- Some health hazards would develop. For example, supplies of chlorine used to purify community water supplies would grow short.
- The coal mining industry, with 140,000 workers, would cease operations almost at once.
- Many other industries which rely heavily on the railroads—such as metal mining, steel, chemicals—would be badly crippled and soon begin to close down.
- For a week or more most factories could operate from their inventories. Soon, shortages and bottlenecks would begin to curtail production drastically. A spreading epidemic of lost production and lost jobs would sweep through the Nation.
- A one-month strike would reduce the gross national product by 13 percent. That would be nearly four times as great as the total decline that occurred in the Nation's worst post-war recession. It would drive the unemployment rate up to 15 percent—for the first time since 1940—putting millions of workers out of jobs.

In short, a railroad strike would affect every man, woman and child in this Nation. It would increase the cost of living. Each day the strike continued would bring pyramiding losses in goods, services and income—losses which can never be fully regained. A prolonged strike could well break the back of the Nation's stable prosperity for some period to come.

Beyond this, there remains the impact of a rail strike on defense production, and particularly on our 500,000 brave servicemen in South East Asia.

For example:

- Forty percent of the total freight shipped by the Defense Department is moved by the Nation's railroads. A strike would materially disrupt these vital operations.
- Shipments of ammunition will be critically affected. During April, 210,000 tons of ammunition are scheduled to move to ports for overseas shipment. About 175,000 tons are going by rail.
- Production of ammunition will be hindered. Sulphuric acid, a key ingredient for ammunition, moves only by rail car.
- The movement of gasoline and jet fuel for our combat and transport aircraft heavily depends on railroads.
- The M-48 tank and other heavy military equipment used in Viet-Nam, can be shipped only by rail.
- Strategic missiles such as Polaris and Minuteman are moved by specially equipped rail cars.

CONCLUSION

The costs are so heavy and the consequences so dire that there have been only two brief national rail strikes in this century. This

is a clear example of the responsibility—and restraint—which can be displayed by railroad labor and management.

Almost three years ago to the day the Nation was faced with an equally grave railroad strike. Then, both the carriers and the unions placed the national interest first. The strike was postponed and a fair and just settlement reached.

On that occasion I said:

"This agreement is American business and American labor operating at its very best, at the highest levels of public responsibility. This is the face of American industrial democracy that we can proudly show to the entire world, that free enterprise, free collective bargaining, really works in this country, and that the needs and the demands of the people's interest are understood and those needs and those demands come first."

It is my fervent hope—and I believe that I speak for all Americans—that the parties to the railway dispute which now threatens the Nation arrive at a just settlement, for "He that keepeth understanding shall find good."

More drastic measures could have been proposed. But I believe that the parties should be given one more opportunity—a last clear chance—to resolve their differences, in their own way, in the spirit of free collective bargaining.

As President I have the firm responsibility to represent this nation at the meeting of the heads of Latin American States at Punta del Este. The commitment to go to Punta del Este was made many months ago—and it must be honored.

But as President, I also have the clear responsibility to take action that will assure uninterrupted rail service for our Nation. I am taking that action in submitting this

[170] Apr. 10

Public Papers of the Presidents

Joint Resolution today and requesting prompt action by the Congress.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

The White House

April 10, 1967

NOTE: The joint resolution extending the "no strike" period in the railroad dispute was approved by the President on April 12 (see Item 174). See also Items 172, 188, 194, 207, 310, 311, 386.

171 Remarks Upon Arrival in Uruguay for the Punta del Este Meeting of American Chiefs of State. *April 11, 1967*

President Gestido, Your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen:

Mr. President, I appreciate deeply your warm and generous welcome.

This is the first time that I step on South American soil. It is my very great privilege that it should be the land of Artigas.

More than 150 years ago, Artigas said: "*La causa de los pueblos no admite la menor de mora*"—The cause of the people does not admit of the slightest delay."

The same cause brings us here to Punta del Este.

Six years ago a great charter was written in Punta del Este. Under its banner we have moved forward and made progress. We are demonstrating that "free men working through institutions of representative democracy can best satisfy man's ambitions."

But we also know that our task is only in its beginning. The experience of the first 6 years of the Alliance tells us where we must quicken the pace.

Diligent work has gone on during the past year in preparing the program which the Presidents will consider at this con-

ference. This program is not a reaction to crisis, but it is a response of farsighted Latin American leadership to the needs of present and future generations.

The progress of our Alliance shows that the initiative is increasingly with Latin America. We in the United States welcome this—as we believe you do. I would repeat what I said to my fellow Presidents last August: "Move boldly along this path and the United States will be at your side."

So Mr. President, I look forward to this conference and to the opportunity it will afford me to exchange views with my fellow Presidents. I believe that personal contact is essential to understanding—and I know that understanding is the foundation of our common effort.

The hemisphere is grateful to your government and your people for opening its doors to all of us. I should like to join my colleagues in saying to you and to your people *muchas gracias*.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:40 a.m. at Carrasco Airport, Montevideo. In his opening words he referred to Oscar D. Gestido, President of Uruguay.

172 Statement by the President on the Joint Resolution Extending the "No Strike" Period in the Railroad Dispute. *April 11, 1967*

EVERY American should be gratified by Congress' prompt action in extending the "no strike" period in the railroad dispute.

The "no strike" period under the Railway Labor Act would have expired at midnight tomorrow.

Today's action extends that period for an additional 20 days.

In responding to that emergency so quickly after the resolution was presented, Congress has well-earned the Nation's gratitude.

I now urge both the carriers and the workers to use every hour of these 20 days to negotiate in earnest in an attempt to reach an equitable decision in the American

way of true collective bargaining.

Otherwise, Congress will again be required to help avoid the many terrible consequences that will flow from a nationwide rail strike.

NOTE: The joint resolution extending the "no strike" period in the railroad dispute was approved by the President on April 12, 1967 (see Item 174). See also Items 170, 188, 194, 207, 310, 311, 386.

The statement was released at Punta del Este, Uruguay.

173 The President's Toast at the Dinner in Punta del Este, Uruguay, for the Presidents of Central American States. *April 11, 1967*

My fellow Presidents:

I am glad that we have the opportunity of meeting together before the formal sessions of this conference begin. For your spirit and cooperation should inspire all the 19 nations gathered here. It should be the standard and the meaning of what we do here.

It is easy to speak of "cooperation and partnership"—of "cooperation" and "unity." Those words will be used many times during the next 2 days. But they will remain only words—only ideals—unless we take the actions that will give them meaning and power.

You have been taking those actions:

—In building the great inter-American highway, and

—In developing a common market.

We have helped you in both, although the initiative and determination were yours. We want to move on to help you connect your

highway with South America by closing the Darien Gap.

We have supported you as you used the common market to increase trade between yourselves fivefold. I was pleased to sign the loan, at the White House in 1965, that helped to make the promise of integration a reality.

We rejoice in the promise and the dedication of Central America.

We are sorry that the illness of former President Somoza has kept President Guerrero of Nicaragua from our midst. Our thoughts are with him.

Gentlemen, I propose a toast to the great example of Central America. May the practical example you have given us become the hallmark of this conference.

NOTE: The President proposed the toast at the dinner in the Hall of the Americas at the San Rafael Hotel. As printed above, this item follows the text of the White House press release issued at Punta del Este.

174 Statement by the President Upon Signing Bill Extending the "No Strike" Period in the Railroad Dispute. *April 12, 1967*

IN ENACTING S.J. Res. 65, the Congress expressed the will of the American people—swiftly and decisively.

The immediate threat of a grim and paralyzing rail strike has been postponed. The railroads and the unions now have another 20 days to pursue their quest for a settlement through collective bargaining.

The urgency which prompted Congress to act should serve to notify both sides, as they return to the bargaining table, that the American people look to them for selfless and responsible action in the tradition of industrial democracy.

This resolution is a call upon their conscience. I am sure their concern for America will not allow that summons to go unheeded.

I am today appointing a special panel of three judicious Americans: Judge Charles

Fahy, recently retired Judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia, George Taylor, professor of industry, University of Pennsylvania, and John Dunlop, professor of economics, Harvard University.

I have asked this panel to help the parties mediate their differences, and if the parties should fail to reach agreement, to recommend whatever additional action may be necessary.

I urge the parties to cooperate fully with this special panel in making collective bargaining a success in the extra time Congress has provided.

NOTE: As enacted, S.J. Res. 65 is Public Law 90-10 (81 Stat. 12). See also Items 170, 172, 188, 194, 207, 310, 311, 386.

The statement was released at Punta del Este, Uruguay.

175 Statement by the President at an Informal Meeting With the American Chiefs of State at Punta del Este, Uruguay.

April 12, 1967

Mr. Chairman, fellow Chiefs of State:

I shall be presenting some thoughts in the agenda of our conference tomorrow; but as we enter into our private discussion of the declaration before us which our Foreign Ministers have prepared, I wish to make a few specific observations.

First, I want to restate my support of the program which you have set for yourselves.

In my message to the Congress on March 13, I recommended increased financial assistance to your countries in the areas covered by the declaration before me: economic integration, multinational projects, agriculture, education, and health. This rep-

resents my convictions and my policy today.

The decisions which you make here—and the followup action which you take in the months ahead—will enable me to pursue that policy.

Second, I wish to state my country's position on how we might assist in expanding Latin American trade.

Much of our thought and work in the hemisphere has centered in recent years on ways to expand the volume and the value of Latin American exports.

We all know that basically the answer lies in the diversification of agriculture and in making overly protected Latin American

industry competitive and efficient. This is one of the reasons that we all support Latin American economic integration.

But we wish to be as helpful as we can in this transitional period in Latin American history.

We are now devoting a major effort to try to make the Kennedy Round negotiations a success. If they succeed, they will help us all—including Latin America.

But the process of freeing trade from unnecessary restrictions will not come to an end when the current important Kennedy Round negotiations are completed.

We have been examining the kind of trade initiatives that the United States should propose in the years ahead. We are convinced that our future trade policy must pay special attention to the needs of the developing countries in Latin America and elsewhere in the world.

We have been exploring with other major industrialized countries what practical steps can be taken to increase the export earnings of all developing countries. We recognize that comparable tariff treatment may not always permit developing countries to advance as rapidly as desired. Temporary tariff advantages for all developing countries by all industrialized countries would be one way to deal with this.

We think this idea is worth pursuing. We will be discussing it further with Members of our Congress, with business and labor leaders, and we will seek the cooperation of other governments in the world trading community to see whether a broad consensus can be reached along these lines.

We also recognize the very special importance for certain Latin American countries of earnings from coffee exports. In our programs for assistance for agricultural development, we are already helping to carry

forward the process of diversification—which alone can prevent chronic surpluses. As a further step in this direction, we are prepared to lend \$15 million to the proposed international coffee diversification and development fund with the understanding that the coffee producing countries agree to contribute \$30–50 million per year over the next 5 years; and to lend up to \$15 million more to match contributions by other coffee consuming members of the International Coffee Agreement.

I have been informed of the great importance which you attach to the use of Alliance for Progress funds to finance procurement in other Alliance for Progress countries as well as in the United States. I know that you are all aware of the United States balance of payments problems and we deeply appreciate your cooperation in helping us meet them.

The cooperative nature of our Alliance is very important to me. I want you to know that we shall undertake consultations on this matter. We shall try to establish whether we can agree that aid funds for capital projects and related technical assistance can be used in Alliance for Progress countries in ways which will protect the U.S. balance of payments.

The final point I would make has to do with the declaration which is before us. As the political leaders of our countries we have the responsibility to translate complex issues into understandable language for our peoples. The decisions reached at this meeting are complicated decisions. Though essential to the progress and prosperity of our people, they may seem removed from pressing everyday needs, unless we extract them from the language of the economists and diplomats—on whom we so greatly rely.

I know that when I return home, I shall try to make clear to our people these basic

decisions we have made together. And I am sure you will all wish to do the same.

NOTE: The President's statement was released in

Punta del Este following an informal but private session in the San Rafael Hotel. President Oscar D. Gestido of Uruguay served as chairman.

176 Remarks in Punta del Este at the Public Session of the Meeting of American Chiefs of State. *April 13, 1967*

Mr. Chairman, fellow Chiefs of State, ladies and gentlemen:

First, President Gestido, may I express, on behalf of my entire delegation, gratitude to you for the courtesy and generosity that Uruguay has offered her sister nations at this conference.

We have come to Punta del Este as the leaders of 20 governments—and as the trustees for more than 400 million human beings.

We meet in a city where, 5½ years ago, an alliance was formed—a pledge was made—and a dream begun.

Now we must measure the progress we have made. We must name the barriers that still stand between us and the fulfillment of our dream. Then we must put in motion plans that will set us firmly on the way toward the proud destiny that is our peoples' right.

We meet as friends, as neighbors, and as allies. Hundreds of years ago we were the New World. Now each of us faces the problems of growing maturity—of industrialization, of rapid urban growth, of sharing the opportunities of life among our people.

We no longer inhabit a New World. We cannot escape from our problems—as the first Americans could—in the vastness of an uncharted hemisphere. If we are to grow and prosper, we must face the problems of our maturity. And we must do it both boldly and wisely—and we must face them now.

If we do, we can create a new America—where the best in man may flourish in free-

dom and in dignity. If we neglect the planning, if we ignore the commitments that it requires—if our rhetoric is not followed by action—we shall fail not only the Americans of this generation, but hundreds of millions to come.

In unity—and only in unity—is our strength. The barriers that deny the dream of a new America are stronger than the strongest among us—acting alone. But they cannot stand against our combined will and our common effort.

So I speak to you as a ready partner in that effort. I represent a Nation committed by history, by national interest, and by simple friendship to the cause of progress in Latin America. But the assistance of my Nation will be useful only as it reinforces your own determination and builds on your own achievements—and only as it is bound to the growing unity of our own hemisphere.

As I have listened to the able and eloquent addresses of my fellow Presidents and Prime Ministers who have gathered here, and as I have surveyed the constructive suggestions that have been made, here are the tasks before us as I see it:

First, you will be forging a great new common market—expanding your industrial base, increasing your participation in world trade, and broadening economic opportunities for your people. I have already made my position clear to my Congress and my people: If Latin America decides to create a common market, I shall recommend a substantial contribution to a fund that will help

ease the transition into an integrated regional economy.

Second, you will design, and join together to build, great multinational projects that will open up the inner frontiers of Latin America. These will provide—at last—the physical basis of Simón Bolívar's vision of continental unity. I shall ask my people to provide, over a 3-year period, substantial additional funds for the Inter-American Bank's Fund for Special Operations, as our part of this special effort. I have also asked the Export-Import Bank to give urgent and sympathetic attention, wherever it is economically feasible, to loans for earth stations that will bring satellite communications to Latin America, so that this great hemisphere can have the communications it so sorely needs.

Third, I know how hard you are striving to expand the volume and value of Latin American exports. Bilateral and multilateral efforts to achieve this are already underway. But as I made very clear only yesterday afternoon in our private session, we are prepared to consider a further step in international trade policy. We are ready to explore with other industrialized countries—and with our own people—the possibility of temporary preferential tariff advantages for all developing countries in the markets of all the industrialized countries. We are also prepared to make our contribution to additional shared efforts in connection with the International Coffee Agreement.

Fourth, all of us know that modernizing agriculture and increasing its productivity is an urgent task for Latin America—as it is for the whole world. Modernizing education is equally important. I have already urged our Government to expand our bilateral assistance in the field of agriculture and in the field of education.

Fifth, you are engaged in bringing to Latin American life all that can be used from the

common fund of modern science and technology. In addition to the additional resources we shall seek in the field of education, we are now prepared to join with Latin American nations in:

- creating an inter-American training center for educational broadcasting, and supporting a pilot educational television demonstration project in a Central American country that will teach the children by day and entertain and inform their families at night;
- establishing a new inter-American foundation for science and technology;
- developing a regional program of marine science and technology; and
- exploring a Latin American regional program for the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

Sixth, the health of the people of Latin America ultimately depends on everything we do to modernize the life of the region. But we must never forget that when children are not provided with adequate and balanced diets, they are permanently affected as human beings—and as citizens. Therefore, we in our country propose to increase our food program for preschool children in Latin America by tripling it, and substantially improve our school lunch program by doubling it in the year ahead. We are also prepared to set up in Latin America a demonstration center in the field of fish protein concentrates. We believe that this essential ingredient of a balanced diet can be provided at a much lower cost than has ever been known in our history.

Finally, I shall urge funds be provided to help establish Alliance for Progress centers at colleges and universities in the United States. Our partnership must be based on respect for our various cultures and civilizations. And respect is built upon knowledge. This new education program will offer new

opportunities for students and educators of your countries and of my country to understand each other and to work closer together.

Our discussions here are couched in the technical terms of trade and development policies.

But beyond these impersonal terms stands the reality of individual men, women, and children. It is for them—not for the statisticians and economists—that we have come here to plan, to dream and to work. It is for them—and especially for the young among them—that the hope and the challenge of this Alliance exists.

For them, we must move forward from this hour. Each of us present should engage in some introspection and ask ourselves what are we, ourselves, doing to build more schools, more hospitals, and more roads?

What are we doing to produce more food, and to take the steps necessary on our own initiative to see that this job is done?

What are we, ourselves, doing to develop more trade; to take on the hard problems in our own countries of tax reform and land reform, of creating new jobs and new economic opportunities for our own people whom we presume to lead; of cleaning out the red tape and acting with the sense of urgency that our times require; and, above all, providing action to carry out the record and following through on the plans we have made?

I pledge to you today that I will do all I can, in my time of leadership, to help you meet these challenges.

One of the first groups that I met with the first week I was in the White House, when I became President, was the ambassadors to Washington from Latin America. I called them to the East Room to talk to them about this program and their plans.

From that hour until this I have accel-

erated America's contribution to the hemisphere, by increasing substantially the flow of my country's funds—substantially increasing them by 35 percent the last 3 years over the preceding 3 years to this hemisphere.

I know what is at stake for you, and I know what is at stake for me and my country. More than that, I know what is at stake for Latin America.

We raised the total flow of funds. For the 3 years 1961 to 1964, it ran \$3,700 million. From 1964, 1965, and 1966, that \$3,700 million was raised to about \$5 billion.

I know that the demands are increasing, and the clock is ticking. I know that the dream of the new America will not wait. I know that most of you sense the same urgency—the same need for speedy decision and effective action in your own countries, as well as in mine.

So my fellow Presidents, I should like to conclude by speaking not only to you, but speaking to the young people of your countries who will follow you, the youth of our nations; to the students in the schools and universities; to the young people on the farms and in the new factories; to the labor unions; to the civil service of our governments—to all of those who are moving into their time of responsibility.

This is the way I would like to speak to them this afternoon; this is the message that I would like to bring to them:

All that has been dreamed of in the years since the Alliance started can only come to pass if your hearts and your minds are dedicated and committed to it.

It is our duty—we who hold public office and bear great private responsibilities—to create an environment in which you can build your part of the new America.

It is your duty to prepare yourselves now—to use the tools of learning, and the idealism

that is your natural heritage, for the humane purposes that lie deep in our common civilization.

You cry out for change, for what President Franklin Roosevelt called a New Deal. And you do not want it imposed from above. You want a chance to help shape the conditions of your own lives.

You—the youth of the Americas—should know that revolutions of fire have brought men in this hemisphere, and in jungles half the world away, still greater tyrannies than those they fought to cast off.

Now, here in the countries of the Alliance, a peaceful revolution has affirmed man's ability to change the conditions of his life through the institutions of democracy. In your hands is the task of carrying it forward.

The pace of change is not fast enough. It will remain too slow—unless you join your energies, your skills and commitments in a mighty effort that extends into the farthest reaches of this hemisphere.

The time is now. The responsibility is ours.

So let us declare the next 10 years the decade of urgency.

Let us match our resolve and our resources to the common tasks—until the dream of a new America is accomplished and is a reality in the lives of all of our people.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:07 p.m. in the Hall of the Americas at the San Rafael Hotel. His opening words referred to President Oscar D. Gestido of Uruguay, who served as chairman of the meeting.

177 Statement by the President Following the Close of the Meeting of American Chiefs of State at Punta del Este, Uruguay.

April 14, 1967

THE LEADERS of the Americas met in Bogotá and Punta del Este 6 years ago to inaugurate one of the most audacious programs in the annals of mankind.

The goal was to demonstrate that freedom and economic development are not enemies—that massive social and political transformations can be accomplished without the lash of dictatorship, or the spur of terror.

That was a time to state the challenge. The years that have passed prove beyond any doubt that the nations and peoples of the Americas responded creatively to this challenge.

We returned to Punta del Este for an assessment of our achievements and our future obligations. We met in a spirit of candor, with a full realization of the scope of the problems that confront us.

We have looked at the past and the future with cold realism, knowing that our cause will not be served by either naive optimism or cynical pessimism.

We have learned much, and much that we have learned confirms the judgment of Ecclesiastes that “he who increaseth wisdom, increaseth sorrow.” We have long since abandoned the view that rhetoric could alter a social system—or that a blueprint could guarantee economic growth.

Economic and social development is a task not for sprinters but for long-distance runners.

We know now that transforming the lives of over 250 million people requires a commitment to specifics. It requires a fierce—a stubborn—dedication to those undramatic, day-to-day attainments that are the sinews of economic and social progress. This is es-

pecially true of the United States and Latin America.

We are greatly impressed by the steps that have been taken—the progress made by Latin America in recent years. We are also impressed by the high level of cooperation that has developed among the proudly independent nations of the Americas.

In my judgment, this has been an extremely valuable conference. We have set our priorities for the next stage.

First, we have made some vital structural commitments. The fulfillment of these objectives will not only be a major accomplishment in its own right, but it will make possible wide-ranging improvements presently beyond our reach.

The Latin American Common Market, once achieved, will alter the whole economy of the hemisphere, and will have consequences in every sector of social and political organization.

Multinational projects—opening the way for the movement of people, goods, electricity—will have a similar impact.

Second, we have moved to deal with a number of immediate problems:

- To expand Latin American trade.
- To modernize Latin American agriculture and increase food production to meet the needs of an expanding population.
- To combat illiteracy and improve educational systems.
- To provide access to the latest scientific and technological developments, and so to help bridge the “technological gap.”
- To expand health measures so that the latest fruits of medical science will be at the disposal of all our people.
- To eliminate unnecessary military spending.

The first phase of the Alliance has been a success by any realistic standard.

The second phase is now underway. It will cut to the heart of the problem—the modernization of overprotected Latin American industry, underfinanced Latin American agriculture and education. It will be difficult and demanding. It will require sustained effort.

The American people have responded generously to the needs of their fellow Americans; and I am sure that our friends in Latin America realize that we can be depended upon in the long struggle that will follow, as we could in the beginning of the Alliance.

I return to my country in good heart—for this reason. I have met all of the Presidents of the Latin American Republics and the Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago. I am convinced that the leaders of Latin America are serious and determined to develop their nations. And I believe the people of the United States will continue to respond to their efforts.

NOTE: The statement was released at Punta del Este, Uruguay.

On the same day the Office of the White House Press Secretary made public at Punta del Este the following release, entitled “The Summit—a Summary”:

“The leaders of the American nations have met and renewed their commitment to the cause of Latin American economic and social development—a commitment undertaken at Bogotá in 1960, and further defined at Punta del Este 6 years ago.

“They agreed:

- to create and support a Latin American Common Market
 - to bind the nations of the hemisphere in great transportation, power, and river development
 - to expand Latin American trade
 - to intensify the battle against illiteracy and disease
 - to modernize agriculture and education
 - to avoid unnecessary military expenditures
- “Speaking for the people of the United States, the President announced that he would:
- Ask his country to assist Latin American economic integration by contributing assistance to ease the adjustment period.
 - Recommend additional support for the Inter-

American Bank to design multinational projects.
—Explore with his own people and with other industrialized countries, the possibility of temporary preferential tariffs for developing nations.
—Undertake to expand assistance to Latin Ameri-

can nations, particularly in the fields of education, agriculture, health, technology, and nutrition.
—Sustain American support for all the Latin American countries."

178 Remarks at the Airport in Paramaribo, Surinam, During the Return From the Meeting at Punta del Este. *April 14, 1967*

Governor de Vries, Minister President Pengel, Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen:

I appreciate the warmth of your welcome, and I regard it as real warmth when you stand in the rain to see me, although the thing we welcome most in my State right now is rain. We are having a terrible drought. Maybe this is a good omen. Maybe this is an indication that what is bad for us here today will be good for me at home tomorrow.

I know of the traditional hospitality and friendship of the Dutch people, and I value very much the close and cordial ties which link our countries.

I have just come from Punta del Este. There the Presidents of the Americas agreed on the establishment of a Latin American Common Market by 1985 and the necessary steps to achieve it.

You in Surinam already know from your relationship with the European Common Market how great the benefits of this kind of operation can be. I know that you—as I—would encourage our Latin American neighbors in this great venture.

You also know the happiness and other benefits which racial cooperation and harmony can produce. You give to the hemisphere and to the entire world, for that matter, very vivid testimony to the advantages which peace, stability, and the democratic process can bring to people. Creole and Javanese, Hindustani and Chinese, bush Negro and Amer-Indian, working together in this world in miniature, provide all of us—and each of us—an inspiring example of progress and racial understanding.

I could not help but observe—and I shall always remember—the smiling faces that greeted me in this line as I came to the platform.

I am very truly sorry that my stop here is so short, but it is one that I shall always treasure and always remember.

For your hospitality and your friendship, I thank each of you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 6:40 p.m. at the airport in Paramaribo, Surinam. In his opening words he referred to Lucien de Vries, Governor of Surinam, and Johan Pengel, Minister President.

179 Message to the Congress Transmitting First Annual Report of the Department of Housing and Urban Development. *April 17, 1967*

To the Congress of the United States:

I am pleased to transmit the 1965 Annual Report of the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

The year 1965 was a milestone in the history of America's effort to provide decent

housing for its citizens and to improve the quality of urban life. It saw not only the creation of the new Department, but the passage of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965.

The Housing and Urban Development

Act provided the new Department with powerful tools.

The Congress has since supplied others:

- The Model Cities program, making possible the coordination and concentration of Federal, State and local efforts for the physical and social rehabilitation of deteriorating neighborhoods.
- Funding for the Rent Supplement Program.
- Authorization for the Federal National Mortgage Association to purchase an additional \$3.7 billion in home mortgages to help meet the shortage of mortgage funds.
- An additional two-year authorization for the urban mass transportation program.

In addition to reorganizing five separate, semi-autonomous agencies into a single cohesive organization, the Department of Housing and Urban Development has begun the work for which it was created.

Since it commenced operations on November 9, 1965, the Department has:

- Begun the Model Cities program, inspiring hope and generating a commitment to excellence as American cities plan their attack on urban blight.
- Approved grants for the construction of 71 Neighborhood Centers in low-income areas, bringing services to those who need them most. At the same time it has joined with other Departments and Agencies to develop a 14-city pilot program of multiservice Neighborhood Centers which will bring together a wide range of Federal, State and local services.
- Enabled hundreds of poor people to live in decent privately-owned housing under the new Rent Supplement program.
- Moved about 600,000 persons into low-rent public housing.

—Initiated a new "turnkey" program to lower costs and speed construction of low-income public housing by permitting private industry to build houses for sale to local housing authorities.

—Provided better housing for 100,000 college students.

—Made available 8,900 apartment units for elderly persons through loans of \$113 million.

—Stimulated the up-grading of older areas in more than 40 cities by approving \$53 million in grants for intensive code enforcement.

—Stimulated the rehabilitation of low-income homes through some 2,300 grants totalling \$3 million and nearly 800 loans amounting to \$4 million.

—Approved an additional 157 urban renewal projects, and increased grant commitments for urban renewal by \$931 million.

—Approved more than \$400 million in loans, grants and advances to promote more than 1,500 community projects, including mass transit, urban planning, development of water and sewer facilities, and acquisition of open space.

On the occasion of the Department of Housing and Urban Development's first anniversary, Secretary Weaver reported to me: "In just one year, significant strides have been made in program development, Departmental organization, and legislation. This is a Department on the move."

Today, with cities in every State of this Nation planning their assault on urban blight under the Model Cities program, we know that the pace will—as it must—be quickened.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

The White House

April 17, 1967

NOTE: The report is entitled "Annual Report 1965, U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Develop-

ment" (Government Printing Office, 355 pp.).

For the President's remarks on signing the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965 and the act establishing the Department of Housing and

Urban Development, see 1965 volume, this series, Book II, Items 415, 503.

The message was released at San Antonio, Texas.

180 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report of the National Capital Housing Authority. April 17, 1967

To the Congress of the United States:

I am pleased to transmit the 1966 Annual Report of the National Capital Housing Authority.

Impressive progress has been made by the Authority. More than 3,200 dwelling units are now being built or planned to provide better homes for low-income families in the District of Columbia.

Imaginative new approaches to provide decent housing are being tested—and with good results.

The first "Turnkey" project in the Nation has recently been completed in Washington—a 343-unit building for low-income elderly families. This technique marshals the full resources of private enterprise:

- To plan a low-cost public housing project.
- To finance its construction.
- To build the project.

After the housing has been completed, it is purchased and maintained by the local housing authority. Washington's "Turnkey" project has shown that this technique can speed housing availability, reduce administrative costs, and improve the quality of housing through the genius of private enterprise.

In addition, the Authority has begun to lease units in privately owned dwellings to meet the immediate housing needs of low-income families in the District.

Another new program of the Authority is rehabilitating older homes for use by low-income families. A ten-unit pilot program successfully completed in 1966 forms the basis for a major effort to rehabilitate 240 units in 1967.

The National Capital Housing Authority maintains over 9,000 units of public housing. Still, the need for low-cost housing far exceeds the supply. Many needy applicants face years of waiting before decent housing can be made available. This shortage is complicated by rising construction costs and scarcity of land, making the need for new approaches more urgent.

The complexity of the task which lies ahead must not be allowed to diminish our resolve to make the Nation's Capital a city of which all Americans can be proud. For, as I said last year in my message to the Congress on American Cities, "The prize—cities of spacious beauty and lively promise where men are truly free to determine how they will live—is too rich to be lost because the problems are complex."

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

The White House

April 17, 1967

NOTE: The text of the message transmitting the "Annual Report 1966, National Capital Housing Authority" (Government Printing Office, 20 pp.) was released at San Antonio, Texas.

181 Statement by the President on the Death of Konrad Adenauer. *April 19, 1967*

AMERICANS mourn the passing of Chancellor Konrad Adenauer. To us, to Europe, and to the world, he will always be a symbol of the vitality and courage of the German people. We will never forget his lifelong opposition to tyranny in any form. Nor will we forget how, with single-minded determination, he led his nation from the ruins of war to a prosperous and respected position in the family of free nations.

Konrad Adenauer will be missed every-

where, but his dauntless spirit will live on in the Atlantic partnership he did so much to create. The contribution he made is one from which all free men will profit. There can be no greater monument to the memory of a great and beloved man.

NOTE: On April 23, George E. Christian, Special Assistant to the President, announced that the President would go to Germany to attend the funeral of Chancellor Adenauer and that he would call on President Heinrich Lübke and Chancellor Kurt Georg Kiesinger (3 Weekly Comp. Pres. Docs., p. 659).

182 Remarks Upon Presenting the National Teacher of the Year Award. *April 19, 1967*

Mr. Vice President, distinguished Members of the Congress, Mr. and Mrs. Tenney and members of their family, ladies and gentlemen:

I have always believed that we make our decisions around here on the basis of merit and merit alone, but when I observe that the Teacher of the Year whom we honor is from Minnesota and has some direct associates in the crowd called Humphrey, I do know what they would say if the situation should be reversed and the teacher came from Texas and his name were Johnson—someone would think there's been some wheeling and dealing somewhere!

I am very much impressed—both by your music and your message. And I am happy to pay my respects to the 1967 National Teacher of the Year.

Last year, we honored a teacher who makes poets out of first-graders.

This year, we pay tribute to a teacher who makes musicians out of football players—and who makes memberships in his choir

as sought after as a place on the first team.

Mr. Tenney is an unusual man. The young singers from his high school have won national recognition. He directs three choirs at the local high school. He is the organizer and director of a community choir in his city. He directs two choirs at his church. He teaches adult classes in speech, music conducting, and music appreciation. He coaches young singers individually. He judges 10 to 12 regional and State music contests each year. Somehow, he finds time in his busy schedule to participate in civic affairs, including work with the local Boy Scout troop.

I am about ready to start negotiations with Congressman Quie here—after he gets through with my Teacher Corps up there on the Hill and gets it thoroughly abolished—to see if we can't work out arrangements for him to conduct some singing for both national conventions.

As all of you may or may not know, I am not a singer. My musical education stopped with violin lessons in my boyhood. But it

does give me great pride to know that I played a small part in helping to encourage men and women like Mr. Tenney.

Since 1965, your Federal Government has devoted nearly \$14 million to encouraging the arts and the humanities all over this great country of ours. The dollars, of course, are just the smallest part of that story. The real story can be seen in the thousands of schools, concert halls, and theaters that stretch out through our 50 States where we have new enthusiasm and new vitality and they are stirring the arts.

Mr. Tenney, you are an example and an inspiration for all of us. I am happy that I could be here with your distinguished Vice President, whom we all honor, respect, and love so much, the members of your delegation led by Senator McCarthy and other Members of the House, and to pay you this great honor and to present to you this award of the year.

I spent a few years of my life teaching.

Sometimes people think that I am not doing a very good job of teaching now—that I ought to go back to the profession. But as a former teacher, I cannot think of anything that a teacher would cherish more than the recognition of his countrymen of his outstanding achievements as you have been recognized by this Look award.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:23 p.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. In his opening words he referred to Hubert H. Humphrey, Vice President of the United States, Roger Tenney, "Teacher of the Year," and his wife Ethel. Later he referred to Representative Albert H. Quie and Senator Eugene J. McCarthy, both of Minnesota.

Mr. Tenney, music teacher and vocal music director at Owatonna Junior-Senior High School, Owatonna, Minn., was accompanied by the senior high school choir of 40 boys and 40 girls who sang at the ceremony.

The "Teacher of the Year" is chosen from a group of finalists selected by a screening committee of national educational leaders. The award is sponsored by Look magazine in cooperation with the Council of Chief State School Officers, an organization of State superintendents and commissioners of education.

183 Statement by the President Concerning a Report on the Teacher Corps. *April 20, 1967*

DESPITE the many difficulties of its first year, the Corps has made a strong beginning. It offers bright promise for substantial improvement in the education of disadvantaged children, and it should be continued. This Council is convinced that to abandon or weaken the Teacher Corps would be a serious and wasteful error.

I hope this report will be read by every Member of Congress who is concerned about education in America. It confirms evidence we have received from every part of the country. The Teacher Corps meets a desperate need.

NOTE: The President's statement was made public as part of a White House press release announcing the receipt of the report. The release noted that the report was compiled by the National Advisory Council on the Education of Disadvantaged Children, established by the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, and was based on the Council's inspection of 16 sample school districts and 11 university centers for Teacher Corps training. The survey, the release added, was directed by Dr. O. Meredith Wilson, president of the University of Minnesota and chairman of the Council. Other members are listed in the release (3 Weekly Comp. Pres. Docs., p. 648), which stated that the report (10 pp., processed) was transmitted simultaneously to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House.

184 Statement by the President Upon Signing Order Providing Further Training for Government Employees. *April 20, 1967*

ON March 17, 1967, in my Message to the Congress on the Quality of American Government, I proposed several measures for improving the methods, machinery, and manpower of government at all levels.

Two weeks later, I urged the Congress to take two vital steps to strengthen the Federal Government:

- to increase the salaries of Government employees;
- to increase postal rates and improve postal services.

Today I have signed an Executive order which will strengthen the most important resource of the Federal Government—the Federal employee—through improved training and educational opportunities.

In America we are fortunate to have the finest civil service in the world. It is well-trained, experienced, and dedicated. Its skills are unsurpassed. But there is room for improvement.

The tasks facing the Government employee are increasing in complexity each day. He is challenged by the problems of outer space and urban blight, of national security and crime in the streets, of economic development abroad and manpower shortages at home. To each task, he must bring the best our advanced technology can provide. And for each task he is given the most modern equipment available.

But to fulfill his responsibilities as a public servant, he must be equipped to respond quickly and effectively to new demands and new conditions. His skills must continually be upgraded. He must be able to adopt and use the most advanced techniques and equipment available.

The Executive order which I have signed today will enable us to:

- Improve the public service through more effective and efficient training programs.
- Administer Federal programs with increased efficacy and economy.
- Build and retain a corps of employees whose skills are continually upgraded to meet the increasingly complex needs of the society they serve.
- Use the most modern practices and techniques in the conduct of the Government's business.

The order directs the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission to plan and promote the development, improvement, coordination, and evaluation of Federal training programs. He will assist the agencies and departments of the Federal Government in improving their training programs, identify areas in which new training activity is necessary, and coordinate interagency training efforts. He will also develop a training information system to provide the data essential to sound planning and evaluation.

Excellence is important at all levels of Government. It is particularly critical at the top level of the Federal Government. Accordingly, I am directing the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission to establish a center for advanced study for executives in the upper echelons of the civil service.

The center will offer to our top level executives intensive courses designed to bring greater efficiency to the administration of our programs and increased opportunities for career development to our public servants. The courses will focus primarily on three areas of vital importance:

- The major problems facing our society and the nature of the Government's response to those problems.
- The adequacy of the existing structure of Government in relation to today's problems.
- The ways in which administration of Federal programs can be improved.

The center, under the leadership of the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission and an interagency advisory council, will call upon leaders in the academic community and in other fields of endeavor to assist in providing our top executives the best training possible.

In preparing the Executive order and in developing plans for the center, we have been assisted by the distinguished Task Force on Career Advancement which reported earlier this year. I am grateful for their invaluable contribution to our efforts to improve the quality of government.

The Task Force was headed by John W. Macy, Jr., Chairman of the Civil Service Commission. Its members were: Dr. Marvin H. Berkeley, corporate personnel director, Texas Instruments, Inc., Dallas, Texas; Andrew Biemiller, director of legislation, AFL-CIO; Lawrence Binger, corporate director, personnel services, Minnesota Min-

ing and Manufacturing, St. Paul, Minn.; McGeorge Bundy, president, the Ford Foundation, New York City; Dr. Robert D. Calkins, president, the Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C.; Honorable John W. Gardner, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare; Dr. Jerome H. Holland, president, Hampton Institute, Hampton, Va.; Dr. Evron Kirkpatrick, executive director, American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C.; Dr. James H. McCrocklin, president, Southwest Texas State College, San Marcos, Texas; and Honorable Charles L. Schultze, Director, Bureau of the Budget.

NOTE: The President referred to Executive Order 11348 "Providing for the Further Training of Government Employees" (3 Weekly Comp. Pres. Docs., p. 649; 32 F.R. 6335; 3 CFR, 1967 Comp., p. 275).

The Task Force report is entitled "Investment for Tomorrow; A Report of the Presidential Task Force on Career Advancement" (Government Printing Office, 69 pp.).

For the President's message to Congress on March 17, 1967, on the quality of American Government, see Item 121. His message to Congress on Federal pay and postal rates was sent 2 weeks later on April 5 (see Item 163).

On May 9, 1968, the White House announced the establishment of the Federal Executive Institute at Charlottesville, Va. The new center for advanced study for civil service executives was scheduled to open in October 1968 in collaboration with the University of Virginia (4 Weekly Comp. Pres. Docs., p. 773).

185 Message to the Congress Transmitting First Annual Report of the National Advisory Council on Extension and Continuing Education. April 21, 1967

To the Congress of the United States:

I am pleased to transmit the First Annual Report of the National Advisory Council on Extension and Continuing Education.

As this Report points out, extension and continuing education—once the neglected stepchild in the American educational sys-

tem—has now become a vital part of that system. Benefiting 25 million citizens each year, continuing education is helping to meet the needs of America's adult population. It recognizes that education is a continuing process that does not end when the student leaves the classroom.

The Federal role in supporting continuing education began more than a century ago. As our society evolved and became more complex, the Federal effort intensified. Today, through Federally-supported programs, we can cite these examples of progress:

- American adults, denied the opportunity to learn when they were young, are being taught to read and write.
- The poor and the unemployed, through special education and training, are being given a chance to stand on their own two feet.
- Scientists, engineers, doctors, dentists and teachers are improving their skills and keeping up with the latest technological advances.
- Employees at all levels of government are being trained to serve the public better.

These extensive efforts are complemented by our recent efforts under Title I of the Higher Education Act of 1965 to bring colleges and universities into local communities to conduct seminars and other programs on issues of great concern. Under this program we are focusing the intellectual resources and research facilities of higher education on problems affecting the daily lives of every citizen—from health and housing to transportation and recreation.

In its first year alone, the program reached

every State in the Nation, with 300 colleges and universities participating. In fiscal 1968, this number will almost double.

The attached Report of the National Advisory Council on Extension and Continuing Education details much of this progress and recommends a number of steps to strengthen continuing education in America.

After consultation with the Council, the Administration developed and submitted to the Congress legislation to improve our continuing education programs under Title I by:

- Extending the program for another five years.
- Enabling smaller colleges and universities to continue to participate.
- Providing additional funds for experimental projects.

I commend this Report to your attention.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

The White House

April 21, 1967

NOTE: The Council was established by Title I of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (Public Law 89-329; 79 Stat. 1219).

Its report, transmitted to the President on March 31, 1967, is entitled "First Annual Report of the National Advisory Council on Extension and Continuing Education, Presented to the President of the United States and the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare" (21 pp., processed).

186 Memorandum on Air Pollution.

April 21, 1967

Memorandum for Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Secretary of State, Secretary of Commerce, Secretary of the Interior, Secretary of Transportation, Secretary of Agriculture, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, Director of the Bureau of the Budget, Director of the Office of Sci-

ence and Technology, Director of the Office of Emergency Planning, Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, Chairman of the Federal Power Commission:

SUBJECT: Air pollution

The control of air pollution is a matter of highest priority, and I intend to continue the

battle for clean air with all the resources at my disposal.

The Air Quality Act of 1967, which I have submitted to the Congress, is an indication of my concern with the threat that polluted air poses to the Nation's health. The Act will give us the tools needed to assist the States and localities in providing every American with a healthy and satisfying environment.

Air pollution is primarily a health problem, and thus the primary responsibility for its control rests with the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. I shall continue to depend on Secretary Gardner for leadership in all aspects of air pollution control.

At the same time, each of the departments and agencies named above also has a role to play in dealing with the problem of air pollution, since their programs affect and are affected by the problem of pollution abatement. I am asking each of you to cooperate with Secretary Gardner to insure that the full resources of the Federal Government are effectively used in this effort.

There are two areas toward which the Federal Government must turn its immediate attention. The first of these is air pollution control research and development. We need a greatly accelerated program to develop methods to control sulfur emissions. This must be a targeted program directed at providing control technology for existing and new facilities at the earliest possible time. I am taking steps to provide additional funds to HEW for such an effort, and I expect Dr. Hornig to provide advice on the allocation and use of these funds. Maximum use should be made of the expertise of other Federal agencies, particularly the Department of the Interior's knowledge of the production, treatment, and utilization of fossil fuels. I also expect Dr. Hornig to ad-

vise me on the appropriate research role of the various Federal agencies.

The other area requiring attention is the consideration of economic incentives for pollution control and the determination of the economic effects of pollution control. In my message to the Congress on Protecting Our Natural Heritage, I asked Secretary Gardner and the Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers to explore appropriate measures to encourage industry and local governments to abate pollution. This effort should be expanded to cover the effects of air pollution control on industry and trade, both foreign and domestic.

To provide sufficient funds for a greatly accelerated research and development program, I am directing Secretary Gardner to inform the Congress that an additional \$2.7 million in the 1967 supplemental request will be devoted to research on controlling pollution from sulfur oxides. This will make a total supplemental request of \$4.2 million for the development of pollution control technology. To provide increased research funds in 1968, I am recommending an increase of \$15 million in the 1968 authorization level proposed in the Air Quality Act of 1967. Larger sums will be needed and will be requested in future years, but the amounts cannot be determined until we have had a chance to measure our progress in 1967.

The Federal Government should not be asked to shoulder the entire burden of air pollution control research. I am asking Secretary Gardner, with your assistance, to develop a plan to encourage the coal, oil, and power industries—whose very life is vitally affected by the air pollution control problem—to contribute substantially towards those parts of the directed and targeted research which relate to the desulfurization or other means of utilizing fossil fuels in accordance with existing and potential control

regulations. Together we have the resources and knowledge to insure the American people of a healthy environment.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

NOTE: In the memorandum the President referred to Dr. Donald F. Hornig, Special Assistant to the President and Director of the Office of Science and Technology.

The Air Quality Act of 1967 was approved by the President on November 21, 1967 (see Item 503).

187 Statement by the President on Offering Assistance Following Tornadoes in the Midwest. *April 22, 1967*

THE TORNADOES in the Midwest have left in their wake a tragic toll in human lives, suffering, and property damage.

I have asked Farris Bryant, the Director of the Office of Emergency Planning, and other agencies of the Federal Government to render all possible assistance to Governor Kerner and the local authorities so that the resources of the Federal Government can quickly respond to the needs of the people in their

time of crisis. I today have also directed Governor Bryant to dispatch immediately emergency teams to the areas hardest hit to provide on-the-scene assistance.

Although I depart for Germany tomorrow, I have asked that I be kept fully informed of the efforts that are being made to help ease the burdens which this natural disaster has wrought.

NOTE: In his statement the President referred to Governor Otto Kerner of Illinois.

188 Statement by the President Upon Receiving Report of Special Panel To Investigate the Railroad Labor Dispute. *April 22, 1967*

ON JANUARY 28, 1967, I appointed an emergency board under the Railway Labor Act to investigate the dispute between virtually all of the Nation's railroad carriers and six shopcraft unions representing 137,000 employees.

That board transmitted its report and recommendations to me on March 10. The carriers accepted the board's report. The unions, however, rejected it and the "no strike" period under the Railway Labor Act was scheduled to expire at 12:01 a.m. on Thursday, April 13.

On April 10, I sent a message to the Congress recommending that it enact a joint resolution extending the "no strike" period for an additional 20 days. On April 11, Congress passed that resolution by an overwhelming vote. I signed the resolution on

April 12, and the period of statutory restraint was thus extended to 12:01 a.m. on May 3.

I immediately appointed a special panel of distinguished Americans: Judge Charles Fahy, recently retired Judge of the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia; Dr. George W. Taylor, professor of industry at the University of Pennsylvania; and John T. Dunlop, professor of economics at Harvard University. I asked this panel to help the parties mediate their differences and if the parties should fail to reach agreement to recommend whatever additional action may be necessary.

Since their appointment on April 12, this special panel has been working around the clock with the unions and the railroads and conferring among themselves to help the parties reach a voluntary settlement.

Today the panel reported to me that the parties have not yet been able to reach agreement. They have also not accepted a proposal offered by the panel around which a settlement could be shaped.

The panel reports that the parties are not far apart: that no basic principles stand in the way of settlement and that the differences over wage increases are not of great magnitude. On the key issue of a general wage increase, for example, the unions seek a 6.5 percent increase for 1967 and a 5 percent increase for 1968. The railroads have offered a 5 percent increase for a 1-year period. The panel has recommended a 6 percent increase over an 18-month period. On the matter of correction of wage inequities for skilled workers, the panel proposed a gradual adjustment of three 5¢ per hour payments during the 18-month period.

I know of no better way to describe the situation than in the words of the panel's report, which I am releasing today:

"The matter is one of dollars and cents alone, and the real differences between the parties in our judgment are not great. . . . To carry the dispute further, in light of the consequences in doing so, would not be justifiable, especially after so much consideration has been given to the matter.

"Acceptance of the terms we propose would be a far better thing for all than a tragic industrial war over what differences now remain. Moreover, those differences are not so serious that they should be the occasion for further legislation by the Congress. Unfortunately, as of this time, neither party has accepted our proposal.

"May this dispute now be ended, peaceably and in good will."

I have already informed the Congress and the American people, in my message of April 10, of the tragic consequences of a na-

tionwide railroad strike. The cost is incalculable—food shortages would occur, health hazards would develop, factories would close and workers across the Nation would be idled. Our prosperity would be seriously imperiled. Beyond this, the impact of a railroad stoppage on our efforts to support the 500,000 valiant servicemen in Southeast Asia makes it abundantly clear that a strike at this time cannot be tolerated.

I am making the panel's report public because it is important that the American people and the parties weigh the impact of a rail strike against the narrow issues that separate the parties. I have also directed the special panel to continue to use every minute of every hour to get the parties to achieve a voluntary settlement through collective bargaining.

The Senate Labor Committee has asked the panel to testify on the situation on Monday morning.

Finally, if all efforts should fail, I have asked the panel to make recommendations to me as to what additional action they believe will be necessary to prevent a strike and achieve a fair and just settlement in this case.

As I leave for Europe, I make one final appeal to the parties: consider the broader national interest, recognize the significance of a strike to the economic welfare of our Nation, to our national health and safety, and to our soldiers in the jungles of Vietnam, and reach a settlement, in the spirit of free collective bargaining, without the necessity for additional legislation by the Congress to prevent a crippling nationwide strike.

NOTE: The "Report of the Special Panel Appointed by the President in the Railroad Shopcraft-Carrier Dispute" (6 pp., processed), dated April 21, 1967, transmitted April 22, 1967, was made public in the form of a White House press release.

See also Items 170, 172, 174, 194, 207, 310, 311, 386.

[189] Apr. 24

Public Papers of the Presidents

189 Telegram to the Governors Inviting Them to a Luncheon
Honoring General Westmoreland. *April 24, 1967*

[Released April 24, 1967. Dated April 22, 1967]

I REALIZE that you were in Washington only a short time ago, but I do hope you can be with us at lunch honoring General Westmoreland on Friday, April 28 at the White House at one o'clock. I am asking the Secretaries of State and Defense, the Joint Chiefs of Staff and members of the Armed Services, Appropriations and Foreign Affairs and Foreign Relations Committees of the Congress.

We will hear General Westmoreland and have an exchange of views. We would of course warmly welcome you but if you can't come, we will thoroughly understand in the light of your own important problems in the State. RSVP Social Secretary, The White House.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

NOTE: For the President's remarks at the luncheon for General Westmoreland, see Item 195.

190 Message to President Podgorny on the Death of Soviet Cosmonaut
Vladimir Komarov. *April 24, 1967*

THE DEATH of Vladimir Komarov is a tragedy in which all nations share. Like three American astronauts who lost their lives recently, this distinguished space pioneer died in the cause of science and in the eternal spirit of human adventure.

I extend the sympathy of the American people to his family and to the people of the Soviet Union.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

[His Excellency Nikolai Viktorovich Podgorny, Chairman, Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, U.S.S.R.]

NOTE: The President's message was made public at Bonn, Germany.

According to press reports, Col. Vladimir Komarov, completing a 2-day orbital flight, was killed when his Soyuz I spacecraft became tangled in its parachute cords after reentering the earth's atmosphere.

For the President's statement on the death of the three American astronauts, see Item 19.

191 Exchange of Remarks With Chancellor Kurt Kiesinger Following
Discussions in Bonn. *April 26, 1967*

IT WAS more than two decades ago that I first came to Europe. It is astonishing to observe the great progress that has been made since I first came here.

That progress is a great tribute to the leadership of the great man that we laid to rest yesterday and whose passing we all mourn.

He would want us to do what we have

done today and that is to reaffirm the friendship that exists between the Federal Republic of Germany and its peoples and the peoples of the United States of America.

We have not made any hard and fast decisions today, although we have explored many of the interests of our respective people. We talked about, first, that the people in America hoped that it may be possible for

the Chancellor and his lady to visit our country at an early date. We will both be in touch with each other about that date and a new announcement will be forthcoming.

At that time, we will review in depth and perhaps have more announcements for you concerning the various subjects that are in the public mind and of great interest to the two nations; the nonproliferation treaty, the trade and monetary matters, the troop deployments, the security of the two nations, and the prosperity of our people.

The Chancellor reviewed the viewpoint of his people in connection with all of those subjects. I attempted to tell him how we felt about them.

It is clear from our discussions that the friendship that has existed and the close relationship that has existed between our two countries for more than the past two decades will be continued; that there will be constant, complete, and full consultation between us before decisions by either of us.

Both of us believe that those consultations will not only be friendly but will be understanding, and will result in the agreement and the approval of the peoples of both nations.

True, there will be differences of opinion, there will be decisions to be made and adjustments to be entered into, but we both know that in unity there is strength and we both expect strength for our respective peoples.

We want, more than anything else, peace in the world and prosperity for all of its peoples. By working together, we believe we can best make our contributions to that end.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke shortly after 1 p.m. at the German Chancellery in Bonn. As printed this item follows the text released by the White House Press Office. Preceding his remarks Chancellor Kiesinger made the following remarks:

The President and I had a long, open, and frank discussion on the problems which concern our two countries.

I would like to say, first of all, what a great honor and token of friendship it was for President Johnson and such a great number of most distinguished American citizens to come to us to participate in Konrad Adenauer's funeral.

I would like to assure you, Mr. President, that these people will not forget what you have done.

So far as our conversations are concerned, I think that we have, in a very good atmosphere of mutual trust and confidence, discussed all the matters that concern our two countries.

The President himself will, I am sure, agree with me that we have come to the view that we will continue to have frank and confident cooperation which, of course, takes into consideration the matters of our two nations and that any problems that might crop up will be discussed frankly without any attempt to bring about results which a partner would ignore.

I can only say, in conclusion, that I am very happy and satisfied with this meeting: first of all, the very fact that I had the privilege of getting to know President Johnson and secondly, of the results of our conversations altogether.

192 Remarks to Members of the American Physical Society.

April 26, 1967

Dr. Townes, Nobel Laureates, most distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

In the last week I have visited with the Presidents of our neighboring republics in this hemisphere. Yesterday I came in contact with the leaders of the European community.

I am very thankful that I have the chance tonight to keep a commitment that I had to come here and meet with you, because no group of Americans is more important or really has more to offer freedom in the world and peace in the world and this great land

that we all love than you—the American Physical Society.

The world of physics is a new world to most Americans. It burst upon us first as the source of an awesome instrument of war back in 1945—a weapon which continues to profoundly affect the course of our history. And we are only now beginning to truly realize the impact which the physical sciences hold for the work of peace in the world.

We are becoming aware that physics is the source of a great ferment that has penetrated every aspect of our intellectual life:

—It has shaken our ideas of space and of time.

—It has replaced our old ideas of nature with the theory of relativity, and with new theories of the atom, and

—It is very rapidly revolutionizing the most practical aspects of our civilization.

So I think it is good for all of us who are here in this room tonight to realize that when the history of our times is written the names of scientists such as Einstein, Oppenheimer, von Neumann, Fermi and many others will figure very prominently among those who helped not only to defend this Nation and preserve it, but to build it. In a time of war, they gave us the nuclear bomb—but they also started us on the course of peaceful nuclear power. They started us to new advances in medicine; to the computer revolution whose scope we are just beginning to imagine.

Those subjects I explored in depth today in connection with the trust and the hope and prayer that we have that we will be able to evolve a nonproliferation treaty.

These men that I have mentioned were great patriots. I think that this Nation and liberty-loving people throughout the world will forever remain in their debt.

The breathless advance of scientific

thought has produced a world which our fathers would never have imagined. The transistor radio, the microwave communication links, television, and atomic energy are based on knowledge which had not even been discovered when you were children. The new ultraminiature devices which guide our spaceships and are giving us new medical tools are all the products of the last 10 years. In our universities and in our industries, creative minds are daily discovering new truths and other creative minds put these truths to work for the benefit of all humanity.

We just must not relax our efforts. I have seen in Europe this week, in Asia last month, and in Latin America within the fortnight that the whole world now looks to science to help it meet its growing need—and that need is great for food, for better health, and for a better life. But it looks, too, to science to broaden its horizons, to provide a fresh new view of man and the universe, and, above all, to conquer our ancient prejudices.

You members of the American Physical Society are the workers on the frontiers of understanding. Science is so powerful as a force for change in the world that scientists must play a most important and an increasing role in the international affairs of the world. The country will need the help of scientists, including a large and strong contingent of physicists, if we are ever to be able to deal effectively with the central problems of the present and the future, to deal with the problems of peace in the world, and the welfare of three-quarters of the population of the earth who tonight live on the narrow edge of existence.

I am very privileged that you should ask me to come here. I am very grateful for the contribution you have made. I need your help and your support in the trials and tribulations that go with the leadership that is incumbent upon this great land of ours.

I commend you for the role that you have played in the development of physics in this country. I commend you for the role that you have played in photography. And I commend you for your leadership in fostering international understanding. That is the thing that we need most.

Every day, good people, wise people, say to me, "Why can't we have a political settlement? Why can't we understand our fellow human beings? Why can't we negotiate a solution? Why do men have to die?"

And I ask myself that every morning and I reflect on it every evening.

I want to negotiate. I want a political solution. I want—more than any human being in all the world—to see the killing stopped. But I can't just negotiate with myself.

Maybe somehow, some way, sometime there will be somebody willing to sit down

at the table and talk instead of kill, discuss instead of fight, reason instead of murder.

And when they do, I will be the first one at that table—wherever it is.

I should like to conclude now by saying to you that I look forward to your contributions to the progress of mankind in the future, because I have said to that dedicated public servant and my cherished friend, Dr. Hornig, "I know of no group anywhere that has spent more time and more effort in the present to try to bring about a better world."

Thank all of you so much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:57 p.m. in the Main Ballroom at the Sheraton-Park Hotel in Washington, shortly after his return from Bonn. His opening words referred to Dr. Charles H. Townes, president of the American Physical Society. Later he referred to Dr. Donald F. Hornig, Special Assistant to the President for Science and Technology.

193 Remarks at the Dedication of the Crossland Vocational Center, Camp Springs, Maryland. April 27, 1967

Chairman Perkins, distinguished Members of the Senate, Senator Brewster and Senator Tydings, Congressman Machen, Mr. Hrezo, Mr. Dixon, ladies and gentlemen:

It was 55 years ago that the great Kansas editor William Allen White issued his appeal for vocational education in America.

"The end of all schools," he said, "must be life—or public education will fail . . . we must provide for the practical, the vocational."

Five years later, President Woodrow Wilson signed the first great charter in this country for vocational education. That charter was the Smith-Hughes Act passed by the Congress in 1917. That Smith-Hughes Act pledged Federal support to the States for the education of young people in useful work.

This law established an educational partnership which has helped millions of Americans learn vital skills in agriculture, in home economics, and in industry.

So we come here today, in this year, to celebrate the 50th anniversary of that historic step when we passed that historic law. And as we dedicate this great new center for vocational education, we also celebrate another step toward another important national goal: and that goal is that every young American shall obtain as much education as he wants and as much training as he can absorb and can use.

There was a time when we thought that merely sending a child to school for a given number of years was enough to prepare him for his future life. Now we know that is not enough.

There was a time when a young man could drop out of school, get a job, and enjoy a reasonably secure future. But now, in an expanding universe of knowledge and change, we know that that is not enough.

Once we considered education a public expense; we know now that it is a public investment.

Once we thought that every man could have a job—if only the economy flourished. We know now that education—education and not the gross national product—is the real key to full employment in our land.

This new building, that we are all so proud of, is an example of what we have been learning about education and the world of work.

Crossland Vocational Center, and others like it that are springing up throughout this Nation, are a forge which will shape the lives and the careers of our young people—and through these young people, we will build the America of the 21st century.

As we approach the next century, every citizen who hopes to play a productive role in American society must have occupational training of a sort—whether he wants to be a brain surgeon, an airplane repairman, an X-ray technician, or an astronaut.

Before the year 2000, we will see startling changes in science and technology: Change will simply wipe out hundreds of occupations that exist today. It will create hundreds of others that require new knowledge and new skills.

If we are to step into the future without stumbling, we must produce trained citizens in this country.

We must help the one million students in our land who each year drop out—cutting themselves off from education, when the thing that they need most in this world is education.

We must smooth the transition from

school to work. We must help students become employable by encouraging them to combine school with a job.

Four years ago, when we signed the Vocational Education Act of 1963, only 4½ million students were enrolled in Federally-assisted vocational classes in the country. Today, that 4½ million has grown to 7 million.

Four years ago, there were fewer than 400 vocational schools in the country. Today there are nearly twice that number.

Not many people really realize how swiftly times have changed in Federal support for education. Four years ago, your Federal Government was spending a little over \$4 billion—\$4 billion 200 million—for education and related training programs. The budget for the coming year calls for \$12 billion 400 million—almost three times as much.

Four years ago, the Office of Education was spending only \$700 million to support education. In the coming year, it will spend \$4 billion 200 million—and that is seven times as much.

The Public Health Service, the Office of Economic Opportunity, the National Science Foundation, the Labor Department, the Defense Department, the Veterans Administration, and the Department of Housing and Urban Development—all of these are giving top billing to education in this land.

It looks easy now, but we spent more than 20 years in the Congress battling for this breakthrough.

There were big roadblocks every step of the way:

- the poor States were feuding with the rich States;
- the public schools versus private and church schools;
- the city schools versus the rural schools;
- the integrated schools versus the segregated schools.

During those 20 long years, many Members of the Congress despaired of ever passing any kind of Federal aid to education. But finally—finally—we worked out a program which avoided the roadblocks and, we thought, settled the feuds. At long last the Congress put the law on the books and put the money in the schools.

And now, today, we are confronted with another feud. Some so-called “friends of education” want to go—and believe that we should go—back to where we started. They claim that they know a better way to spend the money. They propose to discard the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 that we put on the books with such great difficulty after 20 long years—to scrap it now before it is 2 years old—and to substitute in its place a different kind of legislation.

No one can tell for sure just how they plan to change the law. Each day new proposals, new substitutes, and new versions are presented. But already they have accomplished a great deal.

We see a revival of the suspicion of the poor States toward the wealthy States. We see a revival of the ancient and bitter feuds beginning all over again between the church and the public school leaders.

We see the fears of the big city school superintendents being expressed.

We see the same roadblocks which obstructed and halted Federal aid to education for 20 long years being built up again.

I hope that all our people and all of their spokesmen in the Congress will stop, look, and listen before they march down a blind alley.

This is a time of testing for American education.

The gains that we have made so far are only the beginning. We must build on those gains. But we must not lose all we have

gained by reckless effort, by rewriting our laws, or by playing for partisan political advantage.

Thomas Jefferson said that “the most important bill in our whole code is that for the diffusion of knowledge . . . No other surer foundation can be devised for the preservation of freedom and happiness.”

I think that those words are even more true for the 20th century and the 36th President than they were for the 18th century and the 3rd President.

I am glad to come here today, because I am glad of the work that we have done together. The citizens of the Nation were supported overwhelmingly in the final analysis by the Congress in establishing these programs.

And finally, the young people presented proof that not only the citizens and the taxpayers, but also the Congress and the President were right in their hopes.

We can see from those programs great results flowing to our economy and to the individuals who have benefited from this training.

And there is nothing more important to freedom in the world, to liberty in the world, to the dignity of man than education. I am glad to come here today and to see the foundations that you in Maryland are building, the foundations that you have already laid, the predicates that you have planned for the preservation of freedom and of happiness.

It is a stimulating experience for me to come here with your leading State officials and your wonderful congressional delegation and see that we are building for tomorrow on a solid foundation, because as a great leader of my State once said, “Education is the guardian genius of democracy. Education is the only dictator that free men will ever recognize and the only ruler that free men will accept.”

I think when the history of our time is

written and the last 3 years of our work together with the Congress, the people, the country, and the Executive, the extra tenfold increase of \$10 billion that we have spent in the field of education, and the extra \$10 billion that we have spent in better health for our people, will pay the greatest returns of any investment that our country has ever made.

At this moment we are carrying great loads of expenditures because of our efforts to preserve liberty and freedom in Southeast Asia—and to protect it. And in the fiscal year our expenditures for military increases over what they were 3 years ago when I became President will more than exceed \$20 billion.

But during the same time that we are carrying those burdens, we have not lost sight of the needs of the education and the health of our people. We have, accordingly, increased our domestic expenditures, primarily for health, education, and conservation, above those that we have increased for

defense. We have increased them to some \$25 to \$30 billion.

And a nation where most of its people are employed, earning the best wages they have ever earned before, enjoying the greatest prosperity with the highest gross national product—

Yes, these are burdens, but we can carry burdens to preserve liberty, to provide health and education for our people. And we will. We will persevere. We will prevail. And we will educate our citizens and provide for the health of our Nation.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:20 p.m. at Crossland Senior High School, Camp Springs, Md. In his opening words he referred to Representative Carl D. Perkins of Kentucky, Chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee, Senator Daniel B. Brewster, Senator Joseph D. Tydings, and Representative Hervey G. Machen, all of Maryland, John V. Hrezo, principal of Crossland Senior High School, and James Dixon, president of the Student Council. Toward the end of his remarks the President quoted a remark of Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar, second President of the Republic of Texas.

194 Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House Urging Further Extension of the "No Strike" Period in the Railroad Dispute. *April 28, 1967*

Dear Mr. President: (Dear Mr. Speaker:)

A rail strike would bring industrial tragedy to America. It would disrupt our commerce, cripple our industries, create shortages of food. It would adversely affect the lives of every man, woman, and child in this country.

Such a strike would be a gross disservice to our valiant men in Vietnam, who are making sacrifices greater than any of us are called upon to make.

The public interest demands that every practical step be taken to avert a strike, now scheduled for 12:01 a.m. May 3rd.

Since my return from Germany on late

Wednesday I have consulted with the bipartisan leadership of the Congress, and with ranking members of the Senate Labor and House Commerce Committees. They join with me today in urging that the Congress extend the no-strike period for an additional 45 days. I am submitting herewith a Joint Resolution to accomplish this.

This additional period will give the Congress time prudently to consider legislation which will protect the public interest in this case.

I shall recommend such legislation to the Congress within a few days.

An additional 45-day period may enable

the parties to press forward with their search for accord and reach an agreement themselves.

I hope and believe that, in the interest of all Americans, the Congress will want to act promptly.

Sincerely,

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

NOTE: This is the text of identical letters addressed to the Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey, President of the Senate, and to the Honorable John W. McCormack, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

The bill further extending the "no strike" period in the railroad dispute was approved by the President on May 2, 1967 (Public Law 90-13; 81 Stat. 13).

See also Items 170, 172, 174, 188, 207, 310, 311, 386.

195 Remarks at a Luncheon for General Westmoreland.

April 28, 1967

LAST MONTH—at the White House Conference of the Governors of our land—we discussed the central business of us all: the welfare of the American people. We met to plan joint action on a wide variety of problems—national in scope but local in impact.

This afternoon, we have come together to discuss another vital question. I have asked to come to the White House the members of the House and Senate Appropriations Committees, the House and Senate Armed Services Committees, the House Foreign Affairs Committee and the members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to discuss America's readiness and America's capacity to defend freedom in the world.

The war in Vietnam reaches deep into every State and into every community and into every home in our land.

And thus I think it concerns each of us very deeply as Americans and as executives of the States and the Nation.

I asked the Nation's Governors to come here today to meet General Westmoreland and to hear his report. He has just addressed our Congress—the elected representatives of our people.

But I have asked him to speak to you as well. For the Governors have a need to know—to know what is happening and to

know the facts on which we base our national decisions.

I asked you to come here for two specific reasons:

First, I need and I always welcome your opinions and your advice. We never think that Washington has a monopoly on wisdom. As long as the fighting continues in Vietnam, we have not achieved our goal—the goal of a just and honorable and workable peace. And I hope that your counsel will help us to find the way to peace.

Second, the people of our land in this hour of emergency need to understand as thoroughly as possible our national policy and our country's position in the world and in Vietnam. Through your understanding of the situation, I would say to my friends the Governors, the knowledge of our people in your States and communities, I think, can be broadened.

I do not expect every American to agree with each and every action that we who have responsibility sometimes feel that we must take. But I do deeply believe that there will be less misunderstanding if the facts are better understood.

So by giving you the fullest possible access to the facts, I hope I will serve to strengthen the confidence of our people in the course

that we feel our Nation must take.

I want you, this afternoon, first, to hear from General Westmoreland. He cannot appear before each individual or each group, although all of us would like to talk with him at length. I can't get enough of his time to hear everything that I want and need to hear. But he has been closer to this war in the field—day in and day out—than any other man. And the Governors and the Senators and the Congressmen are closer to this war and to our people than any other people in this country.

When General Westmoreland has concluded, I am going to ask Secretary Rusk to discuss very briefly some of the nonmilitary elements that are so important. They are a part of our daily efforts on the ground in Vietnam and in dealing with other nations, and in our constant, vigilant search for an honorable, peaceful solution.

In introducing General Westmoreland, I want to repeat what he told me last fall when I visited him and his men in Vietnam. I wish it were possible for every Governor and every Senator and every Congressman, who have responsibilities in connection with Vietnam, to go there and see what I saw and visit our men who are there on the front.

General Westmoreland told me at Cam Ranh Bay, "Mr. President, no armed forces anywhere, at any time, commanded by any commander in chief, were up to the group that we have in Vietnam today."

One reason that these brave young men are as good as they are is because they are led in the field by an exceptional and most remarkable American.

He—as much as any man—has shaped them into a superb fighting force that does lasting credit to our people and to our flag and to our country.

And to the members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, to the Secretaries of the Services, and

to the Secretary and Under Secretary of Defense, I want to say to you that you have put gallant, superbly equipped men out there to represent us and I believe that they are performing as you would have them perform.

I now take great pleasure in presenting to you General Westmoreland.

GENERAL WESTMORELAND. *Mr. President, distinguished ladies and gentlemen:*

The old Chinese sage Sun Soo, who wrote about 500 years before Christ, stated that to conquer a country one must control the terrain, the economy, and the people. But if you control the people, you don't have to worry about the other two.

Now, this is what the war in Vietnam is all about—control of the people.

The Communist grand design as part of their strategy to take over emerging nations through wars of national liberation started many years ago.

Very carefully, political cells, the so-called Communist infrastructure, were installed in the populated areas.

I have here today two maps. The one on the left is a population map. You will note that the population is centered in and around Saigon to the Delta south of Saigon along the Mekong-Bassac and south along the coastal area of Central Vietnam and the northern part of the country.

These, therefore, are the productive areas, because they are the populous areas. This is where the rice is grown, the copra is harvested, the fish are caught.

This is where the enemy has recruited his guerrillas. This is where he has installed, as a matter of priority, the Communist government that blankets the country.

Now, the guerrilla is not enough to fully accomplish the objective of the war of national liberation. In accordance with Mao Tse-tung's theory it is necessary to organize conventional type forces. This has taken

place during the last several years. Guerrillas were inducted or recruited in the populous areas. They were moved into the jungles and the mountains where training camps were clandestinely established; they were organized into companies, later battalions, later regiments, and now divisions.

I liken the guerrilla to the termites that can undermine the main beams of a wooden structure without one ever knowing about it. Once these beams have been undermined by the boring of the termites from within, the main forces, which I liken to house wreckers with crowbars, can come down and hit the fragile beams that have been weakened from the termite boring within, and the structure can be shattered.

This overpolarizes the situation, but I think it does serve to describe what has happened in South Vietnam. Now to the left there is a topographic map. I have this displayed to give you a better feel of the geography of the country.

From north to south it is the size of the State of California, but only half as wide. You will note in the lower extremities it is very flat. This is the most productive rice area in the world. It used to produce sufficient rice so it could be exported and foreign exchange could be accumulated. But the Vietcong, the enemies, economic warfare, stopped this several years ago—2 years ago. And for the last 2 years there has been no exportation of rice.

As a matter of fact, we have had to import rice in order to stabilize the economy. This was done by the Vietcong sabotage, by creating rumors of price increases, by urging the farmers to hoard, by intimidating the farmers so that they would not fully cultivate the land, by blocking the canals, by sinking barges loaded with rice as they were attempting to make their way to market.

Seventy percent of the terrain of South

Vietnam is covered by jungle, brush, or savanna grass. The climate is mild. The land is productive. It is an ideal environment for the guerrilla. The jungle is not inhospitable. One can live comfortably in the jungle by clearing out the underbrush, building crude structures. And as long as one has a mosquito net, one can live healthfully.

Now, with 70 percent of the area covered by natural cover, it is very easy for the Vietcong, the enemy, to develop training camps that cannot be detected from the air. Major formations can move from one area to the other without detection.

Therefore, we not only have an elusive guerrilla working with the people, like fish swimming among the water—the people being the water—but we have conventional forces, large bands of troops, that can roam in the jungle and in the mountainous areas.

The enemy is always a great digger. He bores into the ground like moles. He establishes very carefully—using women primarily for labor—underground shelters, tunnels, so as to provide protection against our bombing raids for his ammunition and his supplies. The enemy, at the present time, has approximately eight divisions in the country. Six of these are from North Vietnam.

North Vietnam has taken over, during the last year, more and more of the war burden. They have sent down North Vietnamese leadership because they do not trust the South Vietnamese who followed the ways of the Vietcong.

There is friction between the North Vietnamese and the South Vietnamese. When we apply military pressure and couple that with an imaginative psy-war program, we find defections in abundance.

As I pointed out in my prepared remarks before the Congress, the number of ralliers to the government's amnesty program are increasing in a very encouraging way.

Now the enemy considers Saigon as his ultimate objective. After all, this is the political and economic capital of the country. However, to get to Saigon he has established a number of intermediate objectives, the primary one of which is in the highlands. This is known as the "High Plateau." This is strategic, because it provides a stepping stone to the productive areas along the coastline. Its seizure would permit cutting the country in two. This has been the enemy's classic strategy, a strategy that has been studied by the Commanding General Staff College in Hanoi over a period of years.

Next, the enemy would like to control the productive areas along the coast where the people live and where there is plenty to eat. He wants to control these for many reasons, but one is to provide food for his main force units that are in the jungles and in the mountains.

Now, finally, the enemy, particularly in recent months, has concentrated considerable force that has moved from North Vietnam in and around the demilitarized zone and into that portion of Laos just west of the northern part of the country. We have countered this action by assuming the following strategic posture:

First, in and around Saigon is where we have our major concentration of troops, U.S. and Vietnamese. Let me say parenthetically that our U.S. troops, free world military assistance troops, and Vietnamese troops work hand in glove. This is all coordinated at the fighting level through procedures that we have worked out over a period of the last 2 years.

Next, I have concentrated a division minus a brigade, two-thirds of a division, in the highlands area in order to block any invasion of the highlands, because of the presence of approximately seven regiments along the Cambodian border, all North Vietnamese.

The Koreans that have two divisions are concentrated along the coastline from Binh Thuan Province all the way to the center of Binh Dinh Province.

As you well know, the Third Marine Amphibious Force is concentrated in the five northern provinces. Recently I have constituted out of bits and pieces, a professional division which is now known as Task Force Oregon that has moved to Quang Ngai Province in order to relieve Marines so they could move farther north to confront this buildup of North Vietnamese troops.

Now, the guerrillas and the main force units work hand in glove. They are a team. The guerrilla can accomplish very little without the main force, if victory is the objective.

On the other hand, the main forces need the guerrillas as eyes and ears, as guides, as scouts, as intelligence agents, as procurers of food. And this speculation that you frequently see in the press—that the enemy is going to abandon his main forces—is contrary to the Communist doctrine and I don't believe will ever take place. He may withdraw temporarily, but only in order to re-equip himself and to retrain because the main forces, the conventional forces, using the guerrillas as guides and intelligence agents, are the force of decision.

How does the enemy supply himself? Some by sea, but because of the excellent job done by our U.S. Navy coastal surveillance force we believe he is getting very little in by sea, although he is getting some. We have sunk a number of steel-hulled trawlers loaded with arms and ammunition. His main supply route is down through the so-called Laos Panhandle, southern Laos, and this is demonstrated gravely by the red arrows. This is a well-developed Communist team.

Although his means are somewhat primi-

tive his organization is sophisticated. During the dry weather period he can move trucks down through the area and he sends his engineers in advance in order to prepare these routes. This is now going on, because the weather is currently good in the pan-handle area.

A year ago, the mastermind of the Hanoi-directed war put forth seven points which I consider a very intelligent assessment of our problems. I refer to General Giap, the hero of Dien Bien Phu and the number one military man in the Communist hierarchy in Hanoi. Giap made the forecast that the U.S. would not be able to put sufficient troops into South Vietnam to achieve our objectives.

Of course, he has been proven wrong in this regard and this also implies a skepticism that we could provide the logistic apparatus and the logistic bases to support our troops and definitely he has been proven wrong in that regard.

Second, U.S. forces will antagonize Vietnamese people as time goes on. Now this was definitely a hazard.

General Taylor, who was Ambassador to Saigon, as you well know, and myself talked for hours and hours about the risks involved in this connection. If our American forces had indeed antagonized the people and the people had turned against them we would have been lost from the very beginning. This has not happened, because of a very carefully worked out indoctrination program.

We find that our troops get along very well with the Vietnamese. The troops understand the importance of their relationship with the peasants and all Vietnamese. They understand the importance of discipline. And we have professional commanders who enforce discipline. Each individual that comes into the Command receives a little card that sets forth nine points of conduct and the relationship of the American service-

man to the Vietnamese.

So Giap, as of now, has been proven wrong in this regard.

Number four, increased pressure on the United States by nations of the world to find a solution.

Now, being a military man and not a political man, I will let you pass judgment on this particular forecast by Giap and how effective it has been.

Number five, pressure against the war is growing in the United States. Again, I defer to your judgment in this regard. It is the central consideration.

Morale of South Vietnamese forces will decline as U.S. forces take over more of the fighting. Again, this was a legitimate concern 2 years ago and discussed at great length between Ambassador Taylor and myself and frequently with Secretary Rusk and Secretary McNamara. The morale of the South Vietnamese forces is better than ever. They are improving the quality of their force and they are fighting better than they did 2 years ago. Because they now see some hope. And we are in a position to give them much better support than ever before.

Neither U.S. nor South Vietnamese troops will be sufficiently indoctrinated on what they are fighting for. We have given this a matter of primary emphasis. And this is no longer a matter of concern to me.

Finally, Giap made the forecast that U.S. weapons and equipment will not be suited for this kind of war, nor for the geography and climate of South Vietnam. Our military organizations, our weapons have been fully adaptable to this climate and terrain. And backed by a very, very strong logistic system we can fight anywhere in the country that we choose. Although, in some of the remote areas, in the mountains, and along the borders, it poses a considerable problem.

So General Giap is obviously a very dis-

cerning individual and I thought you would be interested in seeing our problems through his eyes and what was actually involved during the past 2 years.

Now, I don't wish to add any levity to this occasion which is a serious one, but I do have three very brief, amusing stories which I tell because I think they subtly put over some of the problems and dramatize these problems.

Some months ago I was out visiting a small district town isolated in the Delta. There was a young Army captain there who was the adviser to the Vietnamese district chief. We were about to walk down this road and somebody looked over to the right and there were 200 Vietnamese males in black pajamas.

An individual with me asked this young captain, "Are those Vietcong?" He said, "I don't know, but as we walk by, if they shoot they are Vietcong, if they salute they are friendly."

The next story concerns a young man, 35 years old, in Hanoi. He was inducted into the service. He was too old to fight because a man 35 in Vietnam is an elderly man. He is beyond middle age. So he was made into a porter. He had a weak mind and a strong back.

He marched for 2 days south of Hanoi. He moved into an ammunition depot in the jungle, one we had not picked up and therefore had not bombed. They strapped two 82 millimeter mortar rounds to his back.

For the next 6 weeks he walked to the southern part of Vietnam through Laos and finally down to Zone C which is just north of Saigon, a very thick jungle area. There hidden in the jungle was a large ammunition depot.

So after walking for many, many weeks he told the checker who was cataloging the

ammunition, "I have just arrived from North Vietnam with two rounds of 82 millimeter mortar." The checker didn't even look up. He said, "Lay them over there and go back and pick up two more."

This demonstrates the extremes that these people will go to using primitive transportation methods, porters, bicycles, and trucks when they can. When trucks cannot be used they will use other means.

On Operation Cedar Falls that we ran several months ago we moved into a well-established Vietcong base area that the enemy had been constructing over a period of 20 years.

You read in the paper about the number of ammunition dumps and rice caches, hospitals, and headquarters installations that we uncovered. We had to displace a number of refugees from the area, which was done with great care. They were well provided for.

Last week, I heard that two of the families had decided to leave the refugee camp. It is not a concentration camp, so they could leave at their choosing and these two families did. They went back to their former area.

They were only gone 2 days. They returned to the refugee camp. When asked why, they stated that they missed seeing "Gunsmoke" on TV. We have an Armed Forces Radio and TV set up—although embryonic—in Vietnam.

This is a dramatic means of communication and I think will have a dramatic impact on the people of the country in due time. Because one of their problems is that of communications.

Mr. President, this has been a very brief report. I have tried to give to your guests a flavor of the war which hopefully will complement my more formal remarks earlier today.

THE PRESIDENT. Few men have served this

Nation longer as Secretary of State and none have ever served it better, Dean Rusk.

SECRETARY RUSK. *Mr. President, distinguished Governors, and Members of the Congress:*

My remarks will be very brief, indeed.

Shortly after he became President, President Johnson called in Secretary McNamara and me. He said to Secretary McNamara, "Your mission is to ensure that North Vietnam does not seize South Vietnam by force." And he said to me, "Your mission is to bring about a peaceful settlement of this situation at the earliest possible moment."

I want to report to you on that part of the mission. It will be a modest report, because it is painfully obvious that I have not been able to achieve my objective as well as Secretary McNamara, General Westmoreland, and our gallant men in Vietnam have been achieving theirs.

But you should know that your President has spent at least as much time on the search for peace as he has on the problems of waging the war.

You should know that at least half of the governments of the world have themselves, of those capitals with whom we do not have relations, such as Hanoi and Peking, and most of them over and over again.

You should know that at least half of the governments of the world have themselves, either singly or in groups, taken initiatives to try to bring about a peace in Southeast Asia.

If I could have your concentrated attention for just 2 minutes, I should like to remind you of the proposals which we and other governments have made pointing toward peace in Southeast Asia during the past 2 to 3 years.

I will only refer to them by name, because each one of them covers a chapter of history. But you should know about these 28 sugges-

tions and proposals which have been made.

As I read them over very briefly, bear in mind that on each one of these we have said yes, and on each one of these Hanoi has said no:

- A reconvening of the Geneva conference of 1954 and a return to the agreements of 1954.
- A reconvening of the Geneva conference of 1962 on Laos and a return to the agreements of 1962.
- A conference on Cambodia.
- An all-Asian peace conference.
- A special effort by the two cochairmen, Britain and the Soviet Union, to approach the two sides for a peaceful settlement.
- A special effort by the ICC—India, Canada, Poland—to probe the two sides for a peaceful settlement.
- A role for the U.N., the Security Council, the General Assembly, the Secretary-General. The answer, "It is not the business of the United Nations."
- Talks through intermediaries, either single or as a group.
- Direct talks either with the Government of South Vietnam or with the United States.
- An exchange of prisoners of war.
- The supervision of the treatment of prisoners by the International Red Cross.
- Demilitarize the DMZ.
- Or widen and demilitarize the DMZ as we have just recently proposed.
- The interposition of international forces between the combatants.
- The mutual withdrawal of foreign forces including the forces of North Vietnam from South Vietnam.
- Assistance to Cambodia to assure its neutrality and territory.
- The cessation of bombing linked with the stop of infiltration.

- A cessation of the augmentation of U.S. forces.
- Three suspensions of bombings in order to permit serious talks brushed aside as an ultimatum by the other side.
- The discussion of Hanoi's four points along with whatever points others might raise, such as Saigon's four points and our own 14 points.
- Or discussion of an agreed four points as a basis for negotiation.
- A willingness to find the means to have the views of the Liberation Front heard in peace discussions.
- Negotiations without conditions, negotiations about conditions, or private discussions about a final settlement.
- If peace, then the inclusion of North Vietnam in a large development program for all of Southeast Asia, including North Vietnam.
- The Government of South Vietnam to be determined by free elections among the people of South Vietnam.
- The question of reunification to be determined by free elections among the peoples of both South Vietnam and North Vietnam.
- Reconciliation with the Vietcong and readmission of its members to the body politic of South Vietnam.
- And South Vietnam's ability to be neutral in the future, if it so chooses.

Twenty-eight proposals. Twenty-eight yes. Twenty-eight no.

Now, my reaction to this effort is personal and private. It is that surely among these 28 bottles we ought to be able to find a prescription which would move us at least a small step toward peace.

But the 28 yes and the 28 no have something to do with moral judgments about the issues involved in this situation, that the yeses and the noes disclose something about the

motivations of the two sides, and who is interested in peace and who is determined to seize a neighbor by force.

There may be those who will say, "Well, obviously you have not succeeded because you have not offered them enough." It is quite clear we have not offered them South Vietnam. And we could have peace tomorrow on that basis.

It is also clear that we have not been able to accept the central proposal of North Vietnam during the past several months and that is: That we guarantee that we will undertake a permanent and unconditional cessation of the bombing of North Vietnam without any indication on their side that there will be any change in the level of violence in South Vietnam. And that under those conditions there may be some talks.

Incidentally, I think many of you don't know this, we understood from third parties under those conditions there might be some talks in 3 to 4 weeks after we pledge ourselves to a permanent and unconditional cessation of the bombing.

But when we ask, "Are those three or four divisions in the DMZ going to attack our Marines just 2 miles away?" we can't get anyone to whisper to us that that won't happen. We can't get anyone to tell us that there won't be tens of thousands of tons and thousands of men moved south immediately upon the cessation of our bombing, and while the talks are going on.

And you will recall that we took more casualties in Korea after the talks started than we did before the talks started. Surely we can test that proposition that they have made by turning it around. If we were to say that we would negotiate only if all of the violence in South Vietnam is stopped while we continue our bombing of North Vietnam, the whole world would say that we are immoral and insane.

Now, why is it that what is immoral and insane for us is reasonable when put forward by the other side? Because that is exactly the proposition they are making to us.

I want you to know that the publication of the letters between President Johnson and Ho Chi Minh, by Ho Chi Minh, by no means ended our search for peace.

Almost never a day goes by without a probe somewhere through some means to find out whether there might not be some change of view on any one of these 28 points that I mentioned—any one of them. And that effort will continue.

But it takes two to make a peace—unless we are prepared to surrender.

I am very regretful, ladies and gentlemen, to give you my concluding remark, because

the President has told me to do my level best to bring this to a peaceful conclusion as soon as possible. But looking at this, this Friday afternoon, I would have to say to you that the best persuaders that we have at the moment are the gallant men under General Westmoreland in Vietnam.

But we shall be alert to see whether that persuasion causes them at any moment to change their views on any of these points which might lead us toward a peaceful conclusion, and our efforts will not be stopped at all in that process.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:55 p.m. in the East Room at the White House. See also Item 196.

As printed above, this item follows the text released by the White House Press Office.

196 The President's Introduction of Martha Raye at the Luncheon for General Westmoreland. *April 28, 1967*

GENERAL Westmoreland is not the only hero of Vietnam that's with us this afternoon. Nor is he the only high-ranking officer present.

We also have a colonel in the Marine Corps, and a lieutenant colonel in the Army's Green Berets. As a matter of fact, they are one and the same person. And although the ranks are honorary, they are very richly deserved. They are held by Miss Martha Raye.

Miss Raye has been to Vietnam three times. She has spent many long months there. She has entertained our troops on the firing lines. The Green Berets have made her the only person outside this very elite corps who may wear their proud symbol.

One night in the Delta, I am told, Miss Raye was to entertain the men of two helicopter units. But they ran into very heavy

fighting that day, and as Miss Raye arrived for the entertainment she found the wounded pouring into a little dispensary.

Miss Raye is a former nurse. So without any hesitation, she put on Army fatigues, administered blood, and prepared the wounded for surgery. The show didn't go on that night, but, as the *Army Digest* wrote later, "Those who benefited from her nursing care remember a Martha Raye performance that no stage show could ever duplicate."

General Westmoreland and the men that he speaks for are very anxious to have her back in Vietnam. But just now I am proud to present a great artist and a great American to all of you: Martha Raye.

NOTE: The President introduced Miss Raye at the luncheon in the East Room at the White House (see also Item 195).

197 Statement by the President Upon Authorizing Construction of a Prototype Supersonic Transport Aircraft. *April 29, 1967*

TODAY, I am pleased to announce that this Nation is taking a major step forward in the field of commercial aviation.

I am authorizing the Secretary of Transportation to sign the contracts for the prototype construction of a commercial supersonic transport.

I am also sending to the Congress on Monday a request for \$198 million to finance the Government's share of the next phase of the development of this transport aircraft.

These funds and this action will help to bring the supersonic transport from the drawing boards into the air for prototype testing and evaluation.

This new prototype test phase is the culmination of many months of a resourceful and intensive design competition. Out of that competition two firms were selected to proceed with the development of the aircraft—the Boeing Company for the airframe, and the General Electric Company for the engines.

This project, in which I have been proud to participate, is an outstanding example of creative partnership between your Government and American industry.

That partnership is evidenced by the arrangements which will carry the project through to its next phase:

- The Government will continue to share in the cost of development with industry.
- The airlines and the manufacturers will invest substantial capital in this project.

Although the promise of the supersonic transport is great, the program still carries

high technical and financial risks. Industry's willingness to share those risks is a clear sign of its confidence in the program. This participation will also help assure that sound business judgments are exercised throughout the development of the supersonic transport.

With a successful program, the Government will recover its investment with interest. The taxpayers of this Nation will benefit.

The impact of the supersonic transport program will be felt well beyond our own shores. Jet aircraft have already brought the world closer to us. Commercial supersonic transports—traveling at 1800 miles an hour or even faster—will make South America and Africa next-door neighbors. Asia will be as close to us as Europe is today.

Only by sustaining the highest levels of business-Government cooperation will we reach that stage of progress. Only through that cooperation can we achieve the goals which I affirmed at the beginning of this program: the development of a supersonic transport which is

- safe for the passenger;
- superior to any other commercial aircraft; and
- economically profitable to build and operate.

NOTE: The President requested funds for the development of a civil supersonic transport in a message to Congress transmitted May 1, 1967. The message is printed in House Document 115 (90th Cong., 1st sess.).

The Department of Transportation Appropriation Act, 1968, providing funds for the construction of two prototype aircraft, was approved by the President on October 23, 1967 (Public Law 90-112; 81 Stat. 311).

198 Statement by the President on the Preservation of the Egyptian Abu Simbel Temples. *April 29, 1967*

OVER 3 years ago the United States joined 50 other nations in contributing funds to preserve the great Abu Simbel Temples, in Egypt's Nubia. The construction of the Aswan High Dam had threatened the temples with inundation.

In appreciation for our contribution, the United Arab Republic offered us one of the Nubian monuments—the Temple of Dendur. I have just announced that this temple will be located in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

The task of saving Abu Simbel is unfinished—\$3.5 million more is needed to reassemble the remaining two temples and restore them to a new site. At the suggestion of the State Department, the American Committee to Preserve Abu Simbel was formed, and it has raised approximately \$1.3 million in donations and pledges. A balance of \$2.2 million remains.

These monuments represent a culmination

of nearly 2,000 years of artistic achievement in ancient Egypt. They are a priceless cultural heritage. They must not be lost to mankind.

Americans can participate in saving the temples by contributing to the Committee to Preserve Abu Simbel.

NOTE: On the same day the White House Press Office announced that the President had informed the United Arab Republic of his decision, based on the recommendation of a five-man committee of private citizens, to award the Temple of Dendur to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City. The release added that the temple, dating back 2,000 years to the reign of the Roman Emperor Augustus, measured 50 by 30 feet at its base, was 20 feet high, and weighed 633 tons. At the request of the United Arab Republic, it would be housed in a \$2.5 million wing adjoining the museum's Egyptian collection in an environment appropriate to its archeological character.

The United States Government had contributed \$16 million in Egyptian pounds to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization to aid in its efforts to provide funds for removal of the Abu Simbel Temples to higher ground.

199 Annual Message to the Congress: The President's Manpower Report. *May 1, 1967*

To the Congress of the United States:

In January 1966, fourteen young men—high school dropouts—enrolled in a Baltimore Neighborhood Youth Corps program. Eight months later, most of them had returned to school, helped by part-time work and wages received through job training.

Last February in the same city, 29 women—all on the relief rolls—graduated from a federally-sponsored course to train nurses' aides. Today they are off welfare, working in hospitals. As they help themselves and their families, they are helping

the nation meet its critical shortage of health workers.

In Chicago last summer, six employment offices were set up for teenagers under the Manpower Development and Training Act—and run by the young people themselves. Through these centers, 750 young men and women got jobs. What might have been empty summers became, for them, a satisfying, productive time.

These examples of progress are the result of programs begun only a few years ago—programs which reflect the nation's com-

mitment to a positive manpower policy.

By bringing new skills to thousands of Americans, these programs are fueling the ambitions and fulfilling the hopes of many who might otherwise have been condemned to idleness—not by choice but by lack of opportunity.

This Manpower Report to the Congress, submitted under the Manpower Development and Training Act, surveys the progress we have made in the last year. It also points up the troubling and persistent problems of unemployment in a prosperous economy—and the steps we must take to overcome those problems.

1966—A YEAR OF PROGRESS

An effective manpower policy depends on a healthy economy. In 1966, this Nation's unemployment rate dropped below 4 percent—reaching a 13-year low. Seventy-four million people were working, nearly two million more than when the year began.

The total production of goods and services in America increased to an historic \$740 billion—\$58 billion more than in 1965. On the whole, jobs were paying better than ever, and were more regular and secure than they had been in many years. More than 98 percent of men in the labor force with families to support were at work. The after-tax income of American families increased, after allowing for price increases, by 3.5 percent.

This economic progress did not occur by chance. It was the achievement of business and labor. It was the result of gradually improving education. Much of it also came from careful efforts by Government to encourage and sustain economic growth—and to carry out humane and positive manpower programs.

Those efforts—even the newest of them—have been remarkably fruitful. Through the

Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, the Higher Education Act of 1965, the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962, strengthened by the 1965 and 1966 amendments, and through other progressive measures, we have taken vital steps to assure opportunity to all our citizens.

By the end of last year, for example, under the Manpower Development and Training Act programs:

- About 600,000 unemployed and underemployed workers had been enrolled in training;
- Three out of four trainees who completed their classroom work had gone on to regular employment;
- Nearly nine out of ten citizens who had completed on-the-job training were gainfully employed;
- Thousands of citizens most in need of help—Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans and other disadvantaged young Americans—had received training;
- Workers by the thousands were being trained to relieve acute manpower shortages in the health fields and in a variety of other occupations.

By late 1966, under the Economic Opportunity Act:

- More than 800,000 young people had received a new start through the Neighborhood Youth Corps.
- Thousands of poor boys and girls, many who were at less than a fourth-grade literacy level, had gotten training and jobs through the Job Corps.
- 200,000 young men and women, who might have been forced to leave college because of financial difficulties, had continued their education through the College Work Study Program.
- 138,000 needy family breadwinners

were given new skills through the Work Experience and Training Program.

These programs are helping more than a million Americans each year to gain the knowledge and skills needed for steady productive employment.

THE PARADOX OF PROSPERITY

Our manpower programs have accomplished much. They must be continued—and their momentum increased. For the year 1966 reminded us that expansion of the economy will not, by itself, eliminate all unemployment and underemployment.

Last year the over-all unemployment rate dropped to 3.8 percent and the rate for married men to below 2 percent, an impressively low figure. But we have no reason to be complacent. The tragedy of joblessness is not only in the *amount* of unemployment—but in the *kind* of unemployment.

—Over twelve percent of our young people aged 16 to 19 were still looking for jobs at the year's end.

—Among Negroes and other minority groups, the unemployment rate was almost double the over-all rate.

—In slums and depressed rural areas, joblessness ran close to ten percent. And one out of every three people in those areas who are or ought to be working today faces some severe employment problem.

Much of this unemployment occurred not because jobs were unavailable, but because people were unable to fill jobs or, for various reasons, unwilling to fill them.

—Often the job is in one place—but the worker in another.

—Or the job calls for a special skill—a skill the unemployed person does not have.

—The employer insists on a high school

diploma—but the job seeker quit school without this qualification.

—An employer demands a “clean record”—but the applicant has a record marred by a juvenile arrest.

—A job offers one day's work a week—but the worker needs five days' pay to support his family.

All these problems have long been with us.

In the past, however, they were often obscured by general unemployment: when thousands of skilled experienced workers were searching for work, scant attention was paid to the jobless high school drop-out.

Today, illuminated by prosperity, these problems stand out more clearly.

At the end of 1966, about 2.9 million workers were unemployed. But it is estimated that during the course of the year, about 10.5 million workers suffered some unemployment.

About three-quarters of the 10.5 million workers were only temporarily out of jobs—and soon found work. The young worker just entering the labor force belongs to this group; the bank teller who has left his job to seek a better one; the lathe operator who has been laid off while adjustments are made in the production schedule.

We cannot eliminate all temporary unemployment. In a free and mobile society, people must be able to change jobs and get better ones; workers must be able to leave and enter the labor force at will; and the rate of production of particular firms and industries must be free to respond to market forces.

We must seek, however, to minimize the hardships of temporary unemployment:

—By making it unnecessary for young men and women to spend long weeks job hunting after they leave school;

—By providing greater year-round opportunities to seasonal workers;

—By improving job referral services to bring jobs and workers closer together.

Our manpower programs seek to do just those things—and to reduce the waste and frustration that result from even short spells of unemployment.

But our manpower programs must do more. They must reach the workers who are unemployed for long periods and those who are frequently out of work.

Preliminary estimates from our labor force survey show that during 1966 there were 2.5 million American workers who were jobless for 15 weeks or more during the year. Of those, about 700,000 were out of work during more than half of the year. Another $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 million *potential* workers had abandoned the search for a job, at least temporarily, and were not even counted as unemployed. Still another 500,000 unemployed were probably missed by the labor force survey. Others were employed at part-time jobs when they needed full-time work.

Some of these workers should not be in the labor force at all, including those too old or too ill to hold steady jobs. These people can be helped by improvements in our health, public assistance and social security programs.

Others in this group have the skill and experience to find and hold good jobs. They can be helped by improvements in our employment services, and by actions to reduce seasonal unemployment.

But there are many who need special manpower services before they can become fully adequate workers and earners. Precise measurement of the magnitude of the task ahead is difficult—indeed, impossible. But we can estimate that there are roughly two million potential workers who can be helped and are willing to help themselves.

These are the dropouts—young men and women who have left school with inade-

quate education and without skills. Lacking experience, they cannot find work; lacking work, they can never get experience.

They are older workers whose obsolete skills are useless in today's job market.

They are Negroes, Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, and others barred from jobs by other people's prejudice.

They are the illiterate, the migrants, the mentally and physically handicapped, the young men rejected as unfit for military service.

This is the effort that has to be made—to reduce unemployment to the point where all that remains is the result of inevitable movements within the work force, irreducible seasonal factors, and a small number of people whose disadvantages or circumstances preclude their satisfactory employment.

The remaining problem is formidable and its solution will take time. But it is of manageable proportions.

Never before have we had so great an opportunity—or so urgent an obligation—to bring training and skills to people willing to help themselves.

These Americans need hope, not handouts. They want—and deserve—work and training, not welfare.

NEW DIRECTIONS IN MANPOWER POLICY

If we are to proceed in practical ways to assist the unemployed, we must pursue five new directions in manpower policy.

1. *We Must Bridge the Gap Between Education and Work.*

Few nations—perhaps none—can match the achievements of our educational system. None equals the record of our economy. Yet our youth unemployment rate is the highest of any modern nation.

We pay too little attention to the two out of three young people who do not go to

college and the many others who do not finish college. As citizens and supporters of public education, we should be as concerned about assisting them in their transition from school to job as we are about preparing others for college.

Too many young men and women face long and bitter months of job hunting or marginal work after leaving school. Our society has not yet established satisfactory ways to bridge the gap between school and work. If we fail to deal energetically with this problem, thousands of young people will continue to lapse into years of intermittent, unrewarding and menial labor.

Our interest in a young person should not stop when he finishes—or drops out of—school. Our concern should become even greater then. It should extend to the point at which every young person becomes self-sufficient. Any other view would not only lack humanity—it would be false economy.

Other nations have developed broad industry training and internship programs, offering education and experience to young people entering a trade or profession. Still others have established close ties between educational institutions and employment agencies at all levels.

We can profit by these examples if we:

- Build into our employment system a broader concept of apprenticeship and work experience;
- Establish in our educational programs opportunities for students to learn more about the world of work;
- Build a system in which education and work experience are brought together to provide the kind of preparation that fits the needs of our society.

To achieve these ends, I am directing the Secretary of Labor and the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to make a thorough study of the relationship between

our educational programs and our manpower programs, between learning and earning in America. By more closely relating the two we can reduce the high unemployment rate among young Americans.

In this task, the Secretaries will consult state education and employment agencies, local boards of education, business and labor leaders, and the special Committee on Administration of Training Programs which Congress recently authorized. They will also review such related problems as the difference between laws relating to the school-leaving age and those governing the age for entering certain occupations, and any applications of minimum wage agreements, laws or practices which inhibit experimentation in adding a work content to educational programs.

2. We Must Concentrate Our Efforts.

Six years ago, general unemployment plagued the country. Nearly seven percent of our workers could not find jobs. Every state and almost every city suffered. The situation was far worse in slums and depressed rural areas than in the suburbs—but unemployment was so widespread that it had to be fought everywhere.

The nation's employment map shows 150 major labor areas. In March and April of 1961, unemployment in 101 of these areas exceeded 6 percent. At the end of 1963, 38 of these 150 areas still suffered high unemployment.

By the end of 1966, only eight of the major labor areas had an unemployment rate above six percent. An expanding economy, strengthened educational programs and public and private manpower training efforts, had created jobs and trained men to fill them.

But two million Americans needing employment assistance still remained—Americans who could be helped and who were

willing to help themselves. Education, training, swift economic advances somehow had passed them by.

Last year, to develop a body of detailed information about these unemployed citizens and their problems the Secretary of Labor surveyed unemployment in selected slums throughout the country.

This survey concluded that:

- Unemployment in the city slums is three times higher than the national average.
- One out of three potential workers in those areas is not adequately employed—including those who could be working but are not; those who are working part-time but want full-time jobs, and those who are working full-time but earning substandard wages.

The results of this study show not only where the unemployed are but why they are jobless. The study concluded that despite the spectacular growth of our economy, despite improvements in the human and social conditions of American life, the unemployment rate in many of these depressed areas is as high as it was six years ago.

To the extent that the remaining unemployment is concentrated in these areas, our programs also must be concentrated. To scatter our effort now is to waste it.

I have asked Congress to provide an additional \$135 million in fiscal 1968 under the Economic Opportunity Act for a new manpower program to provide special assistance to our most disadvantaged citizens.

With these funds, we can:

- Focus our services more sharply upon areas and individuals in greatest need.
- Tailor these services to the requirements of each individual—counseling, health services, training, and follow-up assistance on a case by case basis.
- Enlist the support of local business and

labor organizations—the key to any successful employment program.

But the need was too urgent to permit delay. Accordingly, *I asked the Secretary of Labor and the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, in cooperation with the heads of other Federal agencies, to begin this special manpower program immediately with all available resources.*

Our manpower programs also must be specially aimed at two other groups: seasonally employed workers and the handicapped.

Thousands of seasonally employed workers lead hard, uncertain lives. For them, employment is determined not by their abilities or opportunities but by the calendar. Among them are construction workers and hired farm laborers—especially migrant farm workers, who pick a meager living from the soil, “traveling everywhere but living nowhere.”

To help these workers, I have asked the Secretary of Labor in cooperation with the Secretary of Agriculture and the Acting Secretary of Commerce to make a detailed survey of seasonal unemployment and underemployment—and to find ways to deal with these problems.

This study should seek methods by which Federal, state and local governments, through their contracting procedures and other activities, can reduce seasonal lags in employment, especially in the construction industry. It should explore the feasibility of a migrant manpower corporation and other ways to help regularize the employment of hired farm workers, particularly migratory farm workers.

For thousands of mentally and physically handicapped Americans, employment has too long been considered an exclusive concern of “charity.” Yet, we know that many handicapped citizens can learn important

skills, and can become effective workers.

I am directing the Secretary of Labor and the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to explore additional ways in which business, industry and government can provide more meaningful employment opportunities to handicapped citizens.

3. *We Must Make Our Overall Manpower Effort More Efficient.*

Our major commitment to an affirmative manpower policy is relatively recent. Many of our manpower programs are new, and we are still building the machinery to carry them out. By a combination of law and delegation of authority, the Department of Labor has primary operating responsibility for manpower programs.

But the problems of manpower development cut across organizational lines. They are closely intertwined with problems of social, economic and educational development. Accordingly, the Department of Labor has established close working ties with the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Economic Opportunity and other Federal agencies having responsibilities in these areas.

Perhaps, the most important of these new working ties is the recent delegation of several OEO adult work and training programs to the Department of Labor. These arrangements link the Labor Department's responsibility in the manpower area with OEO's responsibility for coordinating anti-poverty programs. They provide local initiative by the carrying out of local programs through Community Action Agencies wherever this is practicable.

We are working to strengthen those ties: to centralize, consolidate and streamline our operations.

The task of manpower development, of course, cannot be a Federal task alone.

Recognizing this, we are placing greater emphasis on on-the-job training programs conducted by private employers.

As the demand increases for workers with special skills, we should take positive steps particularly to encourage private job training efforts:

First: We must obtain reliable information on which to base our plans. I have asked Congress to provide funds for a systematic study by the Secretary of Labor to answer these questions: What public and private job training programs are now available? Whom do they serve? What needs remain unmet?

Second: I am directing the Secretary of Labor and the Acting Secretary of Commerce, in cooperation with other Federal agencies, to establish a Task Force on Occupational Training. This task force, with members drawn from business, labor, agriculture and the general public, will survey training programs operated by private industry, and will recommend ways that the Federal Government can promote and assist private training programs.

Third: I have recommended that Congress provide an additional \$5.6 million to enable the Secretary of Labor to aid private industry in experimental projects providing a wide range of services and training to seriously disadvantaged workers.

Fourth: I am asking the Secretaries of Labor and Agriculture to conduct a study to determine both short-term and future manpower needs and the supply of workers in rural America. With this information, we will be able to plan to meet the needs of our workers and of our rural economy.

4. *We Must Make Military Service a Path to Productive Careers.*

Members of the Armed Forces have an opportunity to perform vital military service.

They can also acquire knowledge and experience to prepare them for civilian careers after their service.

In fiscal 1966, 750,000 servicemen completed specialized training programs. In almost 2,000 different courses, from automobile repair to aerospace technology, these young citizens have gained skills and experience which help them to obtain civilian jobs.

The Armed Services have also made educational growth possible for thousands of servicemen through the U.S. Armed Forces Institute and other educational programs. Nearly 80,000 servicemen earned the equivalent of a high school diploma last year.

In addition, the Secretary of Defense has launched "Project 100,000" to accept and train thousands of young men who were previously rejected as unfit for military service. Under this program, 40,000 young men are joining the Armed Forces this year. 100,000 will join next year. All will receive specialized training to help them become good soldiers—and later, productive citizens.

There are, of course, some military specialists whose training does not lead directly to civilian employment.

To help them, I have asked the Secretary of Defense to make available, to the maximum extent possible, in-service training and educational opportunities which will increase their chances for employment in civilian life.

5. We Must Work Toward a More Comprehensive Manpower Program.

If our manpower programs are to reach as many workers as they must, we should strengthen the Federal-State employment service so that it can improve job placement, provide better training and job information, and offer guidance and counseling to all those who need these vital services.

A sound economic and manpower policy also requires effective measures for main-

taining the income of the worker and his family when working patterns change.

I urge the Congress to amend the unemployment insurance laws to provide training, guidance, or other services in conjunction with extended benefits to the long-term unemployed. I urge Congress also to extend the protection of the system to additional workers, to establish a more realistic level of benefits, and to correct the abuses which occur within the present system.

Along with the improvements I have proposed in the Social Security system and our public assistance programs, these steps will enhance the lives of millions of poor families and give them incentives to improve their education and their job potential. Further, I have proposed under the Economic Opportunity Act that Job Corpsmen, Neighborhood Youth Corpsmen and others engaged in work and training under that Act should be given greater incentives to work, by allowing them to earn more without a corresponding loss of welfare assistance to their families.

Our economic system must have adequate "manpower"—but manpower is not enough. The economic system is a means. Its end is the individual.

To better serve the deeper purpose of our manpower programs, we must seek answers to the most fundamental questions about unemployment.

I therefore urge the Congress to provide \$20 million for a special census of 3 million households in America.

Among other data, this population census will give us vitally needed manpower information about unemployed Americans. It will provide for us a more complete profile of the jobless worker. Where does he live? How much education and training does he have? What are his health and economic

problems? What other obstacles must be overcome to find and hold a job?

CONCLUSION

We know that a vigorous economy and an effective educational system are the bedrock of an effective manpower policy.

Our economy is healthy, and our unemployment rate is low. We work with constant vigilance to keep that rate low.

The eighteen landmark educational measures I proposed and you in the Congress enacted are symbols of our belief that education is the most important investment we can make in the nation's future.

Thus, on these foundations—a thriving economy and educational progress—we can shape our manpower policies to:

- Prevent the misuse, and non-use, of our youth.
- Meet squarely the problems of the two million Americans who need employment assistance and who stand ready to help themselves.
- Meet the needs of a burgeoning economy for skilled workers.
- Help workers with special employment problems—the handicapped, the migrant worker, the Armed Services rejectee.
- Bring workers to jobs as well as jobs to workers.
- Develop a closer partnership with business and private agencies.

We are heartened by the progress of our manpower programs over the past years. This progress is not material for bold headlines: quiet victories seldom are.

One man's struggle to improve himself,

to learn new skills and discard old habits, is deeply personal and often painful.

But each day victories are being won—in dozens of Neighborhood Youth Centers, in scores of Job Corps Camps, in thousands of training projects under the Manpower Development and Training Act.

Often our progress is measured not by what happened but by what has been avoided. The high school dropout whose name might have been recorded on a police blotter—but was not because he learned a skill and got a good job. The father of five who might have waited in line for his relief check—but did not because he was trained and went on to steady employment.

The yardstick we must use is not what we have accomplished in the past—but what we must do in the future.

We will do our best. We will try and try again. We will never lose sight of our goal—to guarantee to every man an opportunity to unlock his own potential; to earn the satisfaction of standing on his own two feet.

Our goal, in short, is to offer to every citizen one of the greatest blessings: a sure sense of his own usefulness.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

The White House

May 1, 1967

NOTE: The President's fifth report under the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 is also printed in "Manpower Report of the President and a Report on Manpower Requirements, Resources, Utilization, and Training, by the United States Department of Labor" (Government Printing Office, 285 pp.).

For statements or remarks upon signing related legislation, see Items 378, 413, 517, 548.

The Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1967 were approved by the President on December 23, 1967 (Public Law 90-222; 81 Stat. 672).

200 Remarks at the Swearing In of Betty Furness as Special Assistant to the President for Consumer Affairs. May 1, 1967

Miss Furness, Members of the Cabinet, Members of the Congress, distinguished ladies and gentlemen:

Often I find it very useful at a swearing-in exercise to have a lot of biographical information.

Somehow I don't believe that's going to be necessary this morning.

Betty Furness has, however, never held Federal office before. But she is known to millions of people in this country.

Now she is about to embark on a public career. She is about to become the advocate of the American consumer in the highest councils of her Government.

She will speak for the housewife in the marketplace, who must provide her family with good food at reasonable prices.

She will speak for the mother who must protect her children from unsafe products.

She will speak for the father who must buy for his family on credit, and who should be told what that credit is costing him.

We have made great strides in the safeguarding of the rights of the consumers during the past 3 years.

Consumer was a word that was hardly known in our American language 3 years ago. Today it is on everyone's tongue.

It is something that everyone is interested in. It is something that we have concentrated on in trying to make everyone in America aware of.

We have made great strides, I think, in safeguarding the rights of the consumer during the past 3 years. I want to acknowledge and express appreciation not only to the American people for their support, but to the American Congress for their foresight and their willingness to endure criticism, even

editorial comments at time, in passing measures for us.

We have put on the statute books the Truth in Packaging Act, to require that products carry clearly and carry honestly information about their contents.

We have put on the statute books the Child Protection Act—normally we talk about these things on their 50th anniversary or their 100th anniversary, as we did about the Commissioner of Education the other day, but I think this morning Miss Furness would like to have me recount just some of the duties she will have—to keep our children safe from the hazardous toys.

We have put on the statute books the traffic and highway safety acts, to help us reduce the shameful toll of lives that have been lost on our highways.

We have put on the statute books greater insurance protection for the savings on deposits made by our citizens.

There is still much more to be done and Betty Furness has agreed to help us do it.

We still have to secure a law that will give the installment buyer a clear statement, honest statement, of the interest charges that he will pay.

We still have to guard those who invest in tracts of underdeveloped land against sharp and sometimes dishonest practices.

We still have to safeguard the public by insuring that natural gas pipelines are just as safe as we are capable of making them.

We still have to strengthen our protection of the public's interest in private pension and welfare plans, and in mutual funds.

We still have to protect consumers from hazardous fabrics, and to reshape our laws that deal with dangerous household products.

These efforts may not seem so dramatic as many great foreign and domestic programs that we have had. But they are, I think, absolutely vital to the health and safety and to the security of the American family.

Betty Furness has been traveling throughout this country. She has been learning what is most on the minds of the homemakers and the individual consumers. She has been talking to both the consumers and the producers.

I think since her announcement she has been visiting some grocery stores and buying some clothing.

She knows that a healthy relationship of mutual trust and respect is critical in everything that we do. In doing these things she is going to be wearing three Easter bonnets, three different hats: she will be Special Assistant for Consumer Affairs to the President; she will be Chairman of the President's Committee on Consumer Interests; she will be Executive Secretary of the Consumer Advisory Council.

Now, to help her wear those hats as effectively as possible, I have had the lawyers draft an Executive order that we think will greatly strengthen the Committee on Consumer Interests, including on it for the first time the principal officers of the Cabinet of the President of the United States, and the principal agency heads of this Government.

This will give the Committee increased authority in carrying out the consumer program.

It will strengthen the voice of the consumer in the councils of Government.

Betty, I know we are not giving you much time to catch your breath. Before the week is out you are going to have a real baptism. You will be testifying before a Senate subcommittee.

I never wake up in the morning but what I am not thankful to George Washington for setting a precedent and making it very clear that Presidents would not have to do the same thing.

So we are glad to welcome you aboard. We appreciate the fact that you were willing to respond to your President's call.

We drafted you for this place. We know we didn't make a mistake.

We are looking forward to working with you. I predict that some day we will meet in this room on an anniversary date and point with pride to the leadership that you have provided.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:10 p.m. in the East Room at the White House at the swearing in of Betty Furness, well-known radio and television personality. During his remarks he referred to Executive Order 11349 "Amending Executive Order No. 11136, Relating to the President's Committee on Consumer Interests and the Consumer Advisory Council" (3 Weekly Comp. Pres. Docs., p. 688; 32 F.R. 6759; 3 CFR, 1967 Comp., p. 278), which he signed on the same day.

201 Remarks at the Reception for the 1966-1967 White House Fellows. May 1, 1967

Mr. Carr, Members of the Cabinet, Ambassador Lodge, Members of the Congress, ladies and gentlemen:

"There is a natural aristocracy among men," Thomas Jefferson once wrote. "The grounds of this are virtue and talent."

This evening the White House belongs

to you who are members of that aristocracy, you who have proven your talent and you who have demonstrated your virtue.

Judge Hastie tells me that there may be even some among you who have both virtue and talent.

We welcome you here, White House Fel-

lows, new Fellows, the finalists, as well as the friends of this program.

In the early years of this century, the great English doctor, Sir William Osler, delivered a commencement address at the Johns Hopkins University. There he made a very striking and very controversial observation:

"Take the sum of human achievement," he said, "in action, in science, in art, in literature. Subtract the work of the men above 40, and while we would lose great treasures, even priceless treasures, we would practically be where we are today. The effective, moving, vitalizing work of the world is done between the ages of 25 and 40."

The next morning a Baltimore newspaper headlined its account of Sir William's address this way: "Osler recommends chloroform at 60."

I am sure that some of you newspaper people may have even reduced that some and may recommend chloroform at 58 now.

But if Dr. Osler, upon reading that, was tempted to chloroform a reporter, I think he could have been forgiven. That was not the first time, nor the last, that a public figure has felt that urge.

So tonight, in paying tribute to the White House Fellows, I would not go so far as to recommend chloroform at 60, or at a reduced age, but I do want to remark upon the happy combination of youth and competence which this program has been bringing to this Government.

I want to tell you what effective, moving, vitalizing work these young men and women have been doing for their country.

Two years ago when we established the program, we thought that its main benefits would be educational, serving chiefly the Fellows themselves. Today we are not so sure who really gains the most, the Fellows

or the Government they serve.

One of last year's Fellows wrote a report which formed the basis for very important decisions about our migrant farm labor problem. Three of that first group remained in Government service after their terms as White House Fellows had ended, two of them on my staff.

Among this year's Fellows, one has just returned from a special mission to Vietnam. Another is at work here in the White House to make the next few months not a long, hot summer, but a long, hopeful summer in Washington.

All of you—in great ways and small—are helping to make your country work, and that is an opportunity and that is an achievement that is to be prized very highly.

Every young man and every young woman in this room is set apart from his generation by rather exceptional ability. But just as truly, every one of you is a member and a representative of his generation.

So this evening I speak not only to you but to your generation. The spirit of that generation today is first of all a questioning, critical spirit, skeptical of promises and rather impatient with results.

That is a spirit which may sometimes overly concern your elders, but it is a spirit that your country needs.

Today's young people enjoy not only unparalleled ease and comfort, but they enjoy enormous freedom—freedom of inquiry, freedom of expression, yes, freedom of dissent.

That free spirit we need, too, for freedom of speech can never harm us if we remember that freedom of speech is a two-way street.

We must guard every man's right to speak. But we must also defend every man's right to answer.

Your generation may at times feel a sense of outrage, for it, like every other genera-

tion, is inheriting a world with numerous problems that are yet to be solved.

So we need that restless spirit. It is the motive power behind every forward step that a man or a country must make.

There is only one catch: The sternest impatience, the greatest power of speech, the most noble outrage against injustice, all would be only good intentions unless Americans, young and old, involve themselves, unless they go into the field with that "Message to Garcia," unless they translate their best ideas into practical achievements.

It is a sad fact that less than 50 percent of the eligible voters under 25 exercise their right to vote. That is the lowest level of participation in any age group in America.

The world cries out not only for the presence of the young, but it cries out for their participation.

The young people, I believe, under 29 years of age cast only 16 percent of the total vote cast in the country, although people under 30 make up almost half the population.

The White House Fellows program, which I established in 1964, is an effort to inspire participation in government. The Washington summer interns program is another.

We expect this year, I am told, to have some 15,000 young Americans coming here to Washington to learn about their Government at first hand for the 3-month summer period.

Another such effort is the Presidential Scholars program, which I also established in 1964. The Presidential Scholars program seeks to identify our brightest high school students to convince them that scholarship is itself a form of public service.

These programs are important. They touch only the brightest few. But we are pressing toward excellence in other ways.

I know there are some reporters who would rather drink the hemlock than hear another statistic. But I must say this: I consider that, aside from our security, the two most important things to concern government are the health of its people and the education of its minds.

I was looking at some statistics just today. In the last 3 years we have increased the moneys we appropriate for education about three times. We were spending about \$4 billion for education 3 years ago. Today we will spend over \$12 billion.

We were spending \$4 billion for health in the Federal budget 3 years ago. Three years later we are spending three times as much—\$12 billion.

So this year we will spend approximately \$25 billion just for the education of our people and the improvement of their minds and the health of their bodies.

That is not enough. But if we had made as much of an increase starting 15 years ago as we have made the last 3 years, we would have real cause for pride and we would have more educated citizens who are participating in the drama of public life.

In that drama we cannot rely solely on the idealists or the pragmatists. Many societies have crumbled because the dreamer and the orator had neither the drive nor the ability to reach their goals.

On the other hand, the practical man without visions or plans has left us some real monstrosities to remember.

So what we are trying to do is to find here in this country, yes, here in the White House Fellow, a combination of an idealist with vision and a pragmatist with judgment.

If I could return to the East Room on your 50th anniversary to a reception given for the founder of this program, I would like to have it said of you that you have been men and women with your eyes in the stars and

your feet on the ground.

I would like for you to have a vision and a dream. Then I would like for you to have the ability to carry it out and see it executed; for the hard, frustrating process of molding ideas into action is a most rewarding venture.

In the highest sense of the word, getting it translated into action is politics.

Because you know the importance of involving yourself in that vital process, you have been selected, 16 of you, out of thousands throughout this land.

Theodore Roosevelt once said: "It is not the critic who counts; not the man who points out how the strong man stumbles. . . . The credit belongs to the man who is actually in the arena; whose face is marred by dust and sweat and blood . . . who spends himself in a worthy cause. . . . His place shall never be with those cold and timid souls who know neither victory nor defeat."

So, my young friends, the White House Fellows, you seem to have chosen this arena. I can assure you that it will be filled with many promises of victory, and there are also a good many prospects of defeat.

But it is only in the arena that you can

really learn the golden lesson of every man who would do good on earth.

Even your mightiest works may change the world just a little bit. But to change the world even a little bit is a very mighty work indeed.

We welcome you, we thank you, and we will watch you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 6:59 p.m. in the East Room at the White House. In his opening words he referred to Thomas W. Carr, Director of the President's Commission on White House Fellows, and Henry Cabot Lodge, Ambassador at Large. Later he referred to Judge William H. Hastie of the Third Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals who introduced the President.

The program, designed to give outstanding young Americans top-level experience with the workings of the Federal Government, was established on October 3, 1964 (see 1963-64 volume, this series, Book II, Item 622).

On the same day the President announced the names of 16 new White House Fellows, selected from a field of 1,000 applicants, who would enter the program in September 1967 (3 Weekly Comp. Pres. Docs., p. 690).

On August 11, 1967, the White House Press Office announced that the President had met informally with White House Fellows who were completing the 1966-1967 program. "I've followed your progress through the Vice President and the Cabinet officers and they give you high marks," he told the group, "and I'm proud of your record of accomplishment." The names of the 18 White House Fellows for 1966-1967 and their plans for future employment were also included in the announcement (3 Weekly Comp. Pres. Docs., p. 1125).

202 Remarks Upon Presenting the Medal of Honor Posthumously to Staff Sgt. Peter S. Connor, USMC. May 2, 1967

Mrs. Connor and members of the Connor family, Secretary Nitze, Members of the Cabinet, Members of Congress, distinguished businessmen, distinguished labor leaders, ladies and gentlemen:

Once again we meet to honor the memory and the name of a very brave man.

For his family, and for his comrades in arms, his memory is imperishably alive.

For his fellow Americans, his name has joined those who also gave the highest measure of manhood to the land that they love; who gave their lives in acts of selfless courage, so that others might live.

Peter Connor, Staff Sergeant of the United States Marine Corps, was mortally wounded in Quang Ngai Province, Vietnam, on February 25 of last year.

He was the platoon sergeant of a unit that was moving forward under enemy fire. Preparing to charge an enemy emplacement with a grenade, he discovered that it was defective. It would explode in a matter of seconds—long before he could get close enough to use it on the target.

His men were dispersed all about him. If he threw the grenade in any direction, it would kill or wound some of his men.

He had only a moment to make a decision. But in that moment, the values of centuries and the training of years came to bear upon him.

He held the grenade against his own body. He absorbed its terrible violence in himself. He spared the lives of all of his men.

Eleven days later he died of his wounds.

Who among us would have done the same?

We say, and we believe, that the lives of many outweigh one life. That is the teaching of the prophets and the philosophers; it is at the heart of our democratic faith and of our religion. But at the moment of testing, when the decision between life and death rests in the palm of the hand, who can say with confidence that he would hear that teaching and he would respond to that faith?

There are men in Vietnam at this hour who do say it and who can say it. Like Peter Connor, they have accepted the primacy of those ancient values. Selfless valor has become as much a part of them as the blood and bone of which they are made. They are prepared to sacrifice, not because they love life any less than the rest of us do, but because they treasure, even more, what gives it meaning—the power to rise above self for their brothers' sake.

Sergeant Connor died at a time of testing, not only for himself, but for the land that he knew and loved. Thousands of miles away

from the battlefield on which he fell, his countrymen debate the course of the war he fought in.

Many of them are genuinely concerned to find the wisest course that their country can take. Some of them have never learned, or have forgotten, the lessons of this century:

- that no nation or people can be secure when aggression is ignored;
- that those who can resist aggression bear the heaviest responsibility to resist it;
- that resistance cannot be made without pain and without loss and without great sacrifice;
- but that the cost of ignoring the aggressor is to the integrity—and to the soul—of a whole people.

The debate will go on, so long as we are a democracy and so long as men like Peter Connor shoulder their packs and face, not hostile placards and debating points, but the bullets and the mortar shells of marching aggressive armies. The debate will go on, and it will have its price. It is a price our democracy must be prepared to pay, and that the angriest voices of dissent should be prepared to acknowledge.

We give thanks for our freedom—and we give thanks for all of the brave and selfless men who have preserved that freedom for us for two centuries or more.

To them be honor and praise. To us is the responsibility for redeeming their sacrifice. And though the bravery of Peter Connor is beyond most of us, it was built on a faith that we share with him; and we can see, in his example, something of what we might be ourselves.

Mrs. Connor, in sorrow, and in pride, I present this Nation's highest award for valor. It is awarded posthumously, in the name of the Congress of the United States, to your gallant husband—Staff Sergeant Peter S. Connor, of the United States Marines.

Secretary Nitze will now read the citation.

*[Text of citation read by Paul H. Nitze,
Secretary of the Navy]*

The President of the United States takes pride in presenting the Medal of Honor posthumously to

STAFF SERGEANT PETER S. CONNOR
UNITED STATES MARINE CORPS

for service as set forth in the following

CITATION:

For conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity in action against enemy Viet Cong forces at the risk of his life above and beyond the call of duty while serving as Platoon Sergeant of the Third Platoon, Company F, Second Battalion, Third Marines, First Marine Division (Reinforced), Fleet Marine Force, in Quang Ngai Province, Republic of Vietnam on 25 February 1966.

Leading his platoon on a search and destroy operation in an area made particularly hazardous by extensive cave and tunnel complexes, Sergeant Connor maneuvered his unit aggressively forward under intermittent enemy small-arms fire. Exhibiting particular alertness and keen observation, he spotted an enemy spider hole emplacement approximately fifteen meters to his front. He pulled the pin from a fragmentation grenade intending to charge the hole boldly and drop

the missile into its depths. Upon pulling the pin he realized that the firing mechanism was faulty, and that even as he held the safety device firmly in place, the fuse charge was already activated. With only precious seconds to decide, he further realized that he could not cover the distance to the small opening of the spider hole in sufficient time, and that to hurl the deadly bomb in any direction would result in death or injury to some of his comrades tactically deployed near him. Manifesting extraordinary gallantry and with utter disregard for his personal safety, he chose to hold the grenade against his own body in order to absorb the terrific explosion and spare his comrades.

His act of extreme valor and selflessness in the face of virtually certain death, although leaving him mortally wounded, spared many of his fellow Marines from death or injury. His gallant action in giving his life in the cause of freedom reflects the highest credit upon the Marine Corps and the Armed Forces of the United States.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:51 p.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. In his opening words he referred to Mrs. Peter S. Connor of Oceanside, Calif., who accepted the Medal of Honor posthumously awarded to her husband, and to Secretary of the Navy Paul H. Nitze. Mrs. Connor was accompanied by her daughter, Cecilia, and Sergeant Connor's mother, Mrs. Harold E. Connor of South Orange, N.J., along with other members of the family.

203 Letter to the President of the Senate Requesting Supplemental Appropriations for Summer Youth Programs. May 2, 1967

Dear Mr. President:

I have the honor to transmit a request for a \$75 million fiscal 1967 supplemental appropriation for the Office of Economic Opportunity.

This appropriation will provide urgently needed funds for supervised playgrounds and swimming pools, and for training, employment and education programs to take care of idle youth in our teeming cities.

The funds will be used to help finance programs such as these, which have been instituted by local officials as part of the summer program for young people in their communities.

This is an investment we can afford and should make. With these additional funds, we can help cities and local communities to:

- Bring jobs, skills and employment opportunities to 75,000 more young Americans.
- Provide recreation opportunities for more than one million more boys and girls.
- Keep their schools, libraries and playgrounds open, build swimming pools, provide special remedial education courses for children, light their basketball courts and baseball diamonds in the evenings.

Summer can be a time of opportunity and growth or emptiness and despair. It can mean fresh air and the out-of-doors, or closed playgrounds and a steaming tenelement. It can mean new skills and the satisfaction of a meaningful job, or the endless search for decent work. It can be a time of renewal and strength through swimming, camping and hiking or it can be a time of frustration. It can be a time of enrichment through school and special courses, or a time of idleness.

Our course is clear. Over the past three years, I have proposed and you in the Congress have supported new programs which are now bringing new skills, new learning, and new spirit to millions of young Americans. These programs form the base for the efforts which hundreds of communities have launched over the past two summers.

The names and gains of these programs are familiar to all of you—Head Start, Upward Bound, the Youth Opportunity Campaign, the Neighborhood Youth Corps, and

the special programs under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

Last February, in my Message to the Congress on America's Children and Youth, I urged:

- Every Federal agency to strengthen its programs for summer employment, training, education, recreation and health.
- Cities and local communities to help make summers more productive for the youth of America.

Communities across the country have responded. Many states, cities and local communities have developed useful and productive summer programs for their young people. Many of these communities are in need of special assistance to carry out their programs. We have reviewed all the Federal resources which can be used to help them.

That review shows that we will be providing about the same amount of funds as we provided last year—about \$600 million—for a wide variety of education, training, employment and recreation programs. But that review also shows that many worthwhile programs planned by cities and local communities cannot be supported by funds now available. The supplemental funds requested in this letter are essential to fill that gap.

The problems of poverty, which are fostered by generations of neglect, cannot be solved in a single summer or in a single year.

The summer program is but a small part of our year-round effort to provide health, learning and training for millions of needy young citizens.

But this request will enable us to respond to plans which have been developed by local communities across the land.

We know that success will not be easily achieved. It will require the devotion and

commitment of governors and mayors, private organizations and private citizens who recognize the importance of the task.

The President cannot—and should not—be the mayor of every city or the governor of every state. But the Federal Government can and should do its part. The supplemental appropriation which I am submitting to the Congress today is another example of the partnership we are building between the Federal Government and the states and cities of America.

I urge the Congress to act promptly on this request.

Sincerely,

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

[Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey, President of the Senate, Washington, D.C.]

NOTE: The Second Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1967, providing funds requested by the President for summer youth programs, was approved on May 29, 1967 (Public Law 90-21; 81 Stat. 30).

For the President's message to Congress recommending a 12-point program for America's children and youth, see Item 39.

204 The President's News Conference of May 3, 1967

THE PRESIDENT. George¹ said that some of you wanted to have a visit with me. I am available.

QUESTIONS

TROOPS FOR VIETNAM

[1.] Q. Mr. President, what is your reaction to recurrent stories as recently as this morning about General Westmoreland desiring quite a few additional troops in Vietnam?

THE PRESIDENT. We are constantly studying our force structure in Vietnam and in the world. I have discussed with the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs and our people in Southeast Asia, General Westmoreland, Admiral Sharp, and others, and our people in Europe, these structures.

We are making adjustments here and there. General Westmoreland and Admiral Sharp submit their requests. The Joint Chiefs study them and evaluate them. They go up

through Mr. Vance and Mr. McNamara. Then they make their recommendations and they are acted upon.

I have no recommendations at this time that I am giving my personal consideration to, although Admiral Sharp and General Westmoreland and other commanders have made comments to the Joint Chiefs that they are evaluating. No doubt in the weeks ahead, perhaps Secretary McNamara and General Wheeler will make recommendations to me which I will consider.

I do not consider anything immediately imminent in the next few days or even the next few weeks.

TROOP DEPLOYMENTS IN GERMANY

[2.] Q. Mr. President, in regard to our withdrawal of troops from Germany, have the Soviets indicated they may withdraw some of their troops, as well?

THE PRESIDENT. Our troop deployments are a matter that we will discuss with

¹George E. Christian, Special Assistant to the President.

NATO.² We trust they will be agreeable to NATO. Secretary Rusk is testifying before the Mansfield committee³ this morning. Secretary McNamara has already testified.

What the Russians do is a matter for them to decide. We believe that such actions as we take will not materially affect our capability. We believe that such actions as we contemplate will be acceptable to our alliance partners. I discussed some of the prospective decisions prior to the time we made them with the affected people, particularly the Germans, and Chancellor Kiesinger. Our people will be discussing them more in detail with NATO people at a later date.

MILITARY SITUATION IN VIETNAM

[3.] Q. Mr. President, what is your assessment of the current military situation in Vietnam?

THE PRESIDENT. I couldn't add anything to the rather detailed assessment that General Westmoreland gave you. He is my best authority. He has talked at some length about it in his report to the country, at the Associated Press meeting, and also to the Congress. There is nothing I can add to that.

² On May 2, 1967, the State Department announced that plans for the withdrawal of 35,000 American ground and air troops from West Germany were being considered by the Defense Planning Committee of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The proposal followed discussions with the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany on the defense needs of NATO and the balance of payments position of the respective parties resulting from the stationing of troops in Germany. Redeployment of military personnel to the United States was not scheduled to take place before January 1, 1968.

³ Senator Mike Mansfield of Montana, Majority Leader of the Senate and Chairman of the Combined Subcommittee of the Committees on Foreign Relations and Armed Services on the Subject of U.S. Troops in Europe.

Q. Mr. President, would the two brigades that are going to be withdrawn from Germany be available for service in Vietnam?

THE PRESIDENT. The reductions in Europe have no connection with the Vietnam picture whatever. I would not want to say that all of our people would not be available under certain circumstances. This is entirely independent of any Vietnam measure.

Q. I didn't mean to suggest, Mr. President, that it was related, but there is a story from Europe saying that some of those forces might be redeployed to Vietnam.

THE PRESIDENT. The answer is still the same.

PROPOSED NUCLEAR NONPROLIFERATION
AGREEMENT

[4.] Q. Mr. President, in your talks last week with Chancellor Kiesinger and with Premier Moro of Italy, did you feel you overcame the objections of those two governments to the proposed draft of the nuclear nonproliferation treaty?

THE PRESIDENT. We did not speak in terms of objections. We were positive and talked about the language of the agreement that might evolve.

At this point, we are not in agreement with the Soviet Union. We are exploring areas of agreement with all concerned. But we expect certain safeguards. They feel they cannot agree to certain safeguards, so we haven't reached the point of agreement among ourselves. Our allies are being kept informed. Our allies are making their views known about the protections that they would like to have—the safeguards they would like to have from their national interest.

We have had some lengthy discussions here with the representative of the Prime Minister of India. I did discuss with Mr.

Moro their views on the matter. I did discuss this with Chancellor Kiesinger. Both have made a number of suggestions which we will look at.

Q. Can you see any prospect that the draft will be ready, as you had hoped, for presentation to the Disarmament Conference next Tuesday when it reconvenes?

THE PRESIDENT. I wouldn't want to predict when there would be a meeting of the minds. I think you get into difficulty when you do that. We are working on it. We want to have an agreement whenever we can get it.

RAILWAY LABOR DISPUTE

[5.] Q. Mr. President, would you go all the way to recommending compulsory arbitration in the rail situation?

THE PRESIDENT. No, we do not plan to recommend compulsory arbitration. We do not plan to recommend seizure. We do not plan to recommend legislation of a specific formula. We have considered a good many alternatives. We are now reviewing those alternatives with the appropriate people concerned. We hope to be able to make our recommendations to the Congress this week, perhaps tomorrow or the next day or the next day.

Some of the ideas that we are considering are the proposals authorizing the establishment for a 90-day no-strike, no-lockout period, of a five-member special board to be appointed by the President.⁴ The functions of the board would, among other things, involve a period that we have set aside for an intensive further mediation with the parties.

⁴For the President's message to Congress recommending procedures to complete collective bargaining in the dispute, see Item 207. See also Items 170, 172, 174, 188, 194, 310, 311, 386.

Another period is designed to implement the collective bargaining contemplated by the board's recommendations and see they are fair and equitable, see if they could take collective bargaining, and see if they fulfill the purposes of the Railway Labor Act. This board would do that.

During the second period after mediation, if there are no agreements, the board would file with the President and the Congress its determinations concerning the special mediation panel proposals—together with any modification that this board thought was necessary to assure these criteria above mentioned. These would be: fair and equitable, protect collective bargaining, fulfill the purposes of the Railway Labor Act, and protect the public interest. If there is still no agreement, then the modification which the board has found necessary to insure conformity with these criteria could take effect and remain in effect for a certain period.

So we are attempting to evolve a procedure that will permit and encourage further mediation for a period of time. We will carefully evaluate what has been recommended by the Ginsburg board and the Fahy board⁵ to see if they have met these criteria of being fair and equitable, promoting collective bargaining, serving the pur-

⁵On January 28, 1967, the President issued Executive Order 11324 establishing an emergency board to investigate the railway labor dispute (3 Weekly Comp. Pres. Docs., p. 129; 32 F.R. 1075; 3 CFR, 1967 Comp., p. 245). David Ginsburg, a Washington attorney, was appointed chairman.

On April 12, 1967, the President appointed Charles Fahy, former judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia, George W. Taylor, professor of industry at the University of Pennsylvania, and John T. Dunlop, professor of economics at Harvard University, to a mediation panel in the dispute. For an announcement of the appointment and a statement upon receiving the panel's report, see Items 174, 188.

pose of the Railway Labor Act and the public interest, determine if any modifications, in the new board's opinion, are necessary, required, and desirable. If so, we will get their recommendations.

Then, finally, providing that the situation as determined at that time be in effect for a certain period. The details of that are being worked on now.

I have talked to, first, the Cabinet officers primarily concerned—the Secretary of Labor, Mr. Wirtz, and Mr. Reynolds, Secretary Boyd, and Secretary McNamara.

Then we have discussed it with the leadership of the House and Senate, with some of the people who have been active in this field, like Senator Morse.

I have reviewed with Justice Fahy some of his suggestions. I have reviewed this with Mr. George Taylor, an expert from the University of Pennsylvania in this field; and also with Mr. John Dunlop, a member of the board from Harvard, who has made suggestions.

I am waiting to talk with Mr. David Ginsburg, the chairman of the first board. He is out of the country. He will be in today or tonight late. I want to get his suggestions and comments. Then we will try to put a message and resolution together to submit to the Congress. I hope during this 40-odd day period that they can act upon it.

THE 6 PERCENT SURCHARGE PROPOSAL

[6.] Q. Mr. President, what is the outlook for your proposed 6 percent surcharge?

THE PRESIDENT. Our position remains the same. The economy has moved along somewhat on the line that we anticipated. Our revenue estimates are not firm. They are

within a reasonable degree of what we expected in our budget estimates—less than a billion dollars off, out of \$117 billion. We can't tell. We don't have it firm yet. They are coming in—the corporation taxes, the excise taxes, and other things. Some of them are up; some a little down. But they are relatively firm.

We still have a need for a tax from a standpoint of revenue. We think it will serve a good purpose from the standpoint of economy. We believe if we can get the investment credit bill passed and into effect—either the House or the Senate bill—that our predictions will be confirmed for the second half.

We would expect that when the committees get these other matters out of the way that they would give consideration to our request. We would hope they would act favorably.

Q. Are you sounding out what their feeling is right now?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, I listen to the radio programs and read the newspapers. I don't know why you want to make me point out that some of them are against it. Yes, we think it has its problems. We recognize them. We are concerned with them. At the appropriate time we hope that the situation will be compelling and persuasive even to those who have their doubts now.

DRAFT OPPOSITION

[7.] Q. Mr. President, do you consider Martin Luther King's urging of young men not to answer the draft call outside the bounds of reasonable dissent with your Vietnam policy?

THE PRESIDENT. We regret when any person asks the young people of the country

to refuse to serve what we believe to be the needs of the country. We regret it very much.

CAMPAIGN FINANCING LEGISLATION

[8.] Q. Mr. President, Senator Long's campaign financing amendment seems to have been finally defeated yesterday. I wonder if you could tell us your thinking on this kind of legislation; whether you hope any such law would be enacted this year.

THE PRESIDENT. I have not talked to the leaders in the Senate about this. I think it is a matter for them to decide. I wouldn't go along with your description at this moment. I do not think they have really determined—from what I see—what the outcome of it will be.

I would like to see what I am confronted with before passing judgment on what my action would be when they finally pass the bill. I do not know what is going to come out of the Senate or the conference.

RAILWAY DISPUTE

[9.] Q. Mr. President, to return to this question of the railroad resolution, the labor resolution, did the 90 days which you spoke of as being under consideration—is that 90 days in addition to what the Railway Labor Act now provides?

THE PRESIDENT. We will keep that flexible until our recommendations go up. I wouldn't get hard on that, but I would say that it will be 90 days from the time I sign the legislation. That would be my best guess, although it could be 70 or it could be 110.

GOP POLICY STATEMENT ON VIETNAM

[10.] Q. Mr. President, do you have any views on the GOP policy statement on Vietnam?⁶

THE PRESIDENT. I haven't read the details of the Senate Republican Leader's statement. I do not find myself in very much disagreement generally with him on these matters. I think that he is better able to express the Republican position in the Senate than I am.

What I have observed of his statements I am in general agreement with. I do not know what Senators, if any, are tied to this document. It looks kind of like—well, I don't know—

PESSIMISM CONCERNING VIETNAM

[11.] Q. Mr. President, there seems to be a good deal of pessimism in the country about Vietnam—we are bogged down; not making much progress. Could you address yourself to that?

THE PRESIDENT. I would just quote General Westmoreland. I do not know anyone who can give you a better evaluation of what is going on than General Westmoreland did in those two speeches. I do not have any information that he didn't give you except what you see in the papers.

Generally speaking, there is more pessimism here than there. There are plenty of reasons for sadness in both places.

⁶ A statement on the Vietnam conflict prepared by the Senate Republican Policy Committee under the leadership of Senator Bourke B. Hickenlooper of Iowa.

RUSSIAN OFFENSIVE MISSILES IN VIETNAM

[12.] Q. Mr. President, there were reports yesterday that the Russians are considering putting offensive missiles into Vietnam. Have you heard these reports, and are they a matter of concern for the Government?

THE PRESIDENT. I have seen the newspaper reports on them. We are interested in all reports.

DISSENT ON VIETNAM

[13.] Q. Mr. President, do you feel that the general level of dissent throughout the Nation on Vietnam has reached a particularly critical point now? You addressed yourself to it a couple of times this week.

THE PRESIDENT. I think whenever you have men dying and men sacrificing, when you have half a million or more committed to a theater of war, you have dissent. It occupies a stage of discussion in our lives every day.

I was just reading last night a speech by Mr. Thurman Arnold,⁷ a departmental lawyer, that he delivered at Valparaiso University. He reviewed what happened after the fall of France: how as late as 1941, when the vote on the draft in the House was 203 to 202, there were eloquent voices of dissent which, according to his quotations, said that we should shrink our Army and concentrate our major efforts upon the Navy and the Air Force and lend-lease.

That was just a few days before Pearl Harbor, after France had fallen, after Hitler had successfully invaded and successfully performed the conquest of France.

⁷Thurman W. Arnold, member of a Washington law firm and former Assistant Attorney General and Associate Justice of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia.

We will expect dissent in any period like this. We have always had it. We hope that a majority will support our proposals, our appropriations, and our recommendations. We hope it won't be that narrow.

You cannot overlook the fact that there are a good many people who think we are not doing enough. There are also a good many who think we are doing too much. From the information we have, we are doing what we really believe is the best course for the country. We carefully consider that every day and try to keep an open mind.

I read a statement to a group this morning from Benjamin Franklin who, when he was presented a copy of the Constitution at Philadelphia, arose and said, "Having lived long, I have experienced many instances of being obliged by better information or fuller consideration to change opinions even on important subjects. The older I grow, the more apt I am to doubt my own judgment and pay more respect to the judgment of others. Most men, as well as most sects of religion, think themselves in possession of all truth."

We try not to think ourselves in possession of all truths. We take the recommendations that we receive from all of the corners of the globe and the most experienced people we have, diplomatic and military.

I am meeting momentarily with the Security Council and Ambassador Goldberg. We will review various alternatives in the United Nations on the diplomatic front and the military front. Whatever decisions we reach, there will be differences of opinion—that is democracy. They will be expressed. We will constantly try to make decisions that are supported by facts, by equity, and by the needs of our time and of our country.

But we will never have unanimity. We don't seek it. We don't expect uniformity.

We will be disheartened. We deplore and

disagree with folks who burn our flag and who take rather extreme measures. So far as they express an honest difference of opinion, we expect it. We rather think that we will always have it in our form of government.

COMMUNIST LEADERSHIP IN ANTIWAR DISSENT

[14.] Q. Mr. President, during the demonstrations in New York and in San Francisco a few weeks ago, we were told that you had received a report by the FBI Director on the degree of Communist leadership in this antiwar dissent. Since then there has been some public discussion about whether or not we have a revival of McCarthyism in this country over the degree of influence of the Communists.

THE PRESIDENT. I would go back and review that with George. I read that. I didn't read his saying what you attribute to the report. I don't recall seeing a report along that line.

Q. Mr. President, could I just ask you the general question: How serious do you believe the Communist leadership is in this dissent, or how much influence the Communists have on it?

THE PRESIDENT. There is a Communist position which you can judge from the Communist propaganda which comes out of Peking, North Vietnam, and the Soviet Union every day. One can judge their position on this general Vietnam question. We keep in close touch with it at all times. I don't know any purpose which would be served by my going beyond that.

I might find myself needing a defense attorney after you wrote your report on any comment I might make. I don't want to spend any more time doing that than I need to normally.

EDUCATION BILL IN THE HOUSE

[15.] Q. Mr. President, how serious do you consider the threat to your primary and secondary education bill in the House?

THE PRESIDENT. I won't speak in terms of party. I do feel that there are those who much want to change a measure which was put together with great care, which is working reasonably well. I believe that if it were torn to pieces now, as I believe it would be by certain recommendations which have been made, it would be disastrous for the school children of this country. Improvements can be made in this administration and in the relationships between the administration and the schools.

I don't think the "meat ax" approach of tearing the formula apart is good. I think it would take us back a decade instead of moving us forward.

I certainly hope that the Congress will not tear up the fine educational house which has been built. I hope they will strengthen it instead of tearing it down. I believe they will.⁸

VIETNAM

[16.] Q. Mr. President, Senator Aiken said last night, in talking about this Republican report on Vietnam, that the North Vietnamese simply will not negotiate with you. Do you believe they are waiting for the 1968 elections, sir, or to hold out until then?

THE PRESIDENT. I am not privy to their thoughts. I don't know what may motivate them.

Q. Mr. President, what is the outlook for the immediate future in Vietnam, a greater

⁸The Elementary and Secondary Education Amendments of 1967 (H.R. 7819) were approved by the President on January 2, 1968 (Public Law 90-247; 81 Stat. 783).

increase in the war effort there, or are there any prospects for peace?

THE PRESIDENT. We will diligently pursue each day any route that we could think would lead to a peaceful settlement. We do not see any hopeful prospects at the moment. We are pursuing this week, as we have every week, every road that could lead in that

peaceful direction.

Merriman Smith, United Press International: Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: President Johnson's one hundredth news conference was held in his office at the White House at 11:20 a.m. on Wednesday, May 3, 1967. As printed above, this item follows the text of the Official White House Transcript.

205 Remarks to the State Directors of the Selective Service System. May 3, 1967

General Hershey, Directors of the Selective Service System, ladies and gentlemen:

I am pleased that I have an opportunity, although I have been somewhat delayed, to discuss with you some of the steps that we are taking together to try to improve our Selective Service System in this country.

Selective Service, as you know, has been an essential part of our Nation's security system and a part of the system of security for the free world. It has been that for more than a generation. And it still is, as we meet here in the Rose Garden this afternoon.

The system was founded on the conviction that qualified men should share equally the responsibilities of service.

That principle of fairness must prevail, particularly at a time when only some are called upon—as they are today—to fight to defend our freedom.

Recent studies—particularly the one headed by Mr. Burke Marshall—have spotlighted some of the problems in that system. I reviewed all of these reports very carefully before I sent my message to the Congress, where the question is now being considered by the Members of the House and Senate and explored in depth.

From those deliberations—and from the discussions taking place across the entire

country—I believe that we will come to understand what we must do finally to correct the inequities in this system.

But even as we await the results of the debates now taking place in the Congress, we have moved, since my message to Congress 2 months ago, to make several improvements. Those improvements came from the results of our experience, our studies, our consultations with the chairmen of the appropriate committees in the Congress, and from the recommendations that came from throughout the Nation.

—The Marshall commission pointed out that local boards are not always fully representative of the communities they serve. This is not an area over which we have direct control. But I am very pleased that you gentlemen and your distinguished leader, General Hershey, working with the Governors of your States, have already been able to make some progress in this area. I am glad to see that this vital subject is on your agenda during your working sessions here this week. Every principle of fairness, every tenet of our democratic faith, requires us to make our institutions representative of the people with whom they deal.

—We are also giving the registrant better information about the system. I am told that a new booklet will be given to each man at registration, telling him of his rights under the system.

—Every young man who wants a hearing will be heard. He will be given more help and more time to appeal his case. Steps are now underway to ensure that advisers and appeal agents are always available.

—I am also signing an Executive order which will extend from 10 to 30 days the period during which a man can appeal his classification.

Other actions will also follow:

—General Hershey is now working with the Secretary of Defense to develop a fair and impartial random system of selection, in which all eligible and qualified men will have an equal chance of being selected for military duty. We expect this FAIR system to become fully operational before January 1, 1969.

—Also under consideration is a plan to terminate future student deferments for postgraduate study, except for those men pursuing medical or dental courses.

—For too many men, the “pyramiding” of postgraduate deferments have led to exemption from military duty.

—We are also preparing a plan to reverse the present order of call. All the studies have found that the country—and the draftees themselves—will be better served if men are inducted at age 19, rather than in the “oldest first” order of the past.

As you know, the Marshall commission proposed that the whole Selective Service System be restructured. In my judgment this proposal needed further study and I have organized a task force to review it in terms of:

—its cost;

—in terms of the methods of implementation;

—and finally, effectiveness in the light of the changes we are already making in the system.

I believe then that we are well on our way to modernizing our Selective Service and that you gentlemen, as well as our people, are going to be pleased with the result.

We thank you very much for coming here today. We welcome you to the White House Rose Garden. I hope you will continue to serve as diligently and devotedly in the future as you have throughout the years of the past. Yours is a most important role in providing all of us with an effective national service, and an effective national defense.

You are performing that role well and I thank you and I congratulate you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 6:05 p.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. In his opening words he referred to Lt. Gen. Lewis B. Hershey, Director of the Selective Service System. Later he referred to Burke Marshall, formerly Chairman of the National Advisory Commission on Selective Service.

For a statement by the President upon establishing the Commission, see 1966 volume, this series, Book II, Item 315. Its report is entitled “In Pursuit of Equity: Who Serves When Not All Serve” (Government Printing Office, 1967, 219 pp.).

On the same day the President issued Executive Order 11350 “Amending the Selective Service Regulations” (3 Weekly Comp. Pres. Docs., p. 699; 32 F.R. 6961; 3 CFR, 1967 Comp., p. 281).

206 Remarks at a Dinner Honoring John W. McCormack, Speaker of the House of Representatives. May 3, 1967

Reverend clergy, Mrs. McCormack, Speaker McCormack, Members of Congress, all friends of John McCormack, ladies and gentlemen:

Speaker McCormack came to the House of Representatives 39 years ago. He is now serving his 20th term. If ever an American could say with pride that his life has been devoted to the creative use of politics, that American is John W. McCormack.

It is very easy to scorn politics from outside the arena. Sometimes I have envied those whose occupations will permit them to do so.

But for more than 30 years I have been inside the arena myself. And all that time I have been in there with John McCormack and I felt very comfortable to be by his side.

I have been accorded the very great privilege of working with the distinguished Speaker as he and the Congress and a series of Presidents have attempted to make a miracle and to make the world in which we live a better and more peaceful place to live in.

The Speaker of the House of Representatives occupies the very unique position in the American way of government. When he is committed to progress, when he is endowed with compassion, when he understands the qualities of leadership, then things can and do happen in America. When he is not, then all the king's horses and all the President's horses as well can't make any headway.

During most of these last three decades America has been served by two men as Speaker who have shown just what can be done in the arena of politics—Sam Rayburn and John W. McCormack.

What Sam Rayburn did, and what John McCormack continues to do, show what politics in America is really all about.

Look at the record just over the past 22 years since World War II alone—the Marshall Plan, NATO, highway construction, the space program, food for peace, the GI bill, civil rights measures, the Alliance for Progress, the Peace Corps, aid to education, Medicare, the war on poverty. That is what politics is. That is what politics does. That is the living memorial and the living record of John W. McCormack of Massachusetts.

So I say to you, all of you, his dear friends who have gathered here tonight, I say let them all remember that name when they write about politics in America. Let them remember that America and Boston and Massachusetts were elevated and were enriched by John McCormack because he understood and he understands how to make politics serve the average man better and how to make politics serve the best interest of the land he loves.

Every person in this hall tonight is to be commended for finally getting the Speaker to come here and sit still for some praise. And not just praise but for some homage.

I can't think of a man in America, and I don't know a man in America, that I think deserves that praise or that homage more than our beloved friend, John McCormack.

Mr. Speaker, I haven't had my dinner yet. Mrs. Johnson went to an art show and I was having one of my own all day, but when I got an invitation to this dinner—and if I hadn't received one I would have written myself one—I wanted to come here, in all these bright lights at this lovely affair, and tell you in the presence of all those who love

you so much, how much you and Mrs. McCormack have meant to me.

Incidentally, there are just five of you who were here when I first came. There are just 20 of you that are here out of the 535 when I first came as a Congressman in 1937.

As a young Congressman, as whip, as minority leader, as majority leader, as Vice President, and finally as President, there has been no person in this room or in this Capital tonight who has been more devoted, who has been more loyal, who has been more courageous under fire, and who has been more compassionate for his fellow man than you have.

To Mrs. McCormack, that wonderful, lovely, great human being, who has been

your helpmate through the years, to the entire Massachusetts delegation, who with Mrs. McCormack helps you do your homework, I want to say:

We are grateful. We are appreciative. All America loves you. I am honored and happy that I could come your way and enjoy your friendship and participate in your achievements.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:30 p.m. in the Regency Room at the Shoreham Hotel in Washington. During his remarks he referred to Sam Rayburn, Representative from Texas 1913-1961, who served as Speaker 1940-1947, 1949-1953, 1955-1961.

The dinner was sponsored by Boston College alumni in Washington to honor Speaker McCormack as their "Man of the Year." As printed above, this item follows the text released by the White House Press Office.

207 Special Message to the Congress Recommending Procedures To Complete Collective Bargaining in the Railway Labor Dispute. May 4, 1967

To the Congress of the United States:

INTRODUCTION

On Monday, at my request, the Congress acted to protect the country for 47 days against the intolerable injury of a nationwide railroad strike.

This additional period affords the parties to the current dispute another opportunity to settle it by agreement.

The time has come, however, to insure that by public action we guard the public interest against a continuing failure of private responsibility in this case.

We cannot leave ourselves vulnerable, as a people, to the dangers of:

- a disruption in the flow of arms and material to the 500,000 valiant men in Southeast Asia who are making sacri-

- fices greater than any of us are called upon to make;

- food shortages and health hazards in our cities;

- the paralysis of our economy;

- a rising tide of unemployment, as factory doors close for lack of raw material.

I reviewed this situation in detail in my Message to the Congress on April 10. Only a summary is necessary here.

The dispute is between virtually all of the major railroads and six shopcraft unions representing 137,000 railroad employees who inspect, maintain and repair locomotives and other rolling stock. Without the continuing service of these workers, the Nation's railroads cannot operate.

The disagreement in this case is mainly about wages.

There have been eight months of collective bargaining and mediation in the current round of railroad contracts.

During these months, the process of collective bargaining has produced settlements between the railroads and 11 other unions, representing over 70 percent of the Nation's railroad workers.

THE SEARCH FOR SETTLEMENT

There have been diligent and extended efforts to achieve settlement of the shopcraft dispute. This record is important, and I urge you to consider it carefully:

- During the summer and fall of 1966, private collective bargaining between the parties proceeded, first at the local level and then at the national level, as the parties pursued their search for settlement.
- From October 1966 through early January 1967, the National Mediation Board worked with the parties. The issues were refined, the differences narrowed.
- On January 6, 1967, the National Mediation Board advised the parties that its mediation efforts had been unsuccessful and offered arbitration. The railroads accepted but the unions declined.
- On January 19, 1967, the National Mediation Board advised me that the services of an Emergency Board were necessary in this case.
- On January 28, 1967, under the Railway Labor Act, I appointed such a Board, chaired by David Ginsburg, a distinguished Washington attorney; John W. McConnell, President of the University of New Hampshire, and Frank J. Dugan, Professor of Law at Georgetown University.
- The Emergency Board conducted an

exhaustive inquiry into the facts of the case. It compiled a record of over 1,000 pages. On March 10, 1967, it made a series of recommendations on the basis of that record.

- These recommendations provided a new centerpoint around which further negotiations could revolve. They were accepted by the railroads but not by the unions.
- The full cycle under the Railway Labor Act ran out. A strike was called by the unions for 12:01 a.m., Thursday, April 13th.
- I proposed to the Congress on April 10 an extension of the period of statutory restraint under the Railway Labor Act for 20 additional days. The Congress promptly enacted that proposal.

THE FAHY PANEL

As soon as the Congress extended the no-strike period for 20 days, I asked three distinguished Americans with long experience in the field of labor management relations to serve on a Special Mediation Panel. They were: Charles Fahy, recently retired judge of the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia as Chairman; Dr. John T. Dunlop, Professor of Economics at Harvard, and Dr. George W. Taylor, Professor of Industry at the University of Pennsylvania.

For ten days the Special Panel worked patiently and with great skill, seeking to close the gap which separated the parties by encouraging a voluntary resolution of the dispute through collective bargaining.

Then, drawing upon the parties' own proposals, the work of the Emergency Board and their own experience of 10 days of intensive mediation, the Special Mediation Panel developed a proposal. In their judgment, this proposal represented the conclu-

sions the parties themselves could very well have reached if the give-and-take of collective bargaining had resulted in agreement. As the Panel stated to the parties in its report to me:

We ask the parties to agree now to our suggested basis for settlement of this dispute. The matter is one of dollars and cents alone, and the real differences between the parties in our judgment are not great. We cannot say our proposals contain precisely the correct figures; but we can say our terms are reasonable and not unjust. There is no way in which perfect precision about a matter of this kind can be reached. To carry the dispute further, in light of the consequences of doing so, would not be justifiable, especially after so much consideration has been given to the matter.

Despite this plea, both parties declined to accept this basis for settlement.

On April 24, after hearing testimony from the Panel and the parties to this dispute, the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare called upon the parties "to seriously reconsider as the basis for settlement the recommendations of the Special Mediation Panel."

This summons went unheeded.

Monday, the Congress acted again, at my request, by extending the no-strike period for an additional 47 days, until 12:01 a.m. on June 19, 1967.

TO BRIDGE THE GAP

This is a record of a free society going to the very limit to permit private responsibility to play its part.

It is a record of risking everything except national catastrophe on free collective bargaining.

It is also a record of collective bargaining almost doing its job—narrowly failing—but coming close enough to offer clear guidance for the completion of the task.

The remaining dispute is principally about narrow differences regarding the amount of the general increase, about the amount—but not the principle—of an "inequity adjustment" covering journeymen and mechanics, and about the length of the contract period.

What is called for now is a procedure to complete collective bargaining, not to replace it—to bridge the remaining gap this bargaining has not closed.

Nothing here warrants resort to a compulsory arbitration procedure which would disregard all that collective bargaining has accomplished and substitute the unfettered discretionary decision of others.

The situation does not warrant seizure by the Government of the railroad properties. President Kennedy well defined the difficulties of such a course of action when confronted with a similar situation in July, 1963. He rejected seizure of the railroads "as creating complex legal and financial problems for the Government, and as merely postponing the day of reckoning" Seizure of these properties would also be offensive to the equities involved in the present situation.

The solution here is one which:

- Assures the Nation the continued availability of railroad transport.
- Gives full effect to the record of collective bargaining in this case and builds on the negotiations which have taken place.
- Looks toward the ultimate resolution of this dispute by agreement.
- Provides only the means to bridge the remaining gap between the parties.

This solution is supplied by the recommendations of the Special Mediation Panel

and the advice I have received from leaders of the Congress and my top advisers in the Executive Branch.

THE PROPOSAL

I propose a Joint Resolution authorizing the establishment, for a 90-day no-strike, no-lockout period, of a 5-member Special Board to be appointed by the President. All will be "public members." But I intend to appoint one member with a management background and one member with a labor background.

The functions of the Board will be these:

—For the first 30 days after enactment of the Joint Resolution, the Board would engage in intensive mediation with the parties to encourage and stimulate a final resolution of the issues in dispute.

—Beginning on the 31st day, if no agreement has been reached, the Board would be authorized to hold hearings to determine whether the Special Mediation Panel proposals of April 21, designed to implement the collective bargaining contemplated by the Emergency Board recommendations meet the following criteria:

- are in the public interest,
- are a fair and equitable extension of the collective bargaining in this case,
- protect the collective bargaining process, and
- fulfill the purposes of the Railway Labor Act.

—By the 60th day, if there is still no agreement, the Board would file, with the Congress and the President, its determination concerning the Special Mediation Panel proposals, and whether

any modification of these proposals is necessary to insure that they meet these criteria.

—If by the 91st day there is still no agreement, the Special Mediation Panel proposals, with any modifications which the Board finds necessary to insure conformity with these criteria, would take effect. They would continue in effect until the parties reach agreement or until such time, not to exceed two years from January 1, 1967, as the Board determines to be proper.

For the period after that, and until final agreement is reached or the time specified by the Board expires, the Board's determination would have the same effect—including the preclusion of resort to strike or lockout—as though it was arrived at by agreement of the parties under the Railway Labor Act.

A final agreement reached by the parties at any time would supersede the Board's determinations and would apply retroactively, if the parties so agree.

CONCLUSION

I urge the Congress to act on this proposal.

At the same time, I urge these railroads and unions to finish this job themselves. The only completely successful conclusion of this case will come not from an act of necessity by the Congress but from an act of responsibility by the parties.

It is within their power to close the gap in this case by heeding the call of their country to reason together. Their taking the last few steps to settlement will show the world the industrial statesmanship which is the pride of America.

All Americans believe in the right of man-

agement to healthy profits. All Americans believe in the right of workers to a just and bountiful wage.

All of us realize our progress in labor relations in this country. We recognize—and take pride in—the significant strides we have made in improving the condition of the working man, while at the same time improving the profits of the employer.

We have met many of the problems of poverty, of substandard working conditions, of depression and business failure. But each step forward has brought us new problems—problems of prosperity, of technological progress, of sharing the affluence that is our blessing.

All Americans recognize that there is a management interest and a labor interest. But there comes a time when the interest of management and the interest of labor must be the public interest—a time when people must be fed, when soldiers must be supplied, when water must be kept potable, and when

factories must not be allowed to close down for lack of materials.

I believe the action I propose to be in the public interest and in the interest of management and labor. It represents the slightest possible intrusion upon the process of collective bargaining. Indeed, in the long run I believe it will preserve the collective bargaining process in the railroad industry.

This proposed Joint Resolution will not solve all the difficulties prosperity brings to labor relations. But we must take this action now, as we continue and renew our search for a just and general solution to emergency strike or lockout problems in our country.

I urge the Congress to act promptly on this Joint Resolution.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

The White House

May 4, 1967

NOTE: A joint resolution providing for settlement of the dispute was approved by the President on July 17, 1967 (see Item 311). See also Items 170, 172, 174, 188, 194, 310, 386.

208 Special Message to the Congress Transmitting Reports on Incentive Awards to Military Personnel. May 4, 1967

To the Congress of the United States:

I am pleased to transmit the reports of the Secretary of Defense and the Secretary of Transportation on cash awards made during Fiscal Year 1966 to members of the Armed Forces for suggestions, inventions, and scientific achievements.

This Government continually strives to increase the efficiency and economy of its operations. The Cash Awards Incentive Program is a vital part of that effort. By rewarding ideas and accomplishments which help to lower costs and improve effectiveness, we improve the operations of Government and encourage the search for new solutions and better methods of operation.

Incentive awards have been available to civilian employees of the Government for many years. In 1965, the Congress extended these benefits to our men and women in uniform.

The reports I am transmitting today clearly confirm the value of the contributions which members of our Armed Forces are making toward the goals of economy and efficiency:

- More than 141,000 suggestions were submitted during fiscal year 1966.
- Some 25,700 of these suggestions were adopted and cash awards totalling about \$378,000 were made.
- The saving to the Government and the

American taxpayer resulting from these ideas, in the first year of the program, was more than \$33 million.

—Many intangible benefits not directly measurable in dollars, such as improved safety in operations, have resulted from the suggestions.

Many individual ideas produced sizable benefits. An Air Force sergeant, for example, eliminated the need for a large procurement of new gyroscopes by suggesting an inexpensive modification of gyroscopes already on hand. This saved \$275,400. In the Coast Guard an enlisted man proposed a modification of helicopter test equipment, making it unnecessary to purchase new test equipment which would have cost an estimated \$72,000.

Equally important, however, is the fact that the \$33 million saving to American taxpayers resulted from the efforts of many thousands of individual servicemen and women. In this fact lies the real importance

of this program. For, if we are to have true economy and efficiency, it must be the business, not just of a few, but of all the men and women serving in government.

These reports provide further evidence of the great service being rendered to the American people by the members of our Armed Forces. They man our defenses with unsurpassed skill and courage. They also, as these reports document, bring new economy and efficiency to the operations of their government.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

The White House

May 4, 1967

NOTE: The report from Deputy Secretary of Defense Cyrus R. Vance, dated April 17, 1967, is entitled "Report of the Secretary of Defense on Cash Awards Made Pursuant to 10 U.S.C. 1124" (3 pp., processed). The report from Secretary of Transportation Alan S. Boyd, dated April 27, 1967, is entitled "Summary of Coast Guard Military Incentive Awards Program for FY 1966" (25 pp., processed).

209 Statement by the President on the "Share Your Summer" Program for Disadvantaged Children. *May 5, 1967*

SUMMER should be a time of joy for children. But for many city children it is a time of frustration, discomfort, and boredom. For them, the only available playground is a tenement stoop. Their only relief from the heat is obtained from an open hydrant, or on a crowded fire escape.

More fortunate Americans can give these children a chance to enjoy the blessings of summer. By participating in the "Share Your Summer" campaign, they can enrich their own lives, as well as others.

NOTE: The statement was made public as part of a

White House release which announced that the President had called upon all Americans to take part in a campaign to help disadvantaged children enjoy the summer months away from city streets. To improve upon a program which provided summer activities for over 4 million youngsters in 1966, he urged families to share their summers by donating funds for camp scholarships, playgrounds, swimming pools, and a variety of recreational programs, and, wherever possible, by sharing their vacation homes with needy children.

The release further noted that the "Share Your Summer" program was first described by the President in a message to Congress on February 8, 1967, recommending a 12-point program for America's children and youth (see Item 39).

The statement was released at San Antonio, Texas.

210 Remarks in Austin, Texas, at the Unveiling of a Bust of Former Mayor Tom Miller. May 6, 1967

Mayor and Mrs. Palmer, Judge and Mrs. Thornberry, Dr. and Mrs. Barclay, members of the Tom Miller family, and friends of Tom Miller in Austin:

I am so glad that you selected today as the occasion to unveil this bust of this good and great man.

The first half of my life I did not know Tom Miller, although he knew my family and the people from my area, because the first place that they visited when they came to Austin in the old days in the covered wagons was Tom Miller's Produce House. That is where they brought their goods to exchange for the money with which they would buy their provisions for the rest of the year.

Tom Miller was a big man with a big sense of humor. I know of no better way to illustrate it than a comment he made to me one time when I was trying to see that Austin did at least a little of its part in connection with the joint operation between the city and the Federal Government.

In his impatience, he said, "That's the trouble with you hill country people. You spend more time selling your product than you do raising it."

He was commenting on my ability to try to trade with him. I never really made a good trade—speaking from my standpoint—with Tom Miller. The trades were always shaded on behalf of the city.

One of the things that endeared me to this man was not just his big heart and his big mind and his big body, but his understanding of human beings and his fellow man and his thoughtfulness in connection with them.

I guess that he did more to make my mother happy in the years that she spent

here than any other person. He never had even a businessman's luncheon except that he would invite my mother. He wouldn't send her a form letter; he would take the tickets out himself. He would tell her he had arranged for them at a certain place. He would see that somebody met her when she got there and that she was taken care of during the meeting.

The courtesy, respect, and thoughtfulness that he showed for my mother and my wife always gave him a great advantage with me.

When I was in New Guinea during the war, Mayor Miller and Mrs. Johnson were trying to bring Bergstrom¹ into existence. I heard him for the next 15 or 20 years talk about how much better a Congressman Mrs. Johnson was than the Congressman who preceded her!

Tom Miller was a lover of all of the citizens of this town—the little babies and the older citizens.

I remember what he did in the field of health. He caught me down in Virginia on one of my weekends of rest and urged me to go back to Washington immediately to send the Public Health polio experts to Austin, when Austin was threatened with a polio epidemic.

He spent hours and days on the improvement of our hospitals, whether it was Brackenridge, or Seton, or St. David's, or others. He was a man who was constantly interested in our schools.

I remember back in the PWA days—in the thirties—how he was pleading constantly for hundreds and hundreds of thousands of dollars for our grade schools and for our high schools.

He was one of the first men who talked

¹ Bergstrom Air Force Base, Austin, Texas.

to me, along with Beauford Jester, about the main building at the University of Texas, and all the other buildings that followed there, and then about the University taking over all the buildings that the Federal Government owned—if there was ever a surplus one—from the magnesium plants on. He loved the University, and he worked to make it a leading university in the Nation.

So health and education were not just his hobbies. They were his devoted concerns. He was a great believer in conservation.

This lake in front of us is a tribute to him. All the lakes up the river are a tribute to his sacrifice. I remember the days and nights that we spent in Washington building the Austin Dam. I don't think it would have been built except for Tom Miller, because there were many close questions involving it.

So in health, education, and conservation, he was a leader.

I came here one time and we talked about improving our housing for poor people. If Austin ever had a friend of the poor, it was Tom Miller. He was rich, he worked with the rich, he traded with the rich, he associated with the rich—but he spent all day long working for the poor, every day and until late at night.

Many times we have ridden down East Austin at midnight. He would tell me some of his plans, some of his programs, and some of his dreams.

He was the champion of the Negro's rights in this city when no other man would really take the leadership and speak up for them. I remember his bringing them into the Houston convention in 1928 and insisting that they be accorded privileges. I was a student at San Marcos at that time.

I remember his insistence that we build some public housing for the Negroes and for the Latin Americans—a large project over here. He had me come down from

Washington. And we recruited enough opposition in 24 hours to fill the district courtroom here.

We passed the resolution through the city council and I started back to Washington. I got to Texarkana. They stopped the train there and somebody came in and said, "The Mayor is calling you with an emergency."

He said, "They have reversed me, three to two. Turn around and come back." So I got on the next train and came back.

We advertised for anybody that was opposed to the public housing to come to the district courtroom. I asked Ray Lee, then postmaster, to come up there and point out to me who these people were.

Well, when we got there, we had a crowd about three times bigger than we have here this afternoon. It looked like everybody in town had turned out, and we listened to protests all evening long.

About 10:30 or 11 o'clock, the Mayor said, "Now is the time to explain this thing very briefly. I am going to introduce you." Then said, "Mr. Perry is sitting over here on the right and Mr. Eilers is on the left. That will wind it up."

I said, "What is going to happen?" He said, "They are going to make the necessary motion." He said, "They have all gotten it off their chests. We will go right back where we were."

After all the protests had been heard, Mr. Eilers got up and said, "We are going to build this project for all of our people. I am going to move that we proceed with it."

Mr. Edgar Perry followed him and seconded the motion. The Mayor put the motion, and in rather typical Sam Rayburn style said: "All the ayes say aye, those that favor it. And all those oppose it, no." We never got to the noes. The ayes had it and the public housing projects were built here.

So in the fields of conservation and hous-

ing, in the fields of education and health, in the fields of all that concerned his people—this man gave all that he had.

Someone said that they didn't know which was bigger, the WPA grants that came into Austin or Tom Miller's telephone bills to Washington.

There were many, many days when he spent more than an hour talking to Washington. And then we spent many hours trying to carry out his requests.

Some of them were carried out—as you will see as you drive about this town.

It is a great pleasure for Mrs. Johnson and

Luci and me to be here with his friends today to pay our tribute to his memory and to thank all you good people who were so loyal to him through the years, and who are so loyal to his memory.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:21 p.m. at the Municipal Auditorium in Austin, Texas. In his opening words he referred to Lester Palmer, Mayor of Austin, and Mrs. Palmer, Judge Homer Thornberry of the Fifth Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals, and Mrs. Thornberry, and Reverend Dr. John Barclay, pastor of the Central Christian Church of Austin, and Mrs. Barclay. Later he referred to Beauford H. Jester, Governor of Texas 1947–1949, and to Edgar H. Perry and Col. A. J. Eilers, both of Austin.

211 Remarks at a Reception for Participants in the Conference on Women in the War on Poverty. May 8, 1967

Mr. Shriver, Mrs. Humphrey, Members of Congress, ladies and gentlemen:

Those of you who have been listening to speeches all day, I know you would not wish me to detain you long.

But I do want to share a few thoughts with you about the struggle that we have been waging with increasing intensity against poverty in this land that we all love.

Long before there was an official Federal “war on poverty”—long before the New Deal, the Fair Deal, and the New Frontier—the women's groups were fighting poverty in the neighborhoods and in the legislative halls. Many of the early victories in the struggle against poverty were won because the women cared enough to work, to plan, and to make their influence felt. The battles for compulsory education, the battles against child labor, are two that come most readily to my mind that the women carried on and the women won.

Now you have organized a new program, using new methods and new resources. But this program—like all of those that have

gone before—will succeed only if you make the same commitment that women have made over the generations past. That commitment is

—to teach,

—to heal,

—to awaken the conscience of this great Nation.

So I would like to speak realistically this afternoon about the job that remains to be done—by all of us.

We have heard a great deal of contrary talk about poverty during the past few weeks.

Some people say we are spending too much, or we are wasting too much, on a losing battle to help poor Americans.

Others say that we are spending too little, that we backed away from our commitment to this war because of our commitment to the other war—in Vietnam.

Both views are earnestly held. But both, unfortunately, I believe, are wide of the mark.

To those who believe that we are backing

off, I say, no—we are not backing off. We are staying for the long pull.

Let the figures speak to you—not because they can tell the whole story, but because they represent a conscious and deliberate commitment of the American people over the past 6 years.

The figures show that in this fiscal year, the amount of Federal funds going to help the poor in America—through all of our social programs—is a little over \$22 billion.

If Congress passes the 1968 budget that has been recommended that it is now considering, this \$22 billion will be increased to \$25 billion 600 million, or plus \$3 billion 600 million.

That is 2½ times as much as this Government was spending in 1960.

So it is clear to me, at least that we are not backing off from our commitment to fight poverty. Nor will we—so long as I have anything to say about it. We are really just beginning.

To those of you who believe we are spending too much, I want to address a very special word:

You—and I—are both against crime in the streets.

We are against violence and delinquency.

We are against the dulling effects of dependence on welfare that continues from generation to generation.

We want our fellow men to be productive. We want them to be responsible citizens—not dropouts from our society.

I would like to suggest that we cannot logically oppose the effects of poverty and the efforts to relieve them. We cannot abhor the disease and then fight the cure—not if we want this to be a healthy Nation. And poverty, I believe, is curable. I have seen it cured.

More than 30 years ago in my home State of Texas, when I was only 27 years old, I

served as the Administrator for the National Youth Administration. That program was started by a great President with vision, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt. It was in many ways similar to the program that we have today in the Job Corps, in the Neighborhood Youth Corps, and Upward Bound.

It was a depression version of the war on poverty, and it was quite a success. In all, we had then some 33,000 young Texans involved in the NYA program. Some learned trades. Some were provided part-time jobs so they could stay in school. Many got full-time jobs.

You who are here this afternoon who are not familiar with those days may not know it, but the first beautification expert in the Johnson family was me—not Lady Bird. The NYA youth in Texas, under a great Governor, Jimmy Allred, built more than 100 roadside parks that are still in existence today and are the pride of our State. They worked on hundreds of other projects that helped that State, but most of all helped themselves.

So don't think the NYA and the other programs didn't have their critics—just as the war on poverty has its today. But for all the criticisms, most of the programs went on—and more importantly, they helped millions of Americans to survive, and ultimately to prosper.

I was on a Job Corps platform down in my State not long ago. I was speaking. As I looked down the list I saw a Governor that had been on NYA. I saw a Congressman that had been on NYA. I saw a chairman of the State Board of Regents who had been on NYA. So that is what happens. I see a Congressman today who was in the NYA over here. I am not going to look much more. It would take too much time from my speech.

But today, when I go through that State,

I meet the people who were helped by NYA more than 30 years ago. Most of them are now in their late forties or fifties. Most are responsible and productive citizens. They are doctors, businessmen, teachers, and skilled craftsmen. And it will be hard for their children to understand what poverty is like. That is one of the information gaps of our time; many of our middle-class Americans cannot grasp the elementary facts of life for the poor people of this country.

—Many of us wake up in the morning to gentle music of a clock radio. A poor person in America may wake up because there is no heat or because a rat is running across his bed.

That is no exaggeration. In one poor neighborhood 40 percent of the 4-year-old children identified a picture of a teddy bear as the only animal they knew—a rat.

—Middle-class Americans may complain about how hard it is to arrange a house call from a doctor. But a poor person in America may go without a doctor altogether—because there are few doctors' offices located in our slums. The poor in America do not know what the phrase "family doctor" really means. They take their medicine—when they can—usually from the emergency room of a public hospital. And they do not see the same doctor twice.

One doctor summed up the relation between illness and poverty very clearly. He said, "The poor get sicker. The sick get poorer."

—Middle-class Americans may settle most of their legal problems with ease. But when a poor person reports a violation of the housing code, he and his family may be evicted by the landlord. He cannot afford a lawyer to fight the eviction.

Poverty means all of these things—not one by one, but all at once. Each compounds the other.

Poverty wears different masks in different places. We think of it as a city disease. But almost half of American poverty is found in our rural areas. We sometimes may think of it as a Negro affliction, but seven in ten poor people are white. Poverty afflicts the old man and it affects the young child. Poverty is found on an Indian reservation, in the hollows of West Virginia, in the migrant camps of Oregon, and here, in Washington, D.C., as well as throughout my State.

These dimensions of poverty are not new. What is new is the all-out American effort to break their grip on millions of our fellow citizens.

I believe under the very able, imaginative, and inspiring direction of Sargent Shriver we are making great progress.

The tide of progress is clear. Let me share with you a letter from a mother in Peoria, Illinois: "You literally saved my boy's life. Before he entered the Job Corps, he used to say that the only way he could ever have anything was to steal it. He could have ended up in prison—or worse. Now he has a job at the Caterpillar Tractor Company and makes \$2.96 an hour, and he has a chance to advance as he becomes more experienced."

The only thing the Government gave this young man was the chance—the chance to help himself. If that is a giveaway program then I am for it. I am for more of them.

The Job Corps will not eliminate poverty—or the effects of poverty—in the United States. Neither will the Neighborhood Youth Corps, nor a hundred retraining programs. Neither will the massive education programs that are now pumping over a billion dollars a year into education for the disadvantaged children; nor will the medical centers or the legal centers, the

VISTA program or Head Start. Urban renewal alone will not eliminate poverty, nor will the new model cities program. The Teacher Corps will not eliminate poverty, nor will an increase in social security.

I wish I could say that all of these programs together—all \$25 billion worth—would eliminate poverty and its effects in America during this decade.

But they won't.

For the war on poverty is not fought on any single, simple battlefield, and it will not be won in a generation. There are too many enemies: lack of jobs, bad housing, poor schools, lack of skills, discrimination—and each aspect of poverty relates to, and intensifies, the others. That is the vicious circle that you must break.

We have spent well over \$100 billion in the past 6 years in that effort. Those dollars have not brought us total victory. But they have brought partial victory. They have helped many millions of Americans take their first steps toward full and meaningful participation in this society.

We can see that as we look out at the faces of young people from the Job Corps—many of them now wearing the uniform of their country. We can see it in the Head Start classroom—although we may not be able to measure its results for a generation.

We can see it as fully 20 percent of the young people from households in poverty are now going on to college, and break forever their bondage to the vicious circle. We can see it in the hollows of Appalachia, where a job is again becoming a common occurrence, instead of a rarity.

Perhaps most importantly, we can see progress in the fact that bitterness is being rejected as the solution to poverty in the United States. The seeds of aspirations—of the will to succeed—have been planted in the slums and the ghettos and the hollows of America.

As they grow, there grows with them a new and restless spirit that seeks a constructive change and seeks a voice and participation in our society. That spirit, I believe, is going to build for us a better America. Bitterness and strife and separatism will not and cannot build anything; those things just destroy. And that fact, I believe, is understood among all but a very small minority today.

We may never live to see an America without poverty.

But we may see an America:

- where a lifetime of poverty is not the inevitable fate of a child born into it;
- where there is a genuine opportunity for every child and young person to live in decency and security;
- where the means of liberation and the understanding of how to use them are available to all of us.

If we reach that America it will be because we did not grow tired. It will be because we gave Americans a chance to help themselves.

That is in the finest and oldest American tradition: the same tradition that established the land grant colleges and public education, and the GI bill of rights; the same tradition that passed the Homestead act; the same tradition that established the NYA more than 30 years ago.

It is also the tradition out of which you come.

I was looking at some figures as I flew up on the plane today. I looked back a little over 3 years ago when I considered my first budget.

Then we were spending a little over 4 billion a year on educating our people. This year, we have more than 12 billion in our budget for education.

Three years ago we were spending about 4 billion a year on our health programs for all of our people. This year we are spending

more than 12 billion.

So on health and education we are spending about \$24 billion 800 million on those two subjects.

Now, can you think of a better place in the world to spend your money than to invest it in the bodies and the minds of our children?

You have given hope to so many of us. We think better lives are going to be the result.

We thank you for coming here to this meeting. We enlist your approval. We ask for your assistance. We urge your support.

May you never grow weary of the blessed work that you do. In the years to come, you

can look back on this meeting here in Washington today and say, "I was one. We came, we saw, and we conquered."

At least we are going to try.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:58 p.m. in the East Room at the White House. In his opening words he referred to R. Sargent Shriver, Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, and Mrs. Hubert H. Humphrey. Later he referred to Mrs. Lyndon B. (Lady Bird) Johnson and James V. Allred, former U.S. District Judge for the Southern District of Texas and Governor of Texas 1935-1939.

The conference was composed of 460 organization heads and program chairmen of leading women's groups across the country who were interested in increasing volunteer participation by women in antipoverty programs.

212 Remarks of Welcome at the White House to Vice President Yen of the Republic of China. May 9, 1967

Mr. Vice President, Mrs. Yen, honored members of the Chinese Government, distinguished guests:

We welcome you today, Mr. Vice President, as a leader of a very gallant and resourceful nation.

We always value our exchanges with your Government. We welcome this new opportunity to benefit from your views on world affairs, especially on the developments in East Asia.

The example of the Republic of China encourages and inspires us all.

We all know how you have staunchly maintained your independence far out on the frontier of aggression. Less well known is how constantly and how vigorously your people have worked to achieve that economic level which alone can make longrun freedom a reality.

Once the economic outlook for Free China was very dim. But your people were determined to apply their wisdom and their skill,

and the United States was prepared to offer assistance.

Today an admiring world witnesses these results:

—Since 1952, your per capita gross national product has doubled.

—Since 1960, your exports have tripled.

—Today, you have one of the highest standards of living in all Asia.

History will surely note, Mr. Vice President, your impressive personal role in these achievements and your nation's role in helping the family of nations upward to new dignity and to new hope.

You have given vital substance to one of your oldest and wisest proverbs:

"Give a man a fish, and he will eat a meal. But teach him how to fish, and he will eat forever."

That philosophy, that wisdom, and that compassion have made the Republic of China a model for many lands. Your people have taught men of different cultures many

valuable lessons—particularly in those regions where there is yet no winner in the grim race between population growth and food supply.

They can look to Free China for evidence that this race can be won for humanity. In the past 10 years, your population growth rate has dropped from 3.5 percent to 2.7 percent, while your food production has increased by almost 6 percent.

Mr. Vice President, your successes have been many and have been great, and it has been our privilege to share some of them. But our sense of common achievement was greatest when, in 1965, I was able to tell the Congress that Free China no longer needed American economic assistance.

The Republic of China, strong itself, is now able to contribute to the development of other countries. Through your Project Vanguard, some 500 agricultural technicians are now assisting 23 nations in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Another 100 technicians are helping South Vietnam with its agricultural, electrical power, and medical problems. You are also doing your part in the Asian Development Bank, which promises so much for all the people of Asia.

Mrs. Johnson and I shall never forget the delightful visit we had to your country 6 years ago. We are delighted that you could come here and be with us today.

Your great philosopher said what is in our hearts when he asked, "Is it not delightful to have a friend come from a far place?"

So, Mr. Vice President and Mrs. Yen, we take great pride and pleasure in welcoming you to our land. We hope that your visit here will be one that you will enjoy and remember.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:40 a.m. on the South Lawn at the White House, where Vice President C. K. Yen was given a formal welcome with full military honors. In his opening words he referred to Vice President Yen, who also serves as

Prime Minister of the Republic of China, and Mrs. Yen. Vice President Yen responded as follows:

Mr. President, Mrs. Johnson:

First of all, allow me to express my appreciation for the honor that you, Mr. President, have done me, in inviting me to visit your great country. I again thank you for all the complimentary remarks you have made on me and also on my country, the Republic of China.

My wife and I are deeply grateful to you, Mr. President, and to Mrs. Johnson, and to all those who are here today.

I have brought with me the very warm greetings of President and Madam Chiang Kai-shek and of the people of the Republic of China to you, Mr. President, to Mrs. Johnson, and to all the people of the United States of America.

The people of my country still cherish with very endearing remembrances the visit which you, Mr. President and Mrs. Johnson, made to my country in 1961.

It was during the course of your visit that your country and my country reaffirmed their common determination to fight for and to extend the frontiers of freedom and democracy in Asia.

Ever since that time, while the dark forces of communism have been stemmed in some parts of Asia, it was this great country of the United States of America which has chosen to honor its commitments by responding very resolutely and very heroically against aggression and for the preservation of peace and freedom in my part of the world.

As an ally and a free nation, the Republic of China is proud to pledge its support to the noble cause which the United States is upholding.

The traditional ties of friendship between your country and mine have had a very long standing and have withheld many trying times and many trying events.

The present visit of mine to your country, I hope, will afford me the opportunity of learning from the wisdom of your thinking, Mr. President, and also of discussing with you many problems of common interest, with particular reference to those problems which are now existing in Asia.

I also am looking forward to the opportunity of meeting with many leaders in your administration, with Members of your Congress, and with citizens of your country in many walks of life.

I am sure this visit of mine will further cement the very strong ties which have already existed between our two countries and will also serve to enhance our mutual understanding and strengthen our friendship.

Again, Mr. President, I take this opportunity to thank you for your kindness and for the honor that you have bestowed upon me.

Thank you, Mr. President. Thank you very much.

213 Toasts of the President and Vice President Yen.

May 9, 1967

Your Excellency the Vice President of the Republic of China and Mrs. Yen, members of the Cabinet, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

There is an old American proverb that says, "An hour's intelligent conversation is worth a thousand memos."

This morning I have had the privilege of such a conversation with a wise and devoted friend of the United States, Vice President C. K. Yen of the Republic of China.

Mr. Vice President, we are delighted that you and Mrs. Yen could be with us, both for personal reasons and because your presence is symbolic of a long and cherished bond between our two peoples.

When China sought a leader for its first diplomatic mission to the West a hundred years ago, it chose Anson Burlingame, the first American Minister to reside in China's capital, as its trustee. Our relationship has grown more intimate, more meaningful, over the intervening century.

Our countries are joined by a treaty of mutual defense. But our alliance goes far deeper. It is an alliance that has been tested in times of war. It has been tempered by our struggle against forces that would have destroyed both of us.

We were loyal to that alliance then. We are loyal to it today.

We are firmly committed to the defense of Taiwan, and to upholding your rights as a member of the United Nations.

Mr. Vice President, we in America admire what you have done to bring economic prosperity to Taiwan. We are proud to have worked with you.

—Taiwan's land reform program is outstanding in Asia—a model for countries around the world.

—In the past 15 years you have doubled your per capita gross national product so that your people now enjoy one of the highest standards of living in all Asia.

But the Republic of China has gone far beyond any selfish concern with its own fortunes—you have helped other countries to help themselves.

As valiant soldiers in the war against hunger and want—the war on which the future of civilization depends—farmers and technicians from Taiwan have traveled to other countries, other continents, to offer help, knowledge, and technical ability to less fortunate peoples.

Mr. Vice President, I have witnessed some of these miracles with my own eyes. I hope that your visit here will further encourage your people—and will give us the opportunity to, in part, try to repay the warm hospitality which Mrs. Johnson and I enjoyed in our visit to your country 6 years ago.

Ladies and gentlemen, I should like to ask you to please join me in a toast to the President of the Republic of China, and to lasting friendship between the Chinese and the American peoples.

NOTE: The President proposed the toast at 2:35 p.m. during a luncheon in the State Dining Room at the White House. In his opening words he referred to Vice President C. K. Yen of the Republic of China and Mrs. Yen. As printed this item follows the text released by the White House Press Office.

Vice President Yen responded as follows:

Mr. President and Mrs. Johnson, Your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen:

My wife and I feel overwhelmed by the kind comments that have been made by President Johnson. I think it is an honor which has been done not only to my wife and myself but also to my country as a whole.

The traditional friendly relations between the United States of America and my country have been

long-lasting and, as the President has already indicated, such friendship will go on and on forever and forever in the common cause of peace and of righteousness in this world.

When Mr. Burlingame came to my country about 100 years ago, both the United States and my country were already partners in the international scene. It might be interesting that at one time or another Americans have been representing my country on many occasions.

Subsequently many events happened in the world, and those events have testified to the unfailing friendship and strong ties between the two countries.

I think those ties have already undergone such trying events and such trying times that we are sure in the future these ties will be even stronger.

But we have to be conscious of the changing world as it is and as it will be. We know that probably in the future more challenges will be posed against the freedom-loving countries, especially the

United States of America and the Republic of China.

We know that only international cooperation can withstand all these challenges, but I believe the wisdom of the American people and the wisdom of President Johnson, together with all the conscientious efforts made on the part of my country, will combine to turn the tide of world events so that eventually righteousness, peace, freedom, democracy, and human dignity will win.

I have just been talking to Mrs. Johnson about the great antipoverty program that the President is now sponsoring. I consider this not only a program of the United States; I consider that as a program for the whole world in which the United States will play a leading role and, in that role, my country will very fervently join.

Ladies and gentlemen, may I ask you to join with me in a toast to the continued health of our host and hostess, the President of the United States and Mrs. Johnson.

214 Statement by the President Upon Authorizing an Agreement for a Worldwide Drug Reaction Monitoring System. May 9, 1967

A WORLDWIDE early warning system for drugs will be a vital health protection measure for people everywhere. Increasingly powerful and sophisticated drugs emerge from laboratories as boons to the struggle against man's bodily afflictions. In actual use, however, some drugs have had unexpected and tragic consequences before medical communities could become aware of unpredictable side effects. This worldwide early warning system is a big step forward in protecting all people from these unforeseen hazards. We are glad to make this grant to assist in its establishment.

NOTE: The statement was made public as part of a White House release which announced that the President had authorized an agreement with the

World Health Organization to establish an international system to monitor and report adverse drug reactions, and had delegated authority to Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare John W. Gardner to implement the project (see Item 215). The cost for the first year of operation was estimated to be \$180,000.

The release stated that computer and office facilities of the Food and Drug Administration in Washington, D.C., would be utilized to provide a worldwide monitoring center for the collection of information on reactions to drugs. Data on hazardous reactions could then be disseminated throughout the world.

The release further noted that interest in the development of an international reporting system was stimulated by the tragic births of thousands of deformed babies in Europe. The deformities were attributed to use of the sedative drug thalidomide by women during pregnancy (3 Weekly Comp. Pres. Docs., p. 724).

[215] May 9

Public Papers of the Presidents

215 Letter to the Secretary, HEW, Delegating Authority in Connection With the Worldwide Drug Reaction Monitoring System. *May 9, 1967*

Dear Mr. Secretary:

Pursuant to the authority vested in the President by section 5(f) of the International Health Research Act of 1960 (PL 86-610) and as President of the United States, I authorize you to perform the functions vested in the President under the provisions of sections 5 (b) and (c) of that Act, as may be required to provide assistance by the United States in the World Health Organization International System to Monitor and Report Adverse Reactions to Drugs.

These delegated functions will be administered by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare within the limits of foreign policy as prescribed by the Secretary of State.

I am pleased that the grant made possible by this delegation of authority will enable the World Health Organization to develop a worldwide early warning system for drugs, similar to the system now in development in the Food and Drug Administration. The World Health Organization's international drug reactions monitoring system will help prevent widespread tragedy of the sort which resulted from the use of thalidomide.

Sincerely,

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

[Honorable John W. Gardner, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C. 20201]

NOTE: See also Item 214.

216 Remarks at the Democratic Congressional Dinner.
May 9, 1967

Mr. Vice President and Mrs. Humphrey, Mr. Speaker and Mrs. McCormack, Senator Mansfield and Mrs. Mansfield, Senator Long, Senator Byrd and their ladies, Senator Muskie, Congressman Albert, Congressman Boggs, my dear friend—thanks for your introduction—Congressman Kirwan, Mr. Minow, Mayor Daley, Reverend Clergy, Chairmen Bailey and Price, my fellow Democrats:

I am glad to see so many unarmed Democrats in one meeting tonight.

There may even be a couple of Republicans here. I notice you are charging Republican prices.

But there couldn't be many more than a couple, because I see so many familiar Democratic faces—all of them members of our

quiet, orderly, completely unified Democratic Party.

As the Duke of Wellington once said, "If you can believe that, you can believe anything."

But if the description seems incredible—there's that word again—the pleasure of this evening is self-evident. We Democrats like to be together, and we like to fight. We always start by fighting each other. That gets us ready—it says here—to take on the other party.

Judging by the results over the past 35 years, I think that you will have to conclude that that is a pretty good system—though it can be a little strenuous at times.

I don't intend to get too serious in an after-dinner atmosphere. "Larry O'Brien's

Law" states that the more expensive the meal, the less expansive the speakers.

But I think it is vital—at a time when many are harping on the alleged disunity of our party—to reemphasize some of the things we have in common as Democrats.

We have been for half a century the guardians of the American dream.

It has been our proud task to take a set of aspirations and then, in a long, hard campaign, bring them home to reality.

There were those who talked about "industrial democracy"—but we Democrats passed the minimum wage amendments that gave, last year, increases to 31 million workers, brought more than 8 million others under the protection of that law for the first time, and will add another million this year.

There were those who talked about equality—but we Democrats passed the Civil Rights Act and the Voting Rights Act which gave legal substance to the ideal of brotherhood.

There were those who talked about medical care for the aged—but we Democrats passed Medicare and 23 more health measures in the 89th Congress, and now a generation of elderly Americans have been liberated from the threat of being pauperized by disease.

There were those who talked about education—but we Democrats passed the greatest series of educational measures in the history of this Republic—18 of them in the last 3 years.

These are the generalizations, but to you and to me, they are more, much more—for we have seen the impact of these changes on our individual Americans.

We have seen the great abstractions—education, health, and conservation—begin to come true. We have seen them translated into happier lives. That is what makes all

the late sessions, all the long, irritating hearings, and all the talks and the arguments worth the time that we spend. That is what justifies the life of a legislator—the life of an Executive—the life of a man who is proud to call himself a Democrat.

But our job has only just begun.

The 89th Congress put a great many far-reaching laws on the statute books. But they remain only documents—unless we provide the means to carry them out.

The 89th Congress wrote a great education program for the children who need education the most. But unless we turn back the wreckers who want to dismantle it this year, hundreds of thousands of those children will never be helped by that law.

The 89th Congress wrote a model cities program that can give urban America—small towns and great cities—the means to change blight into beauty. But, unless we give it the muscle of appropriations, it will remain only the skeleton of an idea that might have worked.

In health, in the war against poverty, in the campaign to make our country more beautiful, the 89th Congress worked wonders of legislation. It is up to this Congress to turn those legislative wonders into living works for all the people of this land.

There is creative work to be done by the 90th Congress, as well as laws to be written, laws that will

- give us stronger tools to control air pollution,
- make our streets safer, and our criminal justice system fairer and more effective,
- provide greater economic security for millions of older Americans,
- and strengthen our efforts to secure the rights of all Americans.

These proposals represent my notion of what is needed now—if we are to meet the needs of the people of America now. I wel-

come your ideas—I welcome your innovations and your responses to those needs. Many of the greatest achievements of the 89th Congress were not written at the western end of Pennsylvania Avenue. The same can and should be true of the 90th Congress.

I genuinely believe that our success next year as a party will depend on how wise we were in these 2 years—how true we were to the ideals of Jefferson and Jackson, of Roosevelt and Truman and John F. Kennedy.

That will demand of us, at home and abroad, the will—yes, the character—to persevere when the going gets tough.

It will take character to stand by programs that have only just begun to change people's lives for the better.

It will take character to stand for both individual rights and individual responsibility in the long city summers.

It will take character to stand for freedom against naked aggression, and when some say it is really none of our business to resist it.

We became an independent nation because enough of our people possessed that kind of character. We fought a war against American slavery and we fought another to destroy Nazi slavery, because Americans had that character. It built a nation once, and saved it later when depression threatened to tear down what that great American character had built.

I do not believe that affluence has dulled it, nor that long struggles have sapped it.

I believe there is enough of it left in this room tonight, and in the men and women that you represent, to take us proudly and bravely through whatever our country needs to face in the years that face us. And I believe it will win and retain the overwhelming mandate of all the good people of this Nation, if we will only serve by giving the greatest good to the greatest number.

My fellow Democrats, throughout our history you have been the party of the people. And in the year 1968, as we come around the turn, the party with leadership of men like Bailey and Daley and women like Price, we will come home for the victory that the people deserve.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:57 p.m. in the International Ballroom at the Washington-Hilton Hotel in Washington. In his opening words he referred to Vice President and Mrs. Hubert H. Humphrey, Representative John W. McCormack of Massachusetts, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Mrs. McCormack, Senator Mike Mansfield of Montana, Majority Leader of the Senate, and Mrs. Mansfield, Senator Russell B. Long of Louisiana, Majority Whip of the Senate, Senator Robert C. Byrd of West Virginia, Senator Edmund S. Muskie of Maine, Representative Carl Albert of Oklahoma, Majority Leader of the House of Representatives, Representative Hale Boggs of Louisiana, Majority Whip of the House of Representatives, Representative Michael J. Kirwan of Ohio, Newton N. Minow, former Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, Richard J. Daley, Mayor of Chicago, John M. Bailey, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, and Mrs. Margaret Price, vice chairman. Later the President referred to Lawrence F. O'Brien, Postmaster General.

217 Statement by the President on the Proposed International Center for Advanced Study in the Health Sciences. *May 10, 1967*

IN MY message to Congress in February on health and education, I announced my intention to seek funds to establish at the National Institutes of Health in Bethesda, Md.,

an International Center for Advanced Study in the Health Sciences.

Today I am submitting to Congress an amendment to the 1968 budget, requesting

\$500,000 to finance architectural studies and plans for the Center's facilities. The facility will cost an estimated \$4 to \$5 million.

The basic objective of the Center will be to advance medical research and knowledge worldwide. When fully operative, the Center will enable 30 distinguished scholars at a time to spend periods of 1 to 2 years of work at the Institutes concentrating on important areas of progress in health.

In addition to a continuing program of international conferences and seminars, two special fellowship programs would operate through the Center: (1) professorships supporting the international exchange of outstanding teachers and health scientists; (2) grants supporting the training of promising

foreign scientists in U.S. laboratories, health agencies, and universities.

By the 1970's, the full program of the Center, including scholarships, stipends, and travel awards, will cost an estimated \$12 million annually—including \$1.2 million now spent each year for exchange programs of the Institutes.

NOTE: On the same day the President sent a letter to the Speaker of the House of Representatives requesting appropriations for an international center for health sciences (3 Weekly Comp. Pres. Docs., p. 726). The Departments of Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare Appropriation Act, 1968, providing funds for the John E. Fogarty International Center for Advanced Study in the Health Sciences, was approved by the President on November 8, 1967 (Public Law 90-132; 81 Stat. 386).

For the President's message to Congress on education and health in America, see Item 77.

218 Statement by the President Upon Signing Bill Authorizing Increased Appropriations for the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. *May 10, 1967*

I HAVE today signed S. 303, amending the law authorizing funds for the government of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

Present law authorizes the appropriation of \$17,500,000 annually. S. 303 increases that authorization, for fiscal 1967, to \$25,000,000. For fiscal 1968 and 1969, it raises the figure to \$35,000,000—double today's amount.

The United States has an obligation, under the terms of our Trusteeship Agreement with the United Nations, to promote the educational, social, political, and economic development of the Trust Territory—where 90,000 people inhabit 2,000 islands scattered over more than three million square miles of the Western Pacific.

We have made an appreciable start toward meeting that obligation—though a great deal remains to be done to raise living standards in the islands.

From my visit to American Samoa in October of last year, and from conversations with leaders of the Trust Territory in Guam last March, I know of the urgency that attends this responsibility. I am happy to sign into law a measure that recognizes that urgency and allows us to respond to it meaningfully.

I have already asked that the Congress appropriate additional funds, both this year and next, so that among other projects we can build schools, hospitals, roads, airfields, and communication facilities, hire teachers and doctors and nurses, and provide for the economic development of the area. We are working to help the people of the islands become self-reliant, and ultimately joined in a full relationship with other nations bordering the Pacific.

Another beneficial feature of the bill I am

signing today is the recognition it gives to the presence of our Peace Corps volunteers in this area. They are serving at the request of the people of the Trust Territory in education, health, public works and community

development work. They represent a vital expression of America's interest in the islands.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

NOTE: As enacted, S. 303 is Public Law 90-16 (81 Stat. 15).

219 Joint Statement Following Discussions With Vice President Yen of the Republic of China. May 10, 1967

HIS EXCELLENCY Yen Chia-kan, Vice President and Prime Minister of the Republic of China, has concluded a two-day visit to Washington at the invitation of President Johnson. Vice President Yen met with President Johnson to discuss matters of common concern on May 9. Also present were Ambassador Chow Shu-kai, Minister of Economic Affairs Li Kwoh-ting, Ambassador to the United Nations Liu Chieh, Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs Samson C. Shen, Secretary of State Dean Rusk, Ambassador to China Walter P. McCaughy, and Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs William P. Bundy. Director of the Information Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs Lai Chia-chiu was present as recorder for the Chinese side.

The President welcomed the opportunity to reaffirm to the Vice President the solemn commitment of the United States as provided for in the Mutual Defense Treaty of 1954. Vice President Yen noted that the Chinese Communists pose a continuing threat, and the President reassured the Vice President that the United States intends to continue to furnish military aid to the Republic of China in accordance with the provisions of the Military Assistance Agreement of 1951.

The President and Vice President reviewed the international situation, with particular reference to the current situation in East Asia. They exchanged information and

views on conditions on the Chinese mainland resulting from the Cultural Revolution. They agreed that the struggle for power is far from over and that developments on the Chinese mainland are closely related to the peace and security of Asia. They further agreed to consult on future developments on the Chinese mainland.

The President and the Vice President reviewed the Free World effort to halt Communist aggression against the Republic of Vietnam. President Johnson and Vice President Yen agreed that unless the aggression is stopped, peace and security cannot prevail in Asia and the Pacific region. The President expressed his gratification with the Republic of China's contributions to the development of Vietnam's economy, noting especially the work of Chinese technicians in assisting the Republic of Vietnam to increase her food production. The Vice President expressed the strong support of the Republic of China for the United States policy in Vietnam and the hope that the Republic of China would find it possible further to strengthen her economic and technical cooperation with the Republic of Vietnam.

It was agreed that periodic consultations between the United States and the Republic of China on problems of common concern in East Asia had been fruitful and should be continued.

The President and the Vice President dis-

cussed the question of Chinese representation in the United Nations. They noted the favorable outcome of the 21st General Assembly when efforts to expel the Republic of China from the United Nations and seat the Chinese Communists were decisively defeated. The President reaffirmed that the United States firmly supports the Republic of China's seat in the United Nations. The President and the Vice President agreed that their Governments would continue to consult closely on the best means for achieving their common objectives in the United Nations.

The President expressed admiration for the continuing progress made by the Republic of China in developing Taiwan's economy since the conclusion of the U.S. economic aid program in 1965. He also noted the sharp contrast between economic conditions in Taiwan and on the Chinese mainland.

The President congratulated Vice President Yen on the remarkable success of the Republic of China's technical cooperation programs in friendly countries, particularly in the field of agriculture, and noted that the Republic of China is making a most significant contribution to the collective War on Hunger.

In the course of their conversation President Johnson and Vice President Yen also

reviewed programs intended to develop cooperation among Asian nations. The President and Vice President noted the potentialities of the Asian and Pacific Council and the Asian Development Bank to promote peace and prosperity in Asia and the Pacific region.

Vice President Yen spoke of the need to strengthen science and technology in the Republic of China as a vital force in national and regional development. He welcomed the President's offer to have his Science Adviser, Dr. Hornig, lead a team of experts to Taiwan to survey scientific and technological assets and needs in the Republic of China. Dr. Hornig will also advise on ways by which more career opportunities might be provided in Taiwan for Chinese scientists now teaching and working outside China.

President Johnson and Vice President Yen reaffirmed the strong ties between the United States and the Republic of China founded on the historic friendship between the Chinese and American peoples.

NOTE: On September 14, 1967, Dr. Donald F. Hornig, Director of the Office of Science and Technology, left for Taiwan as head of a six-man team of experts who were to survey the scientific and technological assets and needs of the Republic of China. For a statement by the President upon the mission's return, see Item 416.

220 Message to the Congress Transmitting 15th Semiannual Report of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

May 11, 1967

To the Congress of the United States:

I am pleased to submit to the Congress this report of continued progress in the Nation's space program.

The report covers the months January to June, 1966. Since then, the risk to human life and the formidable technical difficulties

that must accompany the exploration of space were vividly brought home to every American by the tragic fire which cost the lives of three of our brave astronauts.

The way to the stars was never thought to be easy. But the goal we seek promises such great benefits to mankind that we must press

on. We must surmount difficulty and lessen danger so we can continue in the steady pursuit of this historic mission.

The achievements reported here reflect not only our progress in space flight, but also new steps taken toward the real objective of all our efforts in space—the application of new knowledge to bettering the lives of all people. Already, we see dramatic examples of success in the satellites which have improved our weather forecasts and navigation, and which are extending radio and television communication to the farthestmost regions of the earth.

We are determined that space be kept free from the weapons of war. Just recently the Senate ratified the Treaty on Outer Space. This historic action dramatizes our continuing efforts to cooperate with other nations in conducting experiments, sharing data, and developing controls to assure that the space efforts of every nation will serve the cause, not of war, but of peace and prosperity for all mankind. The Senate's action, taken without a dissenting vote, enables me to

reaffirm as President what I said as a Senator to the United Nations in 1958:

"On the goal of dedicating outer space to peaceful purposes for the benefit of all mankind, there are no differences within our government, between our parties or among our people."

The United States space program, as reflected in this report, continues to exemplify our Nation's conviction that the road to peace, progress, and abundance is through continued cooperation among all nations.

I commend this report to your attention.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

The White House

May 11, 1967

NOTE: The report is entitled "Fifteenth Semiannual Report to Congress, January 1–June 30, 1966" (Government Printing Office, 243 pp.).

The outer space treaty was favorably considered by the Senate on April 25, 1967, and after ratification entered into force on October 10, 1967. The text is printed in the Treaties and Other International Acts Series (TIAS 6347).

For the President's statement of January 27, 1967, on the death of the three astronauts, see Item 19.

See also Items 38, 425.

221 Remarks to the Lawyers Conference on Crime Control.

May 13, 1967

Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Solicitor General, Mr. Marden, distinguished officials, ladies and gentlemen:

I am sure that before this speech is over a good many of you will wish it had been no longer than the introduction.

I have spent the first 5 days of this week surrounded by lawyers—and here I am voluntarily agreeing to make it 6.

Eight members of my Cabinet were trained as lawyers—notice I said trained. Two others—who are not lawyers themselves—have lawyers acting for them as under secretaries. So you have just about

succeeded already in making an LL.B. necessary to work for LBJ.

But the problem of any President requires skills that good lawyers generally have in abundance; that is:

- the ability to analyze a problem objectively,
- the ability to solve it fairly and expeditiously.

Yet for all their skills, lawyers in Government have not escaped criticism either. Some people say that the lawyer is trained to react to only problems—not to create the new instruments for progress that our people

need. Some feel the lawyer is temperamentally unable to say how something can be accomplished—that he too frequently is known to say, “You just can’t get there from here.”

My experience with lawyers is otherwise. In dealing with civil rights problems, with transportation, with poverty, and with education, their legal insight and their foresight have been invaluable to me as President. Lawyers are today supplying a very important creative force to every sector of this Nation’s policy. I will be glad to testify to that in open court.

Public safety is an area of particular concern to your profession.

Past and current presidents of the ABA have had a major part in improving the fairness of our courts and our correctional systems. Many among you contributed to bringing three really landmark programs into being during my first 3 years in the Presidency:

- First was the Criminal Justice Act providing lawyers to poor defendants in Federal courts, and giving them the right to competent, concerned counsel.
- Second, the legal services program, in the Office of Economic Opportunity. Through local bars you have provided the manpower and initiative for more than 200 community legal service agencies. They have helped the neediest among our people cope with wrongs that they just had to tolerate before.
- Finally, the Bail Reform Act, a reform that exists today because of the partnership of understanding between the private bar and the Federal Government.

Now you are considering another urgent proposal. I do want you to consider it and consider doing something about it—putting your shoulder to the wheel and helping us while we have time, helping us before it is

too late: the Safe Streets and Crime Control Act, that I have sent forward to Congress earlier this year.

We tried to design a flexible program that leaves ultimate responsibility where it belongs—in the local governments—but that also provides the means and the impulse for reform. It provides an incentive for greater efficiency and for greater fairness: in the police force, in the courtroom, in the jail, and in the reformatory.

In great part this program is based on the conclusions of the National Crime Commission—for which I am deeply in your debt because several of your most distinguished members took part in the deliberations of that Commission. I hope you will help to explain the need for it and the reasons behind it, in your own communities when you return.

I hope, too, that you will work to improve the criminal codes in your State—to make them more responsive to the real needs of criminal justice.

Reducing crime is a matter of great urgency for the people of this Nation, and for your State, your city, your community, and in your own block. We must find better ways to secure their safety—to prevent crime, as well as to punish it—to preserve public order without denying private rights.

Finding those ways will require cool heads and understanding hearts. For 200 years that description has fitted the best American lawyers. I believe it still does—I know it still does. I believe that the country will benefit greatly from the work you have done here.

I am very, very proud of my country and the contribution that the members of the bar have made to it during the period I have tried to lead it.

I was reading last night about some of the concerns the American people have. There are many concerns. There are many frustra-

tions. There are many worries that we carry with us. Some have more than others.

But uppermost in everyone's mind is how we can have peace in the world. We Americans are not the only ones to make that decision. There are other people who participate in it, too. We are just a small group of 200 million out of 3 billion.

We cannot control the other fellow's conduct as we have found so many times in our history. But we are trying to lead and by precept and example to do what we can to hasten the day when there will be peace throughout the world.

If any of you lawyers or any of you thinkers or any of you with logical brains can contribute to it, we will welcome it. We need any suggestion and any help that you can give.

Next to peace, I guess the thing that is troubling our people more than anything else now is crime. I didn't originate it. I am not responsible for it. I didn't start it.

There is not a great deal I can do about it. But I am doing everything I know to do. And I want to do more.

If you have any ideas where the President can, with propriety, act where he hasn't, I welcome those suggestions.

I am very proud that some of the best legal minds in this Nation spent a lot of their vacation time voluntarily working for their country—some of them in the rice paddies of Vietnam, some of them in the slums of our cities, and some of them in the National Capital.

You haven't been slackers. You haven't dodged your President's requests. And you have always responded. I don't have a great deal of difficulty finding men to become Federal judges or appellate judges.

I suppose in due time I can even find one for the Supreme Court.

It is not because there is more money in those hills, but it is because the great pride in your profession—the great opportunity you have to serve it and to help bring justice to the world.

You don't have to wait until you are tapped for a lifetime job at a low salary that has overwork. You can take all of that money you are making now—with good income—and serve your country, too:

- serve it by helping us find a way to peace in the world,
- serve it by leading your community,
- serve it by giving people the judgment, the balance, and the freedom from hysteria that they do need in times like this, and
- serve it by setting an example—providing the leadership and initiative to help us solve this problem which has crept up on us and which is so monopolizing our attention these days—the problem of crime.

There is no one who can do more about those things than the lawyers of this Nation. There is no association which, I believe, has become or is becoming more socially conscious and more understanding of their obligations than the members of the bar.

That is why I came over here today on a rather busy day—to tell you that your President is proud of you and that your Nation is better because of you.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:40 p.m. in the Colonial Room at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington. In his opening words he referred to Attorney General Ramsey Clark, Solicitor General Thurgood Marshall, and Orison Marden, president of the American Bar Association.

222 Remarks in Windsor Locks, Connecticut, at the New England Governors Conference. *May 15, 1967*

I CAN think of no more fitting place to talk about the problems and opportunities of self-government than New England.

This is where it all began in America—the idea that free men should order their own affairs, that government should be their servant, not their master.

From the Massachusetts Bay Colony—from the constitutional debates of 1787 to this day—New Englanders have wrestled with questions of liberty and order, of local autonomy and national needs.

Those questions were just as meaningful for our great-grandfathers as they are for us today. Finding a way to preserve hometown democracy and still answer the concerns of an expanding nation was just as important in 1830 as it is now.

Only the problems are different—so much greater in quantity, so much more complex in character. Certainly we need the advice of political scientists and technicians if we are to meet them; but we need more than that.

We need the devoted and single-minded attention of those who have been elected to lead their people—the Governors, the State legislators, the mayors and city councils.

We need, too, understanding and responsive Federal officials, who realize that neither Federal dollars nor Federal directives alone can meet the needs of our communities.

And those needs are urgent:

—31 million Americans still living in poverty.

—millions of children still suffering from poor education and poorer diets.

—great urban areas that are eyesores to look at and misery to inhabit.

—air that is heavy with poisons, lakes and streams that are ruined by refuse.

The Federal Government has acted to meet each of these needs, and this year we are asking Congress to give us still stronger tools—to make good on the promises we have made and the hopes we have aroused in the decade of the sixties.

Much of what we are trying to do can only be done through your governments—through the States and cities. One look at the history of grants-in-aid shows what has happened.

—in 1920, Federal grants-in-aid totaled only about \$30 million.

—this year they will reach \$15 billion—500 times as much as then.

How is this money being used? What are the problems we are encountering between Federal and State Governments in managing these vast sums? How do those problems affect the children, the mothers and fathers, the homeowners and university students and older citizens we are trying to serve?

We are not engaged in an abstract lesson in political science. We are trying to improve lives. We will not be graded on the neatness of our organizational charts—but on the health and happiness of our people.

We cannot say, “These are State problems, and none of Washington’s business.” Or, “The States cannot do this job; let the Federal Government do it.” We must find out what we must do together—and how we can do it most effectively.

Governor Bryant has been traveling about the country seeking answers to those questions. He has had with him a team of officials who are versed in the Federal programs

that bear on the problems of the States. They have already visited 31 States—and they have learned a great deal.

Now they have come to that beautiful part of America where the first town meetings were held—where Americans first learned to put government to work for them. I am glad that I have been invited to sit in with Governor Bryant and the leaders of New England during this meeting. I look forward to sharing ideas with them, and working with them to make the system that

began here capable of meeting the problems of today's America.

NOTE: The conference was held at Bradley Field, near Windsor Locks, Conn. Attending were Governors John N. Dempsey of Connecticut, Kenneth M. Curtis of Maine, John A. Volpe of Massachusetts, John W. King of New Hampshire, John H. Chafee of Rhode Island, and Philip H. Hoff of Vermont, and Farris Bryant, Director of the Office of Emergency Planning and former Governor of Florida. The President met privately with the Governors and then participated with them in a briefing for the press (see Item 223).

223 Press Briefing With the Governors Following the New England Governors Conference. May 15, 1967

[I.] GOVERNOR PHILIP H. HOFF (Vermont). Good afternoon, ladies and gentlemen.

We are greatly honored today, but before proceeding further, I was going to ask Governor Dempsey if he would say just a few words.

GOVERNOR JOHN N. DEMPSEY (Connecticut). Mr. President, fellow members of your Cabinet, fellow New England Governors, ladies and gentlemen:

Mr. President, we are very honored that you came to visit us today. We are very grateful to you for the wonderful and continued cooperation that you have extended to all of the Governors all over the United States.

As chairman of the Federal-State-local committee, I am very happy to be able to say that to you. But we are grateful to you, Mr. President, for coming here to Connecticut on a bad day, a stormy day, a rainy day. You have kept your word to us that you would come and talk to us about our problems.

So, Mr. President, from all the Governors and from all the people of our States, may we

say thank you from the bottom of our hearts and may God bless you as you guide the peace-loving world in the days that lie ahead.

GOVERNOR HOFF. The procedure will be this: I will try in a very general fashion to cover those topics we discussed during the course of the conference this afternoon. From time to time, any of the participants here are free and welcome, and I hope they will, to inject anything additional which they may feel is pertinent.

Following that, there will be questions, although we would hope that you would confine them to the topics on the agenda.

By way of preliminary remarks, May I say this: Over the period of the last year, at least, and particularly over the period of the last 6 months, a new dialogue has been opened between our Federal partners, or our partners in the total Federal system in this country, that is, between the Federal Government and the States, and I think I can safely speak for all of my fellow New England Governors when I say that this has been one of the most encouraging and exciting things that we have seen since each of us became a Governor. It isn't reflected

simply in the visit of the President of the United States to this New England area today, although I think this visit in and of itself is indicative of the growing dialogue and of the President's concern.

The President is very determined that the States shall play an effective role in the total, overall governmental scheme of things in this country, and his presence certainly reflects that today.

In addition, however, there have been a number of Cabinet officers here today, and with them it has been exciting to see their increased interest, concern, and innovation in this total relationship.

TRANSPORTATION PROBLEMS; THE NEW
HAVEN RAILROAD

[2.] Going down to specific items on the agenda—and again I request that each of my fellow Governors and the President, if he sees fit, would inject or come into this at any time that they see fit—the first topic discussed was regional transportation problems.

I think I can honestly say that this conference today, in terms of what came out of this, was, in itself, a sufficient demonstration of the value of this kind of meeting. Primarily, we discussed the question of the New Haven Railroad. It is a very difficult and thorny problem which I am sure Governor Dempsey perhaps can cover better than I can.

Why don't you do that, John?

GOVERNOR DEMPSEY. Mr. President, we had a thorough and perhaps the best discussion on the transportation problem that affects New England, namely, the New Haven Railroad, that we have had in a long, long time.

The President today, in talking with the New England Governors, permitted us to

present to him and to his Cabinet a very frank discussion of the New Haven Railroad. We talked about the effect that, of course, the discontinuance of this service would have, not only on New England but all over the United States.

We reminded the members of the Cabinet, particularly those dealing with transportation, that on June 19th, Judge Anderson¹ of the Federal court will hear arguments on creditors and their request for liquidation.

I was delighted, and we all were, by the grasp which President Johnson demonstrated in giving us his help on this problem, and particularly by his directive that immediate action be planned so that we all, by working together, try to guarantee the continuance of our railroad service.

The President suggested to us and to his Cabinet that after hearing our description of the plight of the New Haven Railroad problem, that we all face, that a meeting be held in Washington with Department of Transportation officials this week, Thursday, to plan an action program designed to keep the New Haven Railroad going until, hopefully, we can look forward to the Penn-Central merger.

At this meeting, all of the New England States concerned—Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut (and I might say we are inviting officials from the State of New York to meet with the transportation people on Thursday)—this is the type of action we had hoped for.

Mr. President, thank you for giving us this action today.

GOVERNOR HOFF. Thank you, Governor.

Before proceeding further, I would like—and perhaps if they are in the room they can stand—to introduce Secretary Gardner, of

¹ Judge Robert P. Anderson of the Second Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals.

Health, Education, and Welfare.

Secretary Boyd, of the Department of Transportation.

The Attorney General, Ramsey Clark.

Acting Secretary of Commerce Trowbridge.

At my immediate right is Farris Bryant, who is head of the Office of Emergency Planning, but, in fact, his real duty is to be the principal liaison between the President and the executive branch of the Federal Government and the Governors.

I think I can safely speak for all of the Governors, not simply of New England but of the country, in saying that the work he has done since he has occupied this position has been monumental. I think he can take a great deal of the credit for the growing and developing relationship that is going on at the present time.

We covered other topics in this general area of transportation, including air, both east-west and other parts of it, and we also covered the need for roads, particularly an east-west road across the northern part of New England.

I have nothing specifically to point to in any of these areas except that just establishing the context was important in and of itself.

GOVERNOR JOHN H. CHAFEE (Rhode Island). Going back to the New Haven Railroad one minute, the President has instructed all the agencies that he can instruct in the Federal Government to give full speed to the consideration of all the problems involved in the New Haven, that is, the Penn-Central merger and the other mergers. I think that will be a big help to us, that we try to get this thing settled as soon as possible.

One of our real problems has been that this thing has been in a limbo for so long. We are very grateful.

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS; TEXTILES AND OTHER IMPORTS

[3.] GOVERNOR HOFF. We then covered generally regional economic development, spending most of the time dealing with textile imports.

John King, would you like to cover that?

GOVERNOR JOHN W. KING (New Hampshire). Thank you.

Mr. President, we want to thank you for a very profitable, businesslike, and meaningful discussion in this field. We pointed out the problems in the various States, in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and in New Hampshire, where 13 percent of our people work in the textile industry.

We have been assured by the Federal officials that they are working seriously in extending the import quota program that has been so successful in the cotton industries, to the wool industries. We hope that they will also carry this over to the synthetic fiber industry.

I was very pleased at the discussion that means a great deal to us in our State, and I know my fellow Governors who have large industries working in their States felt very comforted as a result of this discussion.

GOVERNOR JOHN A. VOLPE (Massachusetts). I might add that in Massachusetts we have almost half of the total employment in textiles of New England. For us, it is a very serious problem. We have some of our communities where 27 percent and as much as 46 percent in one community, where the people of those communities are all in textiles.

With the increasing imports from abroad, we find ourselves now in a position where not only have some of our industries fled to the South, but we now find great competition coming from overseas. We are very heart-

ened by the encouragement by the President and very hopeful that the Kennedy Round of negotiations, which will be concluding very shortly, will help us rather than hurt us.

GOVERNOR CHAFEE. In our State we have the heaviest percentage of any of the States in the textile industry, so this is of terrible concern to us. It isn't competition from the South that bothers us now; it is these imports, not only in the cottons which, of course, we have some agreements on now, but in the woolens and the manmade fibers. Hopefully, something can be done on that.

The President was encouraging to us, which is very satisfying, or hopefully satisfying, that something can be worked out.

GOVERNOR HOFF. We also covered some of the problems involving dairy imports, problems involving shoes and their importation.

Governor Curtis, do you want to say anything about that?

GOVERNOR KENNETH M. CURTIS (Maine). I just want to echo the problem which has been expressed by my fellow New England Governors concerning cotton and textile production and the problem of shoe imports in the State of Maine. This was discussed in the same context, that it is the import problem.

THE NEW ENGLAND REGIONAL COMMISSION

[4.] GOVERNOR HOFF. We also covered the New England Regional Commission. This is an economic development commission formed under the Economic Development Act. Governor Volpe is our State co-chairman. The Federal cochairman, John Linnehan, is here. Perhaps you will stand, John.

This offers, I think, tremendous potential to the New England area. We are one of the first regions to be fully constituted under this particular act. I personally, and I think my

fellow New England Governors share with me, have the feeling that this is something that will be heard from and heard from strongly in the future.

Would you like to say anything more about that, John?

GOVERNOR VOLPE. No. Only that we are certainly the beneficiaries of a piece of legislation here that I think bodes to do as much for New England as a region, as an entity, as anything that has ever happened in our area.

We hope to announce the appointment of an executive director very shortly. We have many problems to study. We feel we have great assets, but we have to find the ways and means of trying to be sure that we grow in those directions in which the growth is available, provided we can eliminate some of our problems.

GOVERNOR HOFF. Thank you, Governor Volpe.

Governor King?

OCEANOGRAPHY AND NEW ENGLAND

[5.] GOVERNOR KING. We also discussed, even for a short time, the importance and interest of oceanography to all of the New England States. New Hampshire and Maine have a bipartisan commission at the present time, and we have been assured by the President of his continued interest. We have not been forgotten.

HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

[6.] GOVERNOR HOFF. We then spent a fair amount of time dealing with the problems of health, education, and welfare, which fall under the aegis of Secretary Gardner.

Governor Curtis, perhaps you would like to cover that area for us.

GOVERNOR CURTIS. Very briefly, one of the

major items that we touched upon was, of course, this matter of water pollution control, which is one of the 20th century's most vexing problems that we face. We did ask the President, within the confines of the public interest, to do all possible to try to restore funds for water pollution control.

Another area that we spent a considerable time on was the area of comprehensive planning, particularly in areas of health. We did ask that the Comprehensive Planning and Development Act, Public Law 89-749,² be funded as a start toward what we might hope to be the bloc grant concept in Federal grants-in-aid.

I made the statement, disassociated, perhaps, from my other New England Governors, to the effect that I did not believe that the idea of tax-sharing was the answer to our problems; that I felt that the basic approach which held the most promise for the States was that of the bloc grant concept. We did say that we hoped that if this was successful in the area of health, that it could then be extended to education and on to other Federal agencies.

GOVERNOR HOFF. I might add, for the purpose of your information, or perhaps information that you have already, it is interesting to note that since 1963, that is over a span of 3 or 4 years, the amount of money going into health from the Federal Government has gone from \$4 billion a year to its existing level of \$12 billion. In the field of education, it has gone from \$4 billion to approximately the same figure, \$12 billion. In our judgment, this is a notable achievement in anybody's definition, and I simply point this out to you as a matter of information.

I would also point out that Secretary Gard-

ner has done, I think, rather a remarkable job in terms of decentralizing the activities falling under his particular department. We have a very strong office of Health, Education, and Welfare located for the regional New England area in Boston. They have unusually capable people. We have been able to establish very good relationships and a very good dialogue. I think Secretary Gardner deserves a great deal of credit for it.

FEDERAL-STATE PARTNERSHIP

[7.] The last area we covered in a very broad fashion, because time was running out. It was the total area involved in Federal coordination and the role of the Governor. I would again point out to you that the progress that has been made, particularly during the period of the last 6 months, has been one of the most gratifying that all of us as Governors have seen.

It certainly again shows the determination of the President that the States shall be strong and that they shall play a vital role in the overall governmental scheme of things. This does not mean, incidentally, that all the problems have been solved. But we had a representative here from the Bureau of the Budget and he described in some detail some of the work they are doing to better coordinate the various Federal programs today, not only cutting down the numbers of them but moving more into the bloc grant areas. He covered also with us in some detail the attempts they are making to coordinate planning, which is increasingly a requirement in all Federal programs, and to draw them more closely together so that a plan would qualify for a number of different departments or a number of different programs.

All in all, I think all of us as New England-

² Comprehensive Health Planning and Public Health Services Amendments of 1966 (Public Law 89-749; 80 Stat. 1180).

ers can be exceedingly proud of the progress that has been made under the leadership of the President over the period of the last number of years, and particularly over the period of the last 6 months.

We will open it up to questions, but before doing so, Mr. President, if you would like to say anything we would be just delighted to hear you.

THE PRESIDENT. Governor Hoff, our meeting today just confirms my belief that we can succeed in dealing with the modern problems that confront our people in the 20th century only if the Federal and State Governments are willing to work together with an exchange of ideas and information, and with the true spirit of real partnership.

The key to this partnership is communication, the White House with the statehouses. This is one of dozens of meetings that I have had with Governors during the last 3 years. I think meetings such as this one in New England serve greatly to strengthen this link between the State and the Federal Governments.

I have assured you, and I want to assure the people of New England, that Governor Bryant, who represents the Governors and sits in my Cabinet, will always have a strong voice in behalf of the States, and that voice will be heard and heeded.

GOVERNOR HOFF. Thank you very much, Mr. President.

Now we will open this to questions.

GOVERNOR KING. Governor Hoff?

GOVERNOR HOFF. Governor King.

THE ROLE OF AMBASSADOR BROWN

[8.] GOVERNOR KING. Mr. President, if you would talk about Ambassador Brown, I think that was very important.

THE PRESIDENT. One of the steps we have taken as a result of our meeting with the

Governors heretofore was that the Secretary of State has recalled Ambassador Winthrop Brown, who was born in 1907 in the State of Maine, and who was educated in Connecticut at Yale University. He is presently the United States Ambassador to Korea, that nation of more than 30 million people which has made such rapid strides forward in development, with a growth this year in excess of 12 percent. He will return to Washington to be the Special Assistant to the Secretary of State, with liaison with the statehouses of the Nation.

Ambassador Brown will be the link between the President and the Secretary of State and the respective Governors of the States in connection with all matters concerning our relations with other nations.

Of course, he will be available to brief the Governors and their cabinets at any time upon their request. He will also be an enlightened voice in presenting their views in connection with imports and exports, in connection with the many problems they have in their States as related to other nations.

Ambassador Brown will be leaving Korea shortly and taking up his duties in Washington.

QUESTIONS

[9.] GOVERNOR HOFF. We will now open this conference to questions. We will confine this portion of the press conference to 10 minutes. We prefer that you ask your questions on the problems on the agenda.

URBAN RENEWAL

[10.] Q. Mr. President, in your remarks to the Governors you listed four urgent needs, including urban areas that are eyesores to look at and miseries to inhabit. Locally, a \$37,000 allocation for an \$8 million

project for Norwich was recently turned down by the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Do you feel that communities with a population of some 40,000 people should have representation in Washington to keep city councils abreast of changing Federal requirements, or should Federal agencies which realize that from 6 months to a year go into the preparation of applications, place more emphasis on this facet of urban renewal?

GOVERNOR HOFF. That is the longest question we have heard in a long, long time. Would you just get up and paraphrase that question in your own language?

Q. What I would like to know, sir, is should Federal agencies place more emphasis on the time value localities place on preparing applications? In Norwich they spent a year preparing an application and then it was turned down because of changing specifications from HUD. What is your feeling on that? Should HUD be more aware of the problems?

GOVERNOR HOFF. I would say by way of preliminary remarks, if I may, that, Mr. President, it would be almost impossible for him to be conversant with that type of a detailed question. With that preliminary remark, I would think it would be very difficult for anybody, as President of the United States, to know conversantly what has happened with an application with respect to a particular area without at least an opportunity to do something in the way of research on it.

THE PRESIDENT. I would like to observe this: that HUD is now receiving applications from all over the Nation, from cities of varied sizes, from the very smallest to the very largest, from cities of 7,000 or 8,000 to cities the size of New York and Chicago.

We are doing everything we can to minimize the problems involved in those appli-

cations. We have had a good many complaints about the requirements, about the delays, and the various steps involved in the processing of them. I have talked to small mayors, and only last week the mayor of Chicago³ came to Washington to discuss some of these very problems.

We want every city to present to us not just an application, but a statement of their views of the situation that confronts them, and give us any lead as to how we can, within the law, be helpful, cooperative, and supplement the work that they are doing.

We have before the Congress numerous pieces of legislation, and appropriations, that will be available to those cities to help correct blighted areas, to help in the poverty field, to help develop modern cities, to provide supplemental rent, to increase housing construction, and so on.

We believe the Congress will favorably act upon these measures, although on a very reduced scale from the request made by the administration.

In the light of the funds that are given us, we will act promptly on all applications and try to make every dollar as effective as possible.

BRIDGE OVER LONG ISLAND SOUND

[11.] Q. Mr. President, under proposal at this time is a study linking a bridge to be built across Long Island Sound. Has your conference—I believe this question deals with transportation and economics—has your administration studied this proposal or has it circumnavigated it?

GOVERNOR DEMPSEY. Mr. President, could I help you? I believe the bridge in question, sir, was a proposal that was submitted to the State of Connecticut several months ago by the State of New York.

³ Richard J. Daley.

Upon receiving the report on this bridge that would connect these two States, Connecticut immediately turned over all of the reports to a committee. This committee is now working on it. Since the original report came to us from Governor Rockefeller, a change in location has been advocated.

We are taking the very latest report from the State of New York and the same committee is now working with New York on this very report. Just as soon as we have any news on it, we will release it to you immediately. As a matter of fact, before the Connecticut General Assembly, as of today, is a bill which calls for money to be expended on this so-called report.

AMBASSADOR BROWN

[12.] Q. Mr. President, in the case of Ambassador Brown, you mentioned that he would be available to the State officials for discussions of export-import, and so forth. Will he also cover all facets of foreign policy, for example, Southeast Asia, and so forth, if called upon to do so?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, I am sorry. I had intended to say that he would be the liaison between the Secretary of State and the Governors in connection with all problems between the States and the Federal Government and other nations; and that he would brief them when they desired it, upon request, in connection with all of our relations with other nations—Southeast Asia, the Kennedy Round, the deployment of troops from Europe, and so forth.

Q. This is not just New England Governors?

THE PRESIDENT. No. This is the 50 Governors, all Governors.

Q. And not just economic affairs?

THE PRESIDENT. No. It has to do with

everything that the Secretary of State could do with them. He will be his representative. The Secretary of State briefs them regularly and takes up questions like the Kennedy Round, bringing home troops from Europe, forces in Southeast Asia, foreign aid, Alliance for Progress.

Ambassador Brown will speak with the voice of the Secretary of State with all the Governors, and be available to the Governors of each State, each of the 50 States and the Territories, upon request, at any time.

POSSIBLE CUTS IN FEDERAL FUNDS

[13.] Q. Governor Hoff, or Mr. President, there have been some people, the State officials from New England, who have spoken out against cuts made in the Federal programs in the anticipated funds in what is being allocated now.

I was wondering if the President would care to comment on perhaps the 89th Congress being too generous in the original passing of these programs, and what are the chances of the restoration of some of these funds. I am thinking in particular of the water pollution program.

THE PRESIDENT. I would not anticipate what the Congress will do this year. We have submitted our budget. It is now being reviewed by the appropriate committees. In most instances they have not even passed the House committee as of now.

The President's budget was submitted in January, and while some reductions were made last year in the President's budget items, there were also some increases in the field of health and education over and above what the President requested.

I believe that the Congress will be prudent and will certainly not give the executive all the money we ask in every field, as has been

indicated by the action it has taken on rent supplements, Teacher Corps, and model cities.

But I hope and pray that those reductions will not be too severe and that we may carry on a good program. We are very anxious to—to the extent the Congress will give us the funds. The quality of the membership in the Congress is very good. There is no section in the Nation that is better represented than the people of New England. I am grateful for the cooperation of their Congressmen and their Senators. I believe when the session ends I won't get everything the President has asked for, and the Congress will not get everything as they would have it, but I think there will be a general area

of agreement that will give us a good program for the coming year.

GOVERNOR HOFF. That concludes the press conference.

I am aware that there are some of you who may have some questions you wish to pose to individual Governors. If so, I think to a man they would be prepared to talk to you at a mutually agreeable time and place. We thank you for coming.

Mr. President, you have honored us and you have honored the New England States.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The press briefing was held in the auditorium of the National Guard Building at Bradley Field, Conn., at 4:35 p.m. on Monday, May 15, 1967, following the Governors conference.

See also Item 222.

224 Statement by the President on the General Agreement Reached in the Kennedy Round Trade Negotiations at Geneva.

May 16, 1967

GENERAL agreement has been reached on all the major issues in the trade negotiations. The way is now clear for the conclusion of a final agreement covering billions of dollars worth of trade among more than 50 countries.

Much hard work remains for the weeks ahead. The general understandings reached must be put into concrete form. Thousands of tariffs are involved. The final details must await the completion of this work—and final approval given by governments.

I hope that the final action will meet the standards underlying the Trade Expansion Act of 1962, namely:

- to stimulate economic growth at home;
- to strengthen economic relations with the free world; and
- to reinforce our strength and vitality in the cause of freedom.

NOTE: For the President's special message to the Congress transmitting the multilateral trade agreement concluding the Kennedy Round negotiations, see Item 508. See also Item 545.

225 The President's News Conference of May 18, 1967

THE PRESIDENT. I don't have anything.

QUESTIONS

FORECAST FOR THE CITIES

[1.] Q. Sir, some of us did want to chat with you for a spell. I think one thing that is on the minds of the public is the repeated threats or forecast of violence and other manifestations of upset in the cities this summer over primarily racial problems and housing and things like that.

What is your forecast and what can you do about it?

THE PRESIDENT. I have had pleas from various officials who have had responsibility in this field.

In addition, I have asked the staff people directly responsible to me to maintain a constant, active interest in this situation. They have done so by going into San Francisco, New York, Chicago, Baltimore, the District of Columbia, and five other cities. They have spent their weekends there and have prepared reports. That has been taking place for the last several weeks.

Acting upon the judgments I formed from those reports, I asked the appropriate committees in the Congress if they would respond to a request for a supplemental appropriation.

Senator Pastore has assured me that he will work on it. He talked to other Senators about it and requested \$75 million immediate funds to provide employment, to supervise recreation, light playgrounds, provide new jobs, swimming pools, hydrants, et cetera, in cooperation with the mayors and school board officials.

Senator Pastore told me yesterday the Sen-

ate had been cooperative and he had been able to put it in the Senate subcommittee. He said it would be before the Senate. He said he hoped we would be able to hold it.

We are now working on the House Members, hoping they will approve that request. If so, we will immediately get it to areas that need it.¹

VIETNAM PACIFICATION PROGRAM

[2.] Q. Mr. President, can you tell us what your reasoning was in the decision you made to place the pacification program in Vietnam under the command of General Westmoreland?

THE PRESIDENT. The spokesman and the top man the country has in Vietnam is Ambassador Bunker. We have had advice from the people out there, from people in Congress, and from some of my own staff, for many months. The question was raised as to how we could make everyone's effort more efficient, get more for our effort, how we could get everything possible out of the Vietnamese and how we could improve our pacification program.

We talked at length to the civilian officials and to Ambassador Lodge, then asked Ambassador Bunker for his judgments.

He made a survey and a study. He gave his recommendations. I would say the most compelling argument he made was that we had a problem of a single chain of command, a direct line. He felt we could get more done in our pacification effort if he delegated to General Westmoreland the responsibility of

¹The Second Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1967, providing funds for summer youth programs, was approved by the President on May 29, 1967 (Public Law 90-21; 81 Stat. 30).

directing and working with the South Vietnamese in the pacification effort than the civilians could get.

He thought this would be the most efficient, the most effective.

General Westmoreland was not anxious to take it on. He was somewhat reserved about it. But he felt that it was the judgment of our top man—the judgment of Ambassador Bunker, concurred in by Secretary Rusk, Secretary McNamara, Mr. Komer, Mr. Lodge, and Ambassador Locke.

We thought we would give it a try. We believe that in that way we will get more efficient work in pacification from the South Vietnamese, themselves.

THE BUDGET

[3.] Q. Mr. President, there have been a number of stories about what is happening to our budget, but none really from you.

This seems to be related to what you told us about the decision you face on the possibility of more troops. Could you tell us where that whole situation stands? What are your estimates on budget?

THE PRESIDENT. We don't have any. We will just say without being critical of anyone—I want to tread very lightly now because I don't want to touch any sensitive toes—that the stories I have read are without any basis in fact.

Q. Out of Hot Springs?

THE PRESIDENT. Out of Hot Springs and over the whole period. I do not mean there will not be an increase or a decrease. It could very well be \$5 billion extra in defense. But it is not anything like that now. No one sees anything like that at this time.

The Government people have never used

that figure, that I can find. I have explored it rather thoroughly, I assure you. So, I think that if you can just wait a bit, we will have to see how these expenditures go and how our revenues go.

We have a more accurate estimate on the revenues and we know that some of them are down, some of them are up.

We are finalizing them now for the last year, based on the April 15 returns. But our estimates are less than 1 percent off. They are pretty close on the nose.

The expenditures, as of now, as nearly as we can tell are not going to be far off. Any month can change anything.

But the action of the Congress in one day can change it. But as of now, I see nothing that would indicate any deviation as large as 5 or 10 percent. I say: as of now, as of today—May 18, 4:15 p.m.

VIETNAM OBJECTIVES

[4.] Q. Mr. President, in the past there has been a great stress on limited objectives in Vietnam.

Now, many people seem to have the opinion that you have changed it.

THE PRESIDENT. I would agree with the first statement.

Q. Has there been any change?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't know about the people in the second group. The answer is no.

CONGRESSIONAL STATEMENT ON VIETNAM

[5.] Q. Mr. President, 16 Senators and now a number of Members of the House have signed this letter to Ho Chi Minh saying that although they may object to some

parts of your policy, they don't want to interpret that as meaningful. They don't want a unilateral withdrawal.²

How do you feel about this? Do you think it will clear the air as far as Ho Chi Minh is concerned?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think I should comment on it. I think I will leave it where it is. You have read the letter, haven't you?

Q. Yes.

THE PRESIDENT. I will just leave it where it is.

THE U.N. AND VIETNAM

[6.] Q. Mr. President, have you planned anything with the U.N. on the Vietnam question?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't want to foreclose it. I don't have anything to announce on it now. It has been clear that we will welcome any constructive action that they could take or get our adversaries to take. But I just don't know when action could come.

POLLS ON THE PRESIDENT'S POPULARITY

[7.] Q. Mr. President, the polls show you are becoming more popular again. What would you say the reasons are for this, if you believe the polls?

THE PRESIDENT. Nothing.

IMMINENCE OF WORLD WAR III

[8.] Q. Mr. President, U Thant says he is very much worried about world war III breaking out in Asia and in an alleged interview with Chou En-lai is quoted as saying the Chinese are preparing for world war

² The statement on the Vietnam conflict signed by 16 Senators and entitled "A Plea for Realism" is printed in the Congressional Record of May 17, 1967 (p. S 7039).

III. How close do you think we are to world war III?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think it would serve any purpose to speculate about that.

Q. I judge from that you don't think we are very close?

THE PRESIDENT. Same answer.

TAX INCREASE POSSIBILITY

[9.] Q. Mr. President, the Commerce Department released some revised figures showing that the gross national product actually declined in the first quarter, there was an actual decline in output. Does this change your viewpoint on the possibility of a 6 percent surcharge or some increased tax later on this year?

THE PRESIDENT. No.

PEACE DEMONSTRATIONS

[10.] Q. Mr. President, do you have any comment on the peace demonstrations which have been going on outside for 2 days?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes. These people have communicated their views to the country and to the President on two occasions in the last 2 days. I assume that is the group you are talking about. Their views have been brought to me. We are aware of how they feel about it. I think generally they are aware of our feeling about it.

REASSIGNMENT OF GENERAL WALT

[11.] Q. Mr. President, does the relief of General Walt³ indicate dissatisfaction with the way some of the generals are running the war in Vietnam?

³ Lt. Gen. Lewis W. Walt, outgoing Commanding General of the III Marine Amphibious Force in Vietnam.

THE PRESIDENT. Certainly not.
Is there any indication of that?

Q. I don't know. I am asking is that why he was relieved?

THE PRESIDENT. No.

Q. Can you tell us why he was relieved?

THE PRESIDENT. I think his tour was extended a year beyond its normal time. I would assume this was very much like General Taylor and Ambassador Lodge who were out there. This is not a permanent assignment. He has been there a good while.

My information was—several days ago—they asked for a change in his assignment on the grounds that he had been there and already had an extended tour. I don't think I am wrong on that. You had better check with the Defense people.

CONCESSIONS TO SOUTHERN CONGRESSMEN

[12.] Q. Mr. President, some southern Congressmen say they are getting substantial concessions on the school bill, civil rights enforcement, in exchange for their votes. Is that sort of horse trading going on?

THE PRESIDENT. What southern Congressman said that?

Q. I am sorry, sir. I have forgotten which one.

THE PRESIDENT. Bring the Congressman's statement to me and let me see it. I never heard of it. I don't know anything about it. I doubt if a Congressman said it. I know it is not true.

HOUSE ACTION ON RENT SUPPLEMENT BILL

[13.] Q. Mr. President, would you comment on the action of the House yesterday on your rent supplement bill and what you think the future is for it?

THE PRESIDENT. We regretted very much that the committee reduced the amount we

requested for rent supplements. We had hoped the House would retain what the committee recommended. They did not see fit to do it. We think that it is a program for the disadvantaged and the poor that will help us provide housing that is very necessary.

We hope the Senate will give more favorable consideration to it. When the Republicans take a party position on it and oppose housing for the poor and disadvantaged, it is going to be very difficult to get it passed.

There is our program for model cities. It passed by a few votes, but with great difficulty. I wish we could be more convincing to the Republican leadership in the House. I am glad that we were able to pass the model cities involving more than \$200 million. I regret that we lost the \$10 million item for rent supplements.⁴

I am pleased that the Senate acted upon the \$75 million for the cities program this summer. I am grateful that they put in the Teacher Corps—even though for a very limited amount—in the Senate committee. The Teacher Corps and the \$75 million for the summer received approval in the Senate committee and the model cities survived in the House.

We lost the \$10 million on rent supplements. While this \$10 million is not a great amount in the total, we regret very much to see it was stricken on the floor. We hope that Senate committee deliberations will restore it.

DOMESTIC LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

[14.] Q. Mr. President, this all seems to add up to a kind of tougher fight all along the line on these domestic programs.

THE PRESIDENT. We are talking about four programs. We got three of them. We lost the \$10 million out of a total budget of \$175

⁴ See also Items 370, 467.

billion. I wouldn't say that is a very big loss, although we do think it ought to be restored. It will grow into more than that. I haven't added up the appropriations. I am very thankful that yesterday four of them were voted on. Three of them were approved and we lost \$10 million. I hope that is not the final action of the Congress. I hope they will agree with the House committee or maybe the Senate committee will restore more than that. We can't tell right now.

You will just have to wait until the final bill is written. We don't like to see these items put out. If we didn't believe in them, we wouldn't have recommended them. We don't always like everything Congress does, and I am sure the Congress doesn't like a lot of things we do. You have to understand that this is their prerogative.

VIETNAM SUPPORT AND DISSENT

[15.] Q. Mr. President, the public opinion polls show that the support of the country for your Vietnam policy is at least substantial if not on the increase, yet congressional dissent seems to be going on at a pretty steady level. Can you explain what seems to be a paradox?

THE PRESIDENT. This seems to be a congressional problem. I don't know how to explain it. I didn't draw the conclusion that you drew. You may be right, and I may not be as well informed. I talked to Congress about it.

For instance, on the draft, there were two votes against it, and on stopping the bombing, in the House there were 18 votes against it.

The other expression I have seen is the 16 in the letter saying, "Don't be misled, North Vietnam."

I think during this period there are going to be a great many heartaches, some frustra-

tion, and certainly dissent. I think the first part of your statement is an accurate one. I believe all of us regret that we have to do what we are doing, but I think we would regret it more if we didn't do what we are doing.

ON BECOMING A GRANDFATHER

[16.] Q. Mr. President, this may be a question better suited to the other side of the house, but I wonder if you might share with us some of your thoughts on becoming a grandfather?

THE PRESIDENT. I am very happy for Luci and Pat. I am very fond of little children. We just hope and pray that everything is all right and that the baby is a healthy one. Luci is very cheerful.⁵

Maybe I had better not go into any of my conversations with Luci. I have learned you can't even talk to a priest about them.

NONPROLIFERATION TREATY

[17.] Q. Mr. President, the Geneva talks on the nonproliferation treaty are getting started again now. How far apart or how close together are we and the Soviets on an agreement on that and what about the problems with our allies?

THE PRESIDENT. We are carrying on exchanges of views with all concerned—as we have been for many months. I don't think that one can accurately predict what the outcome will be. I would prefer to wait until things jell a little more before speculating on what and when.

I have, all along, very much hoped that after we got the tripartite talks out of the way, the consular treaty, the space treaty, and the Kennedy Round, that we could make

⁵For the President's telegram on the birth of his grandson, see Item 273.

some progress in the ABM and the non-proliferation field.

I still have hopes in those fields. I am very grateful for the progress that has been made in space, in the consular, tripartite, and Kennedy Round. I would hope for equally good results in the other two, but I don't know. I don't want to paint a rosy picture only to have you remind me about it at the next meeting. I am hopeful. I see no insurmountable barriers to the nonproliferation at this time, if that gives you a feel of it.

RELATIONS WITH RED CHINA

[18.] Q. Mr. President, does the resumption of conversations in Warsaw between Ambassador Gronouski and the Red Chinese Ambassador give you any hope that relations that we have between ourselves and the Red Chinese will improve, the atmosphere will improve?

THE PRESIDENT. I know of nothing that would indicate any optimistic changes. Ambassador Gronouski reported to me at some length this morning—as I assume he did to you—about his work there. He is diligent and dedicated. We believe that he is doing a good job.

I don't think that we have the answer to the kind of relations with a good many other nations that we would like to have. We constantly work on them, try to improve them. There is our bridgebuilding, East-West trade.

We were and are hopeful that someday it might lead to an improvement of relations and that someday it might make it possible for all of us to live with understanding and peace in the same world together. It hasn't made that progress yet—either there or here. We still have a long way to go.

The consular treaty was a close vote, as you know. There are some differences now

about the ABM. There is still a good bit of feeling about the nonproliferation agreement. We have to bridge some gaps several places yet, but we are working on them.

THE 1968 CAMPAIGN AND FUNDRAISING

[19.] Q. Mr. President, there is a lot of betting going on as to whether you are going to run again. The Vice President says you are. There are a lot of dinners coming up for raising funds. Are you going to run again?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't remember at just what press conference I answered that.

Q. Last fall, in November.

THE PRESIDENT. You will have to read that. I don't want to get in conflict with what I said then.

Q. You will cross that bridge when you come to it?

Q. I don't remember what you said then.

THE PRESIDENT. Helen⁶ can tell you. She remembers when it was.

We try to go out, Helen, once a year to attend all dinners. We try to make appearances before party leaders and party officials in several places to try to reduce the debt and get extra funds to carry the employees as far ahead as possible.

The Committee has had a substantial deficit and still does, although it has come down from \$3 million or \$4 million to a little over \$1 million now. The Committee is hoping that we can have a good attendance in New York, Texas, maybe here in Washington—that hasn't been decided—and California. We agreed to have a dinner in California last year. Some people paid for the dinner. The Committee got the money and they never got the dinner. We have planned for some time to return there. That is imminent now. We hope to do it

⁶ Helen Thomas of United Press International.

sometime in the next few weeks. But we will try to sandwich them in where you can hear the speeches in one month and hear them repeated about three or four times. Then we will get away from those Jefferson-Jackson Day dinners.

I expect most of them will be in the month of June. We want them that way so we can take the weekend. We are tentatively committed to either go myself or have some of the other leaders in the administration go to try to pay that debt off. Some of them are pressing us. A million dollars is a lot of money for the Democratic National Committee.

Q. Mr. President, I wonder if you would permit another whack at that same question. Could you discuss the factors which would determine whether you will run again?

THE PRESIDENT. No.

Q. In a general way—just the factors?

THE PRESIDENT. I have a lot of things to spend my time on now, Ray,⁷ besides that.

PACE OF THE WAR

[20.] Q. Mr. President, the other side of that China question is: For some reason there seems to be an impression that things are getting a little more dangerous than they have been in months past, that maybe things are headed for a much bigger collision, that things are getting out of control.

Do you have the sense that the pace of the war or the nature of the people who are arrayed around it is very different from what it was 5 or 6 months ago?

THE PRESIDENT. I believe that our objectives are the same and our determination is just as strong as it has ever been.

I don't see any great fluctuation in activity, opinion, or judgment. I have said that it is a very difficult thing that we are going

⁷ Raymond L. Scherer of NBC News.

through. It tests the patience and the understanding of each of us.

I hope that all of my countrymen and our friends in the world will recognize and realize what we are doing and why we are doing it.

We believe it is in the best interests of freedom everywhere. We have given our views on negotiation, on peace, and on related matters many, many times.

I know of nothing to be gained by repeating them. But I think that you can see there is hardly anyone who feels that there ought to be unilateral withdrawal. I think that fewer feel that way today than yesterday—or the period behind us.

Q. Sir, there seems to be in that same connection, at least from reading the reports, an intensification of the troops building up around the DMZ.

Would you comment on that?

THE PRESIDENT. I wouldn't want to discuss that. I see the reports as you do. We don't always know what the intentions of the other people are. We try to be prepared for them.

DISCUSSION WITH THE NEW ENGLAND GOVERNORS

[21.] Q. Mr. President, at the meeting in Connecticut the other day, Governor Curtis said that he was not in favor of a tax-sharing plan and seemed to be in agreement with some form of bloc grants to the States. Was there a great deal of discussion with you on that subject of sharing Federal funds with the States?

THE PRESIDENT. No. I think his reference was to what Mr. Gardner had done about consolidating some grants in his Department. There was no discussion beyond that. It was one of the most constructive meetings I have attended.

We listened to the problems the States

have and talked about meetings that might find a solution to them. We didn't solve any, but we had a better understanding after the meeting.

No commitments were asked; none were given. No proposals were made—other than we would hear any suggestions the Governors had about things we could do that we were authorized to do.

The Governors and the Federal representatives were very happy at the outcome.⁸

Q. Do you intend to go to any more of these regional conferences of that kind?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA GOVERNMENT

[22.] Q. Mr. President, have you abandoned your plans to ask Congress to reorganize the District Government?

THE PRESIDENT. No.

Q. Will you be submitting that soon, sir, shortly?

THE PRESIDENT. If I do, I will tell you. I don't have any announcement to make now—if we had made an announcement. I don't know whether we could abandon

⁸ See Items 222, 223.

something we hadn't launched.⁹

Q. I thought it had been mentioned in the State of the Union.

THE PRESIDENT. We have been discussing with leaders in the District and with leaders in the Congress how we could make more efficient the services of the District Government.

There are many varied opinions on it. Some suggestions have been made to the President, Mr. Pollak,¹⁰ the Budget, and the Commissioners. We have had them under consideration. There is quite a difference of opinion about whether we should have three commissioners or one commissioner, whether you should have a central leader and a larger council, different things. We are now discussing it. No decision has been made.

Merriman Smith, United Press International: Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: President Johnson's one hundred and first news conference was held in his office at the White House at 4:05 p.m. on Thursday, May 18, 1967. As printed above, this item follows the text of the Official White House Transcript.

⁹ For the President's message to Congress transmitting Reorganization Plan No. 3 for the District of Columbia, see Item 247.

¹⁰ Stephen J. Pollak, Advisor for National Capital Affairs.

226 Presidential Unit Citation Awarded to the 1st Squadron, 4th Cavalry, 1st Infantry Division, USA. May 19, 1967

BY VIRTUE of the authority vested in me as President of the United States and as Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the United States I have today awarded

THE PRESIDENTIAL UNIT CITATION (ARMY)
FOR EXTRAORDINARY HEROISM TO THE 1ST
SQUADRON, 4TH CAVALRY, 1ST INFANTRY
DIVISION

The 1st Squadron, 4th Cavalry, 1st Infantry Division distinguished itself by extraordinary heroism in connection with military operations against hostile forces in Binh Long Province, Republic of Vietnam during the period June to July 1966. On 8 June 1966, Troop A, 1st Squadron, 4th Cavalry was moving north along Highway 13 to the vicinity of An Loc to conduct area recon-

naissance and offensive operations. The lead tank was hit by a command detonated mine which was the signal for three Viet Cong battalions to open a full-scale attack from both sides of the road. The three Viet Cong battalions occupied defensive fortifications and were heavily equipped with recoilless rifles, automatic weapons and a variety of small arms. Troop A immediately closed with the insurgent force in a fierce assault. Maneuver room was limited due to marshy terrain on either side of the highway. Continuous, multi-direction assaults were attempted by the desperate insurgent forces, but in each case they were halted by accurate tank, automatic, and individual weapons fire. With an indomitable fighting spirit, continuous fire and movement was used to steadily close on the insurgent force. The courageous fighting of the cavalymen routed the Viet Cong from their emplacements. The gallant actions of Troop A in this six-hour battle was an eminent success. In addition, the armed helicopters of Troop D, 1st Squadron, 4th Cavalry, the supporting artillery, and Air Force fighter aircraft contributed immeasurably to the success of the battle by bringing devastating fire on the Viet Cong. The actions resulted in a count of 105 insurgents killed and a large number of Viet Cong weapons captured. On the morning of 30 June 1966, Troops B and C were conducting armed reconnaissance north of An Loc on Highway 13, when they were struck by a Viet Cong regiment. The insurgent force poured a volume of mortar, recoilless rifle and automatic weapons fire into the column from the front and two sides. Fire was immediately returned by the Squadron, engaging the Viet Cong at point-blank range. The insurgents, concealed next to the road, made repeated attempts to overrun the Squadron by use of hand grenades at close range, point-blank firing, and fanatical as-

saults. Maneuver by the cavalymen was again severely hampered by dense brush and marshy soil and they were forced to conduct their fight from extremely vulnerable positions. Although four platoon leaders were killed or wounded in the first hour, the gallant stand of the cavalymen resulted in total defeat of the hostile force, whose scattered survivors fled from the battlefield. On the morning of 9 July, the Squadron's B, C, and D troops deployed southwest of An Loc to lure the insurgents into contact. The reinforced Viet Cong regiment, again covered in the heavy growth along the road, launched a powerful attack under the cover of intense mortar, small arms, automatic weapons, and grenades and .50 caliber machine gun fire. The intensity of the three-hour fight equaled the two earlier and longer engagements. The lack of proximate landing zones for the infantry delayed the planned reinforcement and required the Squadron to bear the entire force of the numerically superior insurgent force attack for two hours. The cavalymen, with immediately responsive and continuous support by air and artillery, heroically stood their ground and broke the Viet Cong attack. The determination displayed by the 1st Squadron, 4th United States Cavalry during the three decisive battles of operation El Paso II resulted in significant victories. The Squadron's indomitable courage resulted in 712 confirmed hostile dead, an estimated 850 additional killed, and large quantities of captured weapons and equipment. The conspicuous gallantry and extraordinary heroism of the 1st Squadron, 4th Cavalry, 1st Infantry Division is in keeping with the finest traditions of the military service and reflects great credit upon all who participated in these significant battles.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

227 Remarks Upon Signing Bill Providing for a Desalting Plant in Southern California. May 19, 1967

Mr. Vice President, Members of the Cabinet, distinguished Members of the Congress, ladies and gentlemen:

For many centuries, men have been searching for ways to produce fresh water from our oceans. Three hundred and fifty years before the birth of Christ, the ancient Greeks were struggling to try to solve that problem.

Today, with the signing of this bill here in the East Room of the White House, we take a step toward the end of that struggle that was begun so many years ago. Today we begin the greatest effort in man's history to produce water and electric power from the sea.

This bill makes possible a new desalting plant which will more than double the world's total capacity for desalting water.

And in the process, it will lower considerably the cost of making fresh water from the sea.

Two years ago, when speaking at an international meeting on desalting, I asked the Congress to authorize this plant for us: to make full use of today's scientific knowledge and to produce, by 1970, 100 million gallons of fresh water per day.

Two years ago that seemed to all of us a very ambitious goal. But this plant will produce not 100 million gallons, but 150 million gallons—50 percent more than we even dared to predict.

Each hour, each day, it will produce more electric power than the Hoover Dam produces.

This plant alone will not suddenly and overnight make our deserts bloom. But more than anything that we have done yet, it does point to the day when lands now dry and empty will sustain life and will feed the people of the world.

In our own country, we know, I think, what hardship is caused when neighbors have to depend on a single river for their water supply, and when we must share those meager resources with each other. One single stream—the Colorado River—must now serve seven dry States, and must provide water in addition for many of our good neighbors in Mexico.

For years, that stream has been the source of much too little water—and much too many arguments. It has been the subject of quarrels, lawsuits, interstate compacts, international treaties, and has affected elections from time to time.

All of that worry, and all of that effort, added not one new drop of water to that great stream.

This bill will help us change all of that. Mexico, the States of the West and the Southwest need much more water, and they need that water now.

This bill will help them get it.

This bill, as you know, marks the beginning, not the end, of all of our efforts.

Our sights are set on a whole family of desalting plants—to help not only our coastal communities, but our inland towns also, which are troubled by brackish water supplies.

Some of these new plants are going to be powered by atomic energy.

Others will be fired by coal, gas, or oil.

Others—some day—may even get part of their energy from reconstituted waste products.

Until we build those plants, we are going to continue to face very urgent water problems.

With every tick of the clock, more people are being born into this world. As their need

grows for food, clothing, and industry, our water tables continue to drop. This venture—this venture that we are launching—must be the first of many ventures of this nature throughout the world.

So many people deserve credit for this success this morning that I dare to mention not even one name. But I shall just have to refer to a few who have come in and out of our office in the months that have gone by:

- Members of the Senate, like Senator Jackson, Senator Anderson, Senator Kuchel, almost all the Members of that body.
- Congressmen Craig Hosmer, Wayne Aspinall, Harold Johnson, Richard Hanna, Ed Reinecke, my good friend Chet Holifield, my friends from the California delegation, Bernie Sisk, and others.
- Secretary Udall, and all the people in the Interior, Assistant Secretary Diluzio.
- I don't want to overlook the Mayor of Los Angeles because I made him come in and ante up a little extra when the going was real hard. I guess he appropriated some of it to bring him here today. We are happy that he is at this ceremony to launch this experiment.
- The Vice President and all public officials everywhere who have participated in this, and, more than that, are willing to enlist in the war ahead.

We will outline plans as soon as that distinguished Californian, the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, gets them ready for any other ventures that some of you want to take.

Finally, I want the citizens and public officials of the Federal Government, and the State of California—and particularly southern California—to know that we appreciate this partnership in this very special effort.

And to the Members of the House and Senate, the Governors of the States, we are all deeply in your debt.

This achievement is really a symbol of not only our partnership and our working together, but our power to act together. Often there is too much talk and too little action. What is needed for the future in this whole field of water is the will and the determination to act.

So I am very happy to sign this bill. I am very pleased that you could come here.

I am glad that all of you will witness it. As you witness it, and become a party to the fact, you will enlist with us in the fight that is ahead for all of us.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:20 p.m. in the East Room at the White House. In his opening words he referred to Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey. During his remarks he referred to, among others, Samuel W. Yorty, Mayor of Los Angeles, and Glenn T. Seaborg, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission.

As enacted, the bill (S. 270) is Public Law 90-18 (81 Stat. 16).

228 Remarks to State Committeemen and Executive Directors of the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service.

May 19, 1967

Secretary Freeman, my fellow farmers, ladies and gentlemen:

I am delighted to have this opportunity

to speak to you today here in the East Room of the White House, as I look forward to speaking to you more in the months ahead

in your own home areas.

To America's farmers, I think you, the leaders who have come here today, are really the voice of their government.

Since you are the voice of their government, I want to give you a message to take back to them.

I want you first of all to assure and tell our farmers that they have not been forgotten; that their President and their country know the debt that we owe to every farmer in this land; that we realize his skill and that we understand the contributions he is making to a better life for all the people of this world in which he lives.

Thanks to the efficiency of the American farmer, the average American—who 20 years ago spent 25 percent of his take-home pay for food—now has to spend not 25 percent, but only 18 percent.

Thanks to the abundance of our farms, we help to feed 45 million Americans—nearly a quarter of our total American population—through school lunch, special milk, food stamp and other programs that are sponsored by our Government.

Thanks again to the American farmer, we are helping to feed the hungry people in other lands. Last year our American exports were 23 percent of the total world's agricultural trade.

We were able to ship one-fifth of the wheat that we produced in this country to India, and two-fifths more to other nations.

We fed literally hundreds of millions, and yet we suffered no shortage of bread.

That is what the American farmer is doing for the people of his own country, and that is what the American farmer is doing for the world.

But is he getting his share of our abundance? What is the world doing for him?

He will probably tell you that he isn't getting his share. If he does tell you that, he

is right.

The farmer knows that farm prices are going down—and that the prices he pays are going up. He knows his per capita income has gone up. But after it has gone up, it is still only two-thirds of that of the nonfarmer.

The American farmer knows we have not solved our farm problems, any more than we have solved the problems of peace, or the problems of the cities, or the problems of foreign policy, or the problems of our races.

But the farmer—living with the implacable cycle of nature—has a long memory to reinforce his wisdom. He will recall that we have made progress.

I see a difference of expression today. I see a difference of hair-do. I see a difference of clothes. I see a difference of attitude. I can even suspect a difference of bank accounts from what it was when I came to Washington in 1931, 1932, and 1933.

We have not solved these problems, but we have made progress. We have come a long way. We should always remember some of the things that are good. We know that no compliment gets as much attention as a complaint. But we also know that gross farm income is 18 percent higher than it was in 1963, and 30 percent higher than it was in 1960;

—that net farm income is 30 percent over 1963;

—that net income per farm is up 44 percent over 1963;

—that the Food and Agriculture Act the Congress passed in 1965 gave us the best farm program that this country has ever had. Congress gave us the 4-year program we requested. Now our job, my job and your job, the farmer's job, is to make that program work.

The figures show that the farmers are trying to make it work, make it work for them

and make it work for our Nation.

The surpluses in most of our commodities are already gone. We don't hear many speeches these days about the storage problem and the high bills we are paying to store our surpluses.

The market is freer than it has been in many long years. The world demand for food continues to grow.

So I wish you would tell the American farmer that his Government wants his farm program to work. Let him know that this administration is determined that he achieve the parity of income he deserves.

But no President and no administration, working alone, can mash a button and bring it about overnight.

We can move forward, we can progress, we can be determined, we can be dedicated, we can be sincere, and ultimately we can get results.

There are many more things that unite us than divide us. But there are always people who want to provoke a fight. Our problem is to prevent one and to try to unite the constructive thinking people until we achieve the goal that we are determined to achieve.

I want you to tell the American farmer, as we will tell him, too, that his help and his understanding are needed because his efficiency and his marketing skill can make a great deal of difference in how quickly we can get his farm income boosted.

I believe in the final analysis, at the end of the day, when all the arguments are over and all the political sounds have died down, you can count on the American farmer to understand.

It was Adam Smith who said two centuries ago, "The man who ploughs the ground . . . is seldom defective in . . . judgment and discretion."

My own experience has led me to put great trust in the farmer's judgment. The

farmer who sits on his tractor all day, or in his saddle all night, or works quietly with his hands, has, during all those times, a lot of time to think.

Generally, if some politician doesn't mislead him, he thinks straight, and he thinks right.

I think the farmer will understand that his Government and his President cannot do this job alone.

And neither can the farmer do it alone.

But working together, we can do it—and we will do it.

I cannot pass judgment for all of you or for all the farmers of this land, but I have not the slightest doubt when the history of our time is written, and when a survey is made of our advancements and our adventures, the historian will conclude that there was never a period when the American Congress, when the American President, when the American Vice President, the American Secretary of Agriculture, and the American farmer himself made a greater advancement for his cause, for his family, for educating his children, for improving their health, and for conserving his assets, than the period that we are now entering.

Your leaders in this Government know something about the farmer. They are dedicated to his interest. They are going to insist that he get fair and just treatment.

We know that in return he will understand that his progress has been due not just to the Government's efforts, but it can come only if he joins with that Government shoulder to shoulder in meeting the problems they must face together—like increasing their exports, like improving their production, like getting rid of their surpluses, like spending their time on constructive adventures instead of rehashing the misfortunes and the complaints of the past.

So as you leave the White House today, I

think you can leave it with assurance that there never was a time when there was more interest in your problems than there is now, and more determination to do something about them. If we can, we will. And if we can't, it won't be because it is a mistake of the heart. It will be because it is a mistake of the head, and we don't want that to happen.

I remember one time a great friend of the farmer, who served here 50 years, went back to one of his friends of his early career. They talked until after midnight and the old farmer wanted to continue to talk. Mr. Rayburn said to him, "No, I have seven speeches tomorrow. I just have to go to bed." "Well," he said, "I am sorry, because I would just like to talk to you all night long." He was hungry to talk to a man who understood his problems.

"I would like to talk to you all night long. Because," he said, "Mr. Sam, if we farmers are not your friends, it is just because we ain't got sense enough."

Remembering that expression from the soil, I want to say to you leaders of the American farmer: If your President, if your Vice President, and if your Secretary of Agriculture are not the farmers' friends, it is just because we haven't sense enough.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:45 p.m. in the East Room at the White House. In his opening words he referred to Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman.

State committees, appointed by the Secretary of Agriculture, are responsible for the administration of Federal agricultural programs in each State and for the general supervision of elected county and local committees. Each State committee, comprising three to five members, designates an Executive Director to supervise the work of State office staffs in carrying out policies established by the committee.

229 Proclamation 3785, Prayer for Peace, Memorial Day, 1967. *May 22, 1967*

By the President of the United States of America a Proclamation

In reverent tribute on this Memorial Day 1967 we salute the gallant men of our country who have served us and still serve us so nobly and selflessly in defense of freedom.

We can never repay their sacrifices. Our honored dead sleep in hallowed ground on five continents. The debt we owe them, and that our children will owe for generations to come, is beyond measure.

Today, our young men are fighting and dying in Vietnam so that other young men may stand as they have stood—proudly independent, free to determine their own destiny. Before their common sacrifice and dedication the barriers of race, color, or creed crumble. The heroism of a just cause makes all men brothers against tyranny.

Every President in time of armed conflict must act in the deep conviction that the cause for which our young men suffer and die transcends their sacrifices.

A century ago President Lincoln expressed his grief over the terrible losses of the war between the States. He pointed out that all deprecated war, all sought to avoid it, but as there were those who would make war, so there must be those who could accept war.

We have had to accept the war in Vietnam to redeem our pledge to those who have accepted in good faith our commitment to protect their right of free choice. Only in this way can we preserve our own right to act in freedom.

So we shall continue to resist the aggressor in Vietnam, as we must.

But we continue to hold open the door to

an honorable peace, as we must.

On this hallowed day, on behalf of the American people—indeed, on behalf of all of the people in the world—I repeat to the leaders of those whom we fight: Let us end this tragic waste; let us sit down together to chart the simple course to peace; let us together lead our peoples out of this bloody impasse.

And I ask you, my fellow Americans, to join me in prayer that the voice of reason and humanity will be heeded, that this tragic struggle can soon be brought to an end.

The Congress in a joint resolution approved May 11, 1950 (64 Stat. 158), has requested the President to issue a proclamation calling upon the people of the United States to observe each Memorial Day as a day of prayer for permanent peace and designating a period during such day when the people of the United States might unite in such supplication:

NOW, THEREFORE, I, LYNDON B. JOHNSON, President of the United States of America, do hereby designate Memorial Day, Tuesday, May 30, 1967, as a day of prayer for permanent peace and I designate the hour beginning in each locality at eleven o'clock in the

morning of that day as a time to unite in such prayer.

I urge the press, radio, television, and all other information media to cooperate in this observance.

I also urge all of the people of this Nation to join me in prayer to the Almighty for the safety of our Nation's sons and daughters around the world, for His blessing on those who have sacrificed their lives for this Nation in this and all other struggles, and for His aid in building a world where freedom and justice prevail, and where all men live in friendship, understanding, and peace.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Seal of the United States of America to be affixed.

DONE at the City of Washington this twenty-second day of May in the [SEAL] year of our Lord nineteen hundred and sixty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and ninety-first.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

By the President:

DEAN RUSK

Secretary of State

230 Remarks to Delegates to the International Conference on Water for Peace. May 23, 1967

Secretary Udall; Secretary Rostow; Members of Congress; Mr. Hagan, Secretary General of the Conference; Mr. de Seynes, the Under Secretary of the United Nations for Economic and Social Affairs; ladies and gentlemen:

This Conference has a vital mandate: The questions that you will consider deal directly

with the future of life on this earth.

No President has ever welcomed a gathering with greater expectations.

I come from land where water is treasure.

For a good many years, I have done my share of agitating to increase the water resources of my native State. I have known the frustrations of this task. A member of the

Texas Legislature once recited some lines on this subject:

"Oh the glamor and the clamor
That attend affairs of state
Seem to fascinate the people
And impress some folks as great.

"But the truth about the matter,
In the scale of loss and gain:
Not one inauguration's worth
A good, slow two-inch rain!"

As man faces the next century, one question stands above all others: How well—and how long—can the earth sustain its ever-growing population?

As much as anything, water holds the key to that simple question: water to drink; water to grow the food we must eat; water to sustain industrial growth.

Today, man is losing his race with the growing need that he has for water.

We face, on a global scale, the plight of the Ancient Mariner:

"Water, water, every where,
Nor any drop to drink."

For a planet two-thirds covered with water, this seems to be a very strange shortage.

There is so much plenty all around us.

Yet 97 percent of our waters are in the ocean—thus far, but I hope not for very long, of little use to us for either drinking or irrigation.

Another 2 percent lies frozen in glaciers and icecaps.

The 1 percent remaining could meet most of man's needs—if only it were distributed when and where we need it most.

But today, while millions suffer the ravages of storms—and simultaneously suffer the ravages of floods—other millions are thirsty.

While men barely tap the abundance of lakes and rivers and streams, others watch their crops shrivel with drought.

More and more, people dwell in cities, where clean water means the difference between sickness and health.

Yet today, 40 percent of the world's city dwellers—four out of ten—have no water service.

If this is the problem now, think for just a moment what the future will bring you.

By the year 2000, the world's population will have doubled to 6 billion—now it is a little over 3 billion. Our need for water will have more than doubled.

I ask this conference to take, as its point of perspective, the year 2000. That is not very far away.

Imagine, as you meet here, that you are facing the needs of your children and your children's children. Imagine what we must do to move the world from now until then.

Ask yourselves the big questions:

How can we engineer our continents and how can we direct our great river systems to make use of the water resources that all of us are wasting today?

How can we tap the vast underground waters that are now undeveloped?

How can we modify the weather and better distribute the lifegiving rain?

How can we desalt the waters of the ocean and how can we freshen our brackish waters?

How can we use our water supplies again and again before we finally yield them into the sea?

How can we curb the filth that pollutes our streams?

During the 3 years or more that I have been President, I have recommended and the Congress has approved programs in each and all of these areas—water management, river valley development, desalting, pollution control, and research on weather modi-

fication. But I realize, as you must have, that that is a beginning—but we have only begun.

You must consider, finally, the most important question of all: How can we, as responsible leaders and spokesmen, awaken the world's people and the world's leaders to the urgent problem that confronts the world?

Even at the risk sometimes of being called dreamers, I think you must ask these questions and I think you must seek the answers. Unless you do, you will not measure the true dimension of humanity's greatest need. You must chart the specific steps toward a more abundant future.

One step must be this: to quicken the pace of science and technology.

Last week, in the East Room of the White House, I signed an act of Congress to make possible a new plant which will more than double the world's present capacity for desalting water.

A decade ago, the best plant design could produce only 50,000 gallons per day at a cost of \$5 per thousand gallons.

This new plant, powered by nuclear energy, will eventually produce 150 million gallons of fresh water per day—at a cost approaching 20 cents per thousand gallons. That is 3,000 times as much as could be produced 10 years ago at one-twenty-fifth the cost.

But the world needs fresh water and it needs it at much lower costs.

This is my country's pledge: to continue work in every area which holds promise for the world's water needs. And my country pledges to share the fruits of this technology with all of those who wish to share it with us.

American scientists will begin discussions next month with India on experimental rainmaking projects which may hold promise

for drought-ridden countries all over the world.

A second need we must face up to is to train more manpower.

We must attract the best technicians and the best planners to this lifegiving science. And we must devise programs to educate all our people in the wiser use of water.

Third: We need to build better institutions for managing water resources.

This point cannot be overstressed. We need improved management just as much as we need new technology.

We must support the United Nations and the international agencies which are trying to provide world leadership in this field.

We must develop more effective forms of local, national, and regional cooperation.

For this truth is self-evident: Neither water nor weather is a respecter of boundary lines.

Finally, we need to support new programs in water resource development.

Projects of international cooperation must be multiplied many times over what we have ever done before—projects like those now underway in the Mekong and the Indus River Basins.

Frankly, I am not—and I know you are not—satisfied with the progress that we are making in these fields now. We are not using all the imagination and all the enterprise that our problem requires. We need agents who will push, prod, shove, and move ahead with these international efforts. We need planners to help develop concrete projects. We need financial experts who know how to interest the world's lending institutions, and educators that can recruit and train additional skilled manpower for us.

To set top priority for these endeavors in our own Government, I have already directed the Secretary of State, Mr. Rusk, to establish immediately a Water for Peace

Office. Its major role will be to lead and to coordinate this country's efforts in the world's water programs.

But we also need to create strong regional offices throughout this world to provide us with the leadership and to stimulate co-operation among all nations. The United States is prepared to join you and all others in establishing a network of regional water resource centers. We will provide our fair share of the expert assistance, the supplies and the equipment, and the financing that is needed.

We are confident that the United Nations and other international organizations represented here today can and will play a key role in this enterprise. We should seek to put the first two centers in operation within the next 24 months—to serve as the spur and the goad in promoting Water for Peace—and freedom.

We have called this Conference here in order to learn—and in order to share.

No group could have a more exciting or more worthwhile mission.

You study the life cycle of our planet. You deal with nature's elements as men have always known them: the river, the sea, the sun, and the sky.

Man once looked to these elements and found his poetry. Now he must look to them and find his preservation.

You will grapple with the political as well as the physical problems of mankind.

For ages past, men have fought wars over water without adding one single drop to the world's supply.

Now we face and share the challenge to use water—more abundant water—as the enduring servant of peace, freedom, and liberty. Let this be your vision during the next week and let this be your achievement in the years to come.

We are glad that you could come here and meet with us. We look forward to the productive and constructive results that will flow from your thinking.

We want you to know that we welcome you. We want to work with you. We truly believe that there are few problems that could engage men that offer such limitless opportunities.

We hope you enjoy your visit. We look forward to working with you in the years ahead.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:35 a.m. in the Grand Ballroom at the Sheraton Park Hotel in Washington. In his opening words he referred to Stewart L. Udall, Secretary of the Interior, Eugene V. Rostow, Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, Richard C. Hagan, Secretary General of the International Conference on Water for Peace, and Philippe de Seynes, Under Secretary of the United Nations for Economic and Social Affairs.

For the President's remarks upon signing a bill providing for a plant in California doubling the world's capacity for desalting water, see Item 227.

The International Conference on Water for Peace was held in Washington May 23-31, 1967.

231 Remarks Upon Presenting Presidential "E" Awards for Excellence in Developing New Markets for Exports. May 23, 1967

Acting Secretary Trowbridge, distinguished Members of Congress, welcomed guests, ladies and gentlemen:

It has been said that the road to trust

between nations passes through the marketplace.

Today we gather here in the Rose Garden at the White House to honor 10 American

companies whose worldwide efforts are helping us to prove that observation.

By developing new markets for American products, these companies have served their country and they have served it well. You gentlemen have advanced your own profits—but you have also furthered the cause of international cooperation. That, I think, is “enlightened self-interest” at its best.

This ceremony takes place during World Trade Week when we affirm some basic principles of economic and foreign policy.

We believe that it is very much in our interest and is necessary to expand world trade.

We know that it speeds the pace of economic progress.

We know that it promises a better life for all men.

We know that it sustains our greatest hope—the hope of all people that there can be peace in the world.

Last year, two-way trade between the United States and our free Asian partners amounted to \$12 billion. Certainly that is good business—and it’s also, I think, good international policy.

Today, we are doing our best to bury our ancient differences—we are doing our best to achieve better relations among all nations. Part of that search is our effort to build new bridges between the East and the West.

The flow of peaceful commerce across those bridges could bring lasting benefits to both sides.

The barriers which fell at Geneva last week clear the way for great advances in mutual trade. The Kennedy Round will open a new era of world commerce.

We are entering that new era with an excellent record in export expansion.

Last year, our United States merchandise exports soared to more than \$29 billion.

That is a 50 percent increase since 1960.

Unfortunately, we have not achieved the balance of payments gains we hoped this expansion would bring, because imports have grown much more rapidly than exports.

That is a problem that we just must overcome.

The way to solve it is not to limit imports, but rather to dedicate ourselves to doing our best to increase the things that we produce and to increase those exports.

To accomplish that end, I have consulted with the new, I trust soon-to-be—Senator Magnuson and the rest of you Senators willing—Secretary of Commerce. Mr. Trowbridge, and the Cabinet Committee on the Balance of Payments are going to undertake a far-ranging export study. We’ll even try to get it underway before the confirmation is made.

Specifically, I have asked him to give me his recommendations and his advice on these questions. I think the answer to most of the questions, like the answer to most questions, is yes, but I want him to study it and report as quickly as possible.

The first question is:

—Should we increase the U.S. trade and industrial exhibitions overseas?

—If we should, to what extent, and what do they think should flow from this effort?

—Should we open new trade centers abroad? Should we undertake more trade missions? Should we have more mobile trade fairs?

—Should we modify our export financing system? How can we improve the financing to help sell the products that our industry and our labor make?

—How can we make the U.S. industry—and the people who make up and contribute to it—more export minded?

I would like, this morning, to thank Mr.

John R. Kimberly and Mr. Thomas Miner for the reports from the National Export Expansion Council. They will be used by us. We anticipate that they will be very helpful and of great value.

So this is somewhat of a meeting to thank all of you and to say to you that your country is grateful.

You deserve the recognition you are receiving. I am glad to welcome you here and I am glad to present the flags that we will give you that will be symbols of your achievement.

One of the most ambitious goals we have for the months ahead is under the direction of this youngest Cabinet member—to try to fire up the producers and the manufacturers of this Nation to attempt to make a substantial increase in our exports and to find new ways and means of bringing about that result.

We welcome the advice and suggestions of Members of Congress and of industry and labor generally.

Thank you very much for coming here and being a part of this ceremony.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:35 p.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. In his opening words he referred to Alexander B. Trowbridge, Acting Secretary of Commerce.

The National Export Expansion Council, composed of business, labor, and professional leaders,

advises the Secretary of Commerce on export matters. "Action Committees" deal with specific fields and present reports relating thereto. The President referred to the chairmen of two of these committees: John R. Kimberly, chairman, Kimberly-Clark Corp., Neenah, Wis., who headed the Action Committee on Export Promotion, and Thomas H. Miner, president, Thomas H. Miner & Associates, Inc., of Chicago, who was chairman of the Action Committee on Trade and Investment in Developing Countries. Their reports are entitled "Export Promotion" (March 10, 1967, 25 pp., processed), and "Trade and Investment in Developing Countries" (Feb. 15, 1967, 36 pp., processed).

The 10 American companies honored at the awards ceremony were Armco Steel Corp., Middletown, Ohio, Beckman Instruments, Inc., Fullerton, Calif., Drico Oil Tools, Inc., Midland, Texas, Elco Corp., Willow Grove, Pa., Mays Manufacturing Co., Inc., Warwick, R.I., Nordberg Manufacturing Co., Inc., Milwaukee, Wis., Pacific Pumps, Inc., Huntington Park, Calif., Scott Aviation Corp., Lancaster, N.Y., Washington State International Trade Fair, Seattle, Wash., and Zenith Radio Corp., Chicago, Ill.

The President's "E" awards were established by Executive Order 10978 of December 5, 1961, entitled "Establishing Presidential Awards for Significant Contributions to the Export Expansion Program" (3 CFR, 1959-1963 Comp., p. 498). The order states that the awards "may be made to persons, firms, and organizations engaged in the marketing of products who make significant contributions to the expansion of the export trade of the United States. It shall consist of a flag having a field of white upon which will appear a blue 'E.'" A Department of Commerce release made available following the May 23 ceremony states that the "E" Award Citation had been presented to 793 export firms and organizations since its establishment in 1961.

232 Statement by the President Upon Signing Order Establishing the President's Advisory Council on Cost Reduction. May 23, 1967

TODAY, I am signing an Executive order creating a Council on Cost Reduction in Government.

I am requesting this Council to review the Government cost reduction efforts to date.

I am asking them to explore further opportunities for economy and better management.

In pursuing this vital task, I want them to

enlist the aid of leaders in business and labor.

I shall expect the Council to keep me up to date on its progress, and to make a full report to me within 12 months.

Two years ago, at my direction, a Government-wide cost reduction program was initiated. At that time I called upon the head of each agency to take personal charge of cost reduction efforts, set specific goals for

reductions in cost, reassess priorities for all programs and operations, identify and remove roadblocks to economy, and verify reported savings.

The savings achieved under the program so far are truly significant.

—The Defense Department saved \$4.5 billion in fiscal 1966 as a result of actions taken over the past several years.

—Nondefense agencies saved \$1.2 billion from steps taken in fiscal 1966, and nearly a billion dollars in the first half of fiscal 1967 alone.

This is an impressive record. These savings helped us to meet our commitments abroad and to finance essential programs at home. But we are not content with our past progress.

I have been determined from the day I took office to do everything in my power to bring about more efficient and effective Government. I expect everyone in Government to search unceasingly for better ways to do his job.

In my message to Congress last March on "The Quality of American Government," I said:

"To broaden and strengthen the Federal

Government's drive for economy and efficiency in all its operations, I will issue an Executive Order establishing an Advisory Council on Cost Reduction."

My purpose in taking this step now is to bring together in a more organized manner the know-how developed in various areas of the Government and private life. By concentrating our insights, we can bring renewed impetus to this program and benefit every American taxpayer.

The Director of the Bureau of the Budget will be Chairman of the Council. Sitting with him will be the Secretary of Defense, the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission, and the Administrator of General Services.

I shall later appoint to the Council other members from the Government, as well as representatives of industry and the public.

NOTE: The President's Advisory Council on Cost Reduction was established by Executive Order 11353 of May 23, 1967 (3 Weekly Comp. Pres. Docs., p. 775; 32 F.R. 7623; 3 CFR, 1967 Comp., p. 286).

The Government-wide cost reduction program was initiated in August 1965 (see 1965 volume, this series, Book II, Item 447).

For the President's message to Congress on the quality of American government, see Item 121.

233 Statement by the President on Rising Tensions in the Near East. *May 23, 1967*

IN recent days, tension has again arisen along the armistice lines between Israel and the Arab States. The situation there is a matter of grave concern to the whole international community. We earnestly support all efforts, in and outside the United Nations and through its appropriate organs, including the Secretary General, to reduce tensions and to restore stability. The Secretary General has gone to the Near East on his mission of peace with the hopes and prayers of men

of good will everywhere.

The Near East links three continents. The birthplace of civilization and of three of the world's great religions, it is the home of some 60 million people and the crossroads between East and West.

The world community has a vital interest in peace and stability in the Near East, one that has been expressed primarily through continuing United Nations action and assistance over the past 20 years.

The United States, as a member of the United Nations, and as a nation dedicated to a world order based on law and mutual respect, has actively supported efforts to maintain peace in the Near East.

The danger, and it is a grave danger, lies in some miscalculation arising from a misunderstanding of the intentions and actions of others.

The Government of the United States is deeply concerned, in particular, with three potentially explosive aspects of the present confrontation.

First, we regret that the General Armistice Agreements have failed to prevent warlike acts from the territory of one against another government, or against civilians, or territory, under control of another government.

Second, we are dismayed at the hurried withdrawal of the United Nations Emergency Force from Gaza and Sinai after more than 10 years of steadfast and effective service in keeping the peace, without action by either the General Assembly or the Security Council. We continue to regard the presence of the United Nations in the area as a matter of fundamental importance and shall support its continuance with all possible vigor.

Third, we deplore the recent buildup of military forces and believe it a matter of urgent importance to reduce troop concentrations. The status of sensitive areas, as the Secretary General emphasized in his report to the Security Council, such as the Gaza strip and the Gulf of Aqaba, is a particularly important aspect of the situation.

In this connection, I want to add that the purported closing of the Gulf of Aqaba to Israeli shipping has brought a new and grave dimension to the crisis. The United States considers the gulf to be an international waterway and feels that a blockade of Israeli shipping is illegal and potentially disastrous to the cause of peace. The right of

free, innocent passage of the international waterway is a vital interest of the international community.

The Government of the United States is seeking clarification on this point. We have urged Secretary General Thant to recognize the sensitivity of the Aqaba question and to give it the highest priority in his discussions in Cairo.

To the leaders of all the nations of the Near East, I wish to say what three Presidents have said before—that the United States is firmly committed to the support of the political independence and territorial integrity of all the nations of the area. The United States strongly opposes aggression by anyone in the area, in any form, overt or clandestine. This has been the policy of the United States led by four Presidents—President Truman, President Eisenhower, President Kennedy, and myself—as well as the policy of both of our political parties. The record of the actions of the United States over the past 20 years, within and outside the United Nations, is very clear on this point.

The United States has consistently sought to have good relations with all the states of the Near East. Regrettably this has not always been possible, but we are convinced that our differences with individual states of the area and their differences with each other must be worked out peacefully and in accordance with accepted international practice.

We have always opposed—and we oppose in other parts of the world at this moment—the efforts of other nations to resolve their problems with their neighbors by aggression. We shall continue to do so. And we appeal to all other peace-loving nations to do likewise.

We call upon all concerned to observe in a spirit of restraint their solemn responsibilities under the Charter of the United Nations and the General Armistice Agreements. These

provide an honorable means of preventing hostilities until, through the efforts of the international community, a peace with justice and honor can be achieved.

I have been in close contact and will be in the days ahead with Ambassador Goldberg at

the United Nations, where we are pursuing the matter with great vigor, and hope the Security Council can act effectively.

NOTE: The President read the statement at 6:10 p.m. in the Fish Room at the White House.

See also Items 254, 255.

234 Remarks to a Group of Visiting Japanese Governors.

May 24, 1967

I AM HAPPY to extend to each one of you—on behalf of all the American people—our welcome to the United States, and a warm welcome to the White House.

The mutual visits which the Governors of Japan and the Governors of the United States have been making for the past 3 years are, I think, a great benefit to our countries.

Much has been made of the great differences between our countries—differences of culture, religion, and geography. But I am struck by our similarities.

Our two countries are among the world's most active and vital and prosperous. And we are among the most deeply involved in world affairs.

Both of us face the problems of success: challenges of growth, of rising affluence, of social and political change.

In a turbulent world, the answers which our countries find to those problems will have influence far beyond our borders.

That is why I am grateful for the mutual understanding and the common progress which result from your contacts with our Governors—and theirs with you.

You are advancing the noblest cause of all—the cause of peace.

In meeting the problem of urban growth, for instance, I am struck by how our approaches coincide.

Both Japan and America have experienced explosive urban growth. Two-thirds of our

people now live in cities. Coping with this explosion tests not only our technology, but the very power of democracy to govern creatively and effectively.

Our responses are remarkably similar. Both of us cherish the principle of local initiative, local action.

And we have a great deal to learn from each other.

We are already learning from Japan about the development of high-speed railways. When we see the Tokyo-Osaka express train streaking along at 125 miles an hour we dream of the day when trains on our Eastern Seaboard will move as fast.

And, at a time when mass urban transit is a major national issue in the United States, we are studying your suburban rail systems.

In this and other fields, the exchange of ideas can be a way to better understanding between our people. We believe it leads to eventual peace and progress all over the world.

I hope that there are developments in our country which will be useful to you in Japan.

Our country is facing great new problems—and establishing great new programs. As a result, our Federal system is being challenged.

We believe that we will meet that challenge. Right now, we are establishing better communication, better cooperation, better

understanding between our States and the Federal Government.

On your visit, you can see that happening. I hope it gives you some ideas to take home.

I am glad to observe that you are having lunch today with our friends in the Congress.

Gentlemen, you do us honor by your visit.

I salute you—and I salute the National Governors' Conference for its part in this venture of understanding.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12 noon in the Cabinet Room at the White House.

As printed above, this item follows the text released by the White House Press Office.

235 Statement by the President Upon Awarding the Distinguished Service Medal to Maj. Gen. James W. Humphreys, Jr., USAF.

May 24, 1967

GENERAL HUMPHREYS, a career officer in the Air Force Medical Corps, has just returned from 2 years in Vietnam. He was there, as part of our AID program, to help develop a national medical program for the Vietnamese people.

In the midst of war, he was deeply committed to advancing the works of peace. And he succeeded outstandingly.

When he arrived, there were 80 Americans working on health programs for the benefit of that sorely beset people. Today there are some 900—eleven times as many. And they have been joined by some 500 medical personnel from other free nations.

They are now at work in 40 provincial hospitals, district, village, and hamlet health stations throughout South Vietnam.

Their work has revolutionized the care of the sick. They have brought hope where once there was only despair. They have helped us, and the Government of Vietnam, demonstrate anew that we are determined to

bring them the better life for which they long, and which is their right.

NOTE: The ceremony was held at 1:50 p.m. in the Oval Room at the White House. The text of the citation follows:

Major General James W. Humphreys, Jr. distinguished himself by exceptionally meritorious service to the United States in a position of great responsibility as Assistant Director for Public Health, United States Agency for International Development to the Republic of Vietnam from 9 June 1965 to 31 May 1967. In this very important assignment as chief American medical officer in Vietnam, General Humphreys demonstrated exceptional leadership, organizational ability, foresight and unselfish devotion to duty in creating a national health program which revolutionized treatment and care of the sick in Vietnam and increased, many fold, the survivability of persons wounded or ill in villages and rural areas. General Humphreys' remarkable achievements fortified the Vietnamese will to resist aggression and have helped the Government of Vietnam in its efforts to serve the people and to win their confidence. The singularly distinctive accomplishments of General Humphreys are in keeping with the highest standards of performance and traditions of the military service and reflect great credit upon himself and the United States Air Force.

236 Special Message to the Congress on Election Reform: The Political Process in America. May 25, 1967

To the Congress of the United States:

I. INTRODUCTION

Public participation in the processes of government is the essence of democracy. Public confidence in those processes strengthens democracy.

No Government can long survive which does not fuse the public will to the institutions which serve it. The American system has endured for almost two centuries because the people have involved themselves in the work of their Government, with full faith in the meaning of that involvement.

But Government itself has the continuing obligation—second to no other—to keep the machinery of public participation functioning smoothly and to improve it where necessary so that democracy remains a vital and vibrant institution.

It is in the spirit of that obligation that I send this message to the Congress today. I propose a five-point program to:

- Reform our campaign financing laws to assure full disclosure of contributions and expenses, to place realistic limits on contributions, and to remove the meaningless and ineffective ceilings on campaign expenditures.
- Provide a system of public financing for Presidential election campaigns.
- Broaden the base of public support for election campaigns, by exploring ways to encourage and stimulate small contributions.
- Close the loopholes in the Federal laws regulating lobbying.
- Assure the right to vote for millions of Americans who change their residences.

II. THE ELECTION REFORM ACT OF 1967

In our democracy, politics is the instrument which sustains our institutions and keeps them strong and free.

The laws which govern political activity should be constantly reviewed—and reshaped when necessary—to preserve the essential health and vitality of the political process which is so fundamental to our way of life.

In my 1966 State of the Union message I called attention to the need for a basic reform of the laws governing political campaigns in these words:

“... I will submit legislation to revise the present unrealistic restrictions on contributions—to prohibit the endless proliferation of committees, bringing local and state committees under the act—and to attach strong teeth and severe penalties to the requirement of full disclosure of contributions. . . .”

A year ago this month, I submitted my proposals to the Congress in the Election Reform Act of 1966.

That measure reflected my concern, as one who has been involved in the process of elective Government for over three decades, that the laws dealing with election campaigns have not kept pace with the times.

The Federal Corrupt Practices Act was passed 42 years ago. The Hatch Act was passed 27 years ago. Inadequate in their scope when enacted, they are now obsolete. More loophole than law, they invite evasion and circumvention.

A sweeping overhaul of the laws governing election campaigns should no longer be delayed.

Basic reform—with an emphasis on clear and straightforward disclosure—is essential

to insure public confidence and involvement in the political process. On the cornerstone of disclosure we can build toward further reform—by charting new ways to broaden the base of financial support for candidates and parties in election campaigns.

I again ask the Congress to take positive action in this field as we work together to insure continued and increased public confidence in the elective process.

I recommend the Election Reform Act of 1967 to correct omissions, loopholes, and shortcomings in the present campaign laws.

This Act embodies many of the same positive measures I proposed last May. Last October, after hearings, the subcommittee on Elections of the Committee on House Administration reported out substantially the bill I proposed “favorably and with bipartisan support.” The Subcommittee Report called those measures “a vast improvement over existing law.”

Full Public Disclosure

The heart of basic reform is full disclosure. This measure would, for the first time, make effective the past efforts of the Congress and the Executive to achieve full disclosure of political campaign funds.

Complete disclosure will open to public view where campaign money comes from and how it is spent. Such disclosure will help dispel the growth of public skepticism which surrounds the present methods of financing political campaigns.

Full disclosure efforts are frustrated today by gaps in the law through which have passed an endless stream of national, state and local political committees.

To insure full disclosure, I recommend that:

—Every candidate, including those for the Presidency and Vice Presidency, and every committee, state, interstate, and

national, that supports a candidate for federal office be required to report on every contribution, loan and expense item over \$100.

—Primaries and convention nomination contests be brought within the disclosure laws.

Effective Ceilings on the Size of Contributions

Closely related to full disclosure—the basic step in any election reform—is another equally demanding task. It requires that we make political financing more democratic by recognizing that great wealth—in reality or appearance—could be used to achieve undue political influence.

Current law limits to \$5,000 contributions to a single candidate for federal office or contributions to any national political committee supporting a candidate.

But the law does not prohibit an individual from making a \$5,000 contribution to each of several national committees supporting a candidate or party—and there is no limit to the number of such committees. Moreover, state and local political committees are not even covered by existing law.

I recommend that a \$5,000 limit be placed on the total amount that could come from any individual, his wife or minor children, to the campaign of any candidate.

Repeal of Artificial Limits on Campaign Expenses

With full disclosure and an effective ceiling on contributions we can move forward to cure another defect in our election campaign laws—the artificial limits on campaign expenditures.

Under present law, for example:

—National political committees can raise and spend no more than \$3 million.

But the law does not limit the number

of national committees.

—Senate candidates are limited to expenses of \$25,000 and House candidates to \$5,000. But the law does not limit the number of committees that can spend and raise money on the candidate's behalf.

These legal ceilings on expenditures were enacted many years ago, when the potential of radio in a campaign was virtually unknown and when television did not exist. They are totally unrealistic and inadequate. They have led to the endless proliferation of political committees.

I therefore recommend a repeal of the present arbitrary limits on the total expenditures of candidates for federal office.

Barring Political Contributions by Government Contractors

Present law prohibits corporations and labor organizations from making contributions to campaigns for federal office.

But there is an anomaly which must be corrected in the law relating to contractors with the Federal Government.

Non-corporate Government contractors are now prohibited from making political contributions at all levels of Government—federal, state and local.

The bar on corporations with Government contracts, however, extends only to political contributions at the federal level. These corporations are free to make political contributions at the state and local levels where finances are often intertwined with national political campaigns.

In the interests of consistency and good sense, I recommend that corporations holding contracts with the Federal Government also be prohibited from making political contributions at the state and local level.

Enforcement

To insure that these reforms are strictly enforced, the Election Reform Act of 1967 would provide criminal penalties for violations of the law.

III. CAMPAIGN FINANCING

The proposed Election Reform Act of 1967 is corrective, remedying present inadequacies in the law. It goes hand in hand with the pursuit of another goal—to provide public support for election campaigns.

The Background

Democracy rests on the voice of the people. Whatever blunts the clear expression of that voice is a threat to democratic government.

In this century one phenomenon in particular poses such a threat—the soaring costs of political campaigns.

Historically, candidates for public office in this country have always relied upon private contributions to finance their campaigns.

But in the last few decades, technology—which has changed so much of our national life—has modified the nature of political campaigning as well. Radio, television, and the airplane have brought sweeping new dimensions and costs to the concept of political candidacy.

In many ways these changes have worked to the decided advantage of the American people. They have served to bring the candidates and the issues before virtually every voting citizen. They have contributed immeasurably to the political education of the nation.

In another way, however, they have worked to the opposite effect by increasing

the costs of campaigning to spectacular proportions. Costs of such magnitude can have serious consequences for our democracy:

- More and more, men and women of limited means may refrain from running for public office. Private wealth increasingly becomes an artificial and unrealistic arbiter of qualifications, and the source of public leadership is thus severely narrowed.
- Increases in the size of individual contributions create uneasiness in the minds of the public. Actually, the exercise of undue influence occurs infrequently. Nonetheless, the circumstance in which a candidate is obligated to rely on sizable contributions easily creates the impression that influence is at work. This impression—however unfounded it might be—is itself intolerable, for it erodes public confidence in the democratic order.
- The necessity of acquiring substantial funds to finance campaigns diverts a candidate's attention from his public obligations and detracts from his energetic exposition of the issues.
- The growing importance of large contributions serves to deter the search for small ones, and thus effectively narrows the base of financial support. This is exactly the opposite of what a democratic society should strive to achieve.

It is extremely difficult to devise a program which completely eliminates these undesirable consequences without inhibiting robust campaigning and the freedom of every American fully to participate in the elective process. I believe that our ultimate goal should be to finance the total expense for this vital function of our democracy with public funds, and to prohibit the use or acceptance of money from private sources. We have vir-

tually no experience upon which to base such a program. Its risks and uncertainties are formidable. I believe, however, that we are ready to make a beginning. We should proceed with all prudent speed to enact those parts of such a program which appear to be feasible at this time.

PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGNS

The Problem

The election of a President is the highest expression of the free choice of the American people. It is the most visible level of politics—and also the most expensive.

For their free choice to be exercised wisely, the people must be fully informed about the opposing candidates and issues. To achieve this, candidates and parties must have the funds to bring their platforms and programs to the people.

Yet, as we have seen, the costs of campaigning are skyrocketing. This imposes extreme and heavy financial burdens on party and candidate alike, creating a potential for danger—the possibility that men of great wealth could achieve undue political influence through large contributions.

In recognition of this problem, the Congress last year enacted the Presidential Election Campaign Fund Act. By so doing, it adopted the central concept that some form of public financing of Presidential campaigns would serve the public interest.

I did not submit or recommend this legislation. It was the creation and the product of the Congress in 1966. As you will recall, it was added as an amendment to other essential legislation. When I signed that Act into law last November, I observed that “it breaks new ground in the financing of Presidential election campaigns” and that the “new law is only a beginning.” It was my

belief then, as it is now, that the complex issues involved in this new concept required extensive discussion and penetrating analysis.

Over the past six weeks, we have heard men of deep principle and firm conviction engage in a spirited and searching debate on the law. While there were honest and vigorous disagreements, they were voiced by those who share a common faith in the free ideals which are the bedrock of our democracy.

The Issues

The course of the debate has illuminated many of the issues which underlie the matter of Presidential campaign financing. For example:

- In what amount should Federal funds be provided for these campaigns?
- What limitations should be placed on the use of these funds?
- Should there be a complete bar on the use of private contributions for those aspects of campaign financing which would be regularly provided through appropriations?
- Can the availability of public funds result in an undue concentration of power in National Political Committees. If so, what steps can be taken to prevent it?
- Is the tax check-off method a sound approach or is a direct appropriation to be preferred?
- How can equitable treatment of minor parties be assured?
- What sanctions would be most effective to insure compliance with the law?
- Whatever the ultimate formula, how can we preserve the independence, spirit and spontaneity that has hallmarked American political enterprise through the years?

The Recommendations

Against this backdrop of concern for the political process, the protection of the public interest, and the issues that have been raised, I make these eleven recommendations to improve and strengthen the Presidential Election Campaign Fund Act:

1. *Funds to finance Presidential campaigns should be provided by direct Congressional appropriation, rather than determined by individual tax check-offs.*

This approach would:

- Provide the opportunity for Congress to make a realistic assessment, and express its judgment, of what it would cost Presidential candidates or parties to carry their views to the voters. This assessment should consider the recommendations of the special Advisory Board to the Comptroller General, created under the Presidential Election Campaign Fund Act. The Board consists of representatives of both major political parties. Based on this review and recommendation, Congress could then appropriate the necessary funds.
- Make the amount appropriated for the campaign fund more stable, by removing its uncertain reliance on tax check-offs, whose numbers might bear no reasonable relationship to the amount required to bring the issues before the public.

2. *The funds should be used only for expenses which are needed to bring the issues before the public.*

Under the procedure I recommend:

- The funds so appropriated would be used to reimburse specified expenditures incurred during the Presidential election campaign itself, after the parties have selected their candidate.

—The amount appropriated should be adequate to defray key items of expense to carry a campaign to the public and thus be limited to the following items: radio and television, newspaper and periodical advertising, the preparation and distribution of campaign literature, and travel.

—The amount of the fund for the major parties as finally determined by the Congress, would be divided equally between them.

3. *Private contributions for major parties could not be used for those items of expense to which public funds could be applied.*

Private contributions, however, could be used to defray the costs of other campaign expenses. These would include the salaries of campaign workers, overhead, research and polls, telegraph and telephone, postage and administrative expenses.

Citizens who want to make contributions to the party or candidate of their choice will be free to do so. Party workers at the grass roots will be able to pursue their neighborhood activities, a responsibility which is deeply woven into the fabric of American political tradition.

But under the measures I have proposed, the major burden of raising money for soaring campaign costs will be lifted from a Presidential candidate's shoulders. No longer will we have to rely on the large contributions of wealthy and powerful interests.

4. *A "major party" should be defined as one which received 25% or more of the popular votes cast in the last election.*

A percentage-of-votes test is more realistic than the fixed number of votes (15 million) now in the present law. It recognizes our growing population with more Americans entering the voting ranks each year.

5. *A "minor party" should be defined as one which received between 5% and 25%*

of the popular votes cast in the current election.

For the same reasons I described above, the eligibility test for Federal support should not be based on a fixed number of votes (5 million for "minor parties" in the current law), but rather on the percentage of votes received.

Third party movements can support the rich diversity of American political life. At the same time some reasonable limitations should be developed so that Federal financial incentives are not made available to parties lacking a modicum of public support—or created solely to receive Government funds.

Under this proposal, "minor parties" would receive payments based on the number of votes they receive in the current election. The payment for each vote received by a minor party would then be determined so as to be the equivalent of that made to the major parties.

For example, assume that two major parties received a total of 80 million votes in a prior election, and Congress had appropriated a \$40 million campaign fund for those two parties. Although the major parties would share equally in that fund (\$20 million each), the allocation would amount to 50 cents per vote cast for those parties. Using the 50 cents per vote as the guideline, a minor party receiving 5 million votes in the current election would be entitled to \$2.5 million for its recognized campaign expenses.

6. *A "minor party" should be eligible for reimbursement promptly following an election.*

A "minor party" should be able to qualify promptly for federal funds, based on its showing in the current election, rather than waiting four years until the next election. This added source of funds should enhance a minor party's opportunity to bring its pro-

grams and platforms into the public arena.

7. *The percentage of federal funds received by a major or minor party which could be used in any one state should be limited to 140 percent of the percentage the population of that state bears to the population of the country.*

This would prevent the concentration of funds in any particular State and would minimize the ability of national party officials to reduce the role and effectiveness of local political organizations. At the same time, it would retain the flexibility necessary to carry a party's programs to the public. The Comptroller General should be empowered to issue rules for the equitable allocation, on a geographic basis, for national campaign expenses, such as network television.

8. *The Comptroller General should be required to make a full report to the Congress as soon as practicable after each Presidential election.*

This report should include:

- payments made to each party from the fund;
- expenses incurred by each party;
- any misuse of the funds.

9. *The Comptroller General should be given clear authority to audit the expenses of Presidential campaigns.*

It is imperative that the strictest controls be exercised to safeguard the public interest. The General Accounting Office is the arm of the Government which I believe is best suited to monitor the expenditures of the fund.

Payments from the fund would be made only upon the submission of certified vouchers to the Comptroller General.

If the Comptroller General's audit reveals any improper use of funds, the following sanctions would be applied:

- the amounts involved would have to be repaid to the Treasury; and

—if the misuse is willful, a penalty of up to 50 percent of the amount involved would be imposed.

10. *To bring greater wisdom and experience to the administration of the act, the Comptroller General's special Advisory Board on the Presidential Election Campaign Fund should be expanded from 7 to 11 members.*

This Advisory Board is faced with a heavy and demanding task. It must "counsel and assist" the Comptroller General in the performance of his duties under the Act.

The membership of the Board now consists of two members from each major political party and three additional members. I recommend that the Board be enlarged to encompass the wisdom and experience of 4 distinguished Americans:

- The Majority Leader of the Senate
- The Minority Leader of the Senate
- The Speaker of the House of Representatives
- The Minority Leader of the House

11. *Criminal penalties should be applied for the willful misuse of payments received under the Act by any person with custody of the funds.*

The penalties should be a fine of not more than \$10,000, or 5 years imprisonment, or both. Criminal penalties would also be applied against any person who makes a false claim or statement for the purpose of obtaining funds under the Act.

OTHER CAMPAIGN FINANCING

We should also seek ways to provide some form of public support for Congressional, state and local political primaries and campaigns.

Here, the need is no less acute than at the Presidential level. But the problems involved are as complex as the elections themselves,

which vary from district to district and contest to contest.

Because the uncertainties in this area are so very great, and because the issues have not received the benefit of the extensive debate that has characterized Presidential campaign financing, I pose for your consideration and exploration a series of alternatives.

In 1961, President Kennedy appointed a distinguished, bipartisan Commission on Campaign Costs to take a fresh look at the problems of financing election campaigns. Although the Commission devoted its attention to the problems of campaign costs for Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates, it pointed out that the measures proposed "would have a desirable effect on all political fund raising."

The Commission's 1962 report and recommendations were endorsed by Presidents Dwight D. Eisenhower and Harry S. Truman as well as leading Presidential candidates in recent elections.

Based on the Commission's recommendations and the later reviews and studies of campaign financing, there are several alternatives which should be considered. These alternatives all involve public financing of campaigns to a greater or lesser extent. Among them are:

- A system of direct appropriations, patterned after the recommendations made herein for Presidential campaigns, or modeled after recommendations pending in the Congress.
- A tax credit against federal income tax for 50 percent of contributions, up to a maximum credit of \$10 per year.
- A matching incentive plan in which the government would contribute an amount up to \$10 for an equal amount contributed by a citizen, whether or not a taxpayer, to a candidate or committee.
- A "voucher plan" in which Treasury

certificates for small amounts could be mailed to citizens who, in turn, would send them to candidates or committees of their choice. These vouchers could then be redeemed from public funds, and the funds used to defray specified campaign expenditures.

I believe these deserve serious attention along with other proposals previously recommended and suggested to the Congress. Each alternative offers particular advantages. Thorough review may reveal that one is to be clearly preferred over the others, or that still other courses of action are appropriate. Whatever the outcome, any such review should reflect a realistic assessment of the amount of funds needed in these campaigns and the extent to which the funds should be provided by public means.

I recommend that Congress undertake such a review.

I have asked the Secretary of the Treasury and the Attorney General to cooperate fully with the Congress in its exploration of these alternatives in order to give all the help the Executive Branch can to the Congress as it seeks the best congressional election campaign financing program.

These recommendations represent my thoughts on the issues at stake. I believe they highlight the problems in an area so new and complex that there is little experience in our national life to guide us.

I hope that these proposals will serve as guidelines for discussion and debate in the coming weeks. A penetrating and orderly review of these vital public issues, with all the wisdom that the Congress can summon, will in itself be an important educational process for the nation in the art of government and politics.

I hope that Congress will proceed to con-

sider promptly the problem of campaign financing and will enact appropriate legislation.

I make no recommendation as to the effective date with respect to such legislation. I leave that entirely to the judgment and wisdom of the Congress. I have no desire to ask that the provisions be made applicable to any campaign in which I may be involved. On the other hand, I have no desire to request that any such campaign be exempted from modernizing legislation which Congress might enact.

Public financing of political campaigns presents the American people with an issue that is both significant and complex—departing as it does from the familiar practices of the past. It transcends partisan political considerations. I urge the American people and the Congress to consider this issue thoughtfully, on its merits, and on the highest and most objective plane, independent of any personalities now in office or seeking office.

IV. STRENGTHENING FEDERAL REGULATION OF LOBBYING

Full disclosure can serve the integrity of government in another important area—the regulation of lobbying.

Lobbying dates back to the earliest days of our Republic. It is based on the constitutionally guaranteed right of the people to petition their elected representatives for a redress of grievances.

Yet to realize the American ideal of Government, our elected representatives must be able to evaluate the varied pressures to which they are regularly subjected. In 1946, Congress responded to this need by enacting the Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act. Its purpose was not to curtail lobbying but to regulate it through disclosure. For the first time, individuals and groups who directly

attempted to influence legislation were required to register.

More than twenty years of experience with the Act have highlighted its flaws. Through loopholes in the law, immune from its registration provisions, have passed some of the most powerful, best financed and best organized lobbies. Although engaged in constant and intensive lobbying, they are not legally required to disclose their existence—because lobbying is not their “principal” purpose, the narrow test under current law.

The Congress has properly taken the initiative to meet this problem. Two months ago, the Senate passed S. 355 by a decisive vote. In that measure, Federal regulation of lobbying has been strengthened by:

—Supplanting the “principal purpose” test with the broader test of “substantial purpose,” thus extending the reach of the Act by a wider definition of those required to register.

—Transferring the responsibility for administration of the law from the Clerk of the House and the Secretary of the Senate to the Comptroller General.

I strongly endorse the Senate's action in strengthening Federal regulation of lobbying as an important step toward better Government, and I urge the House to take similar action.

V. THE RESIDENCY VOTING ACT OF 1967

Voting is the first duty of democracy. H. G. Wells called it, “Democracy's ceremonial, its feast, its great function.”

This Nation has already assured that no man can legally be denied the right to vote because of the color of his skin or his economic condition. But we find that millions of Americans are still disenfranchised—because they have moved their residence from

one locality to another.

Mobility is one of the attributes of a free society, and increasingly a chief characteristic of our Nation in the 20th Century. More American citizens than ever before move in search of new jobs and better opportunities.

For a mobile society, election laws which impose unduly long residence requirements are obsolete. They serve only to create a new class of disenfranchised Americans.

An analysis of the 1960 election, the last election for which studies are available, shows that between 5 and 8 million otherwise eligible voters were deprived of the right to vote because of unnecessarily long residency requirements in many of the states. Almost half the states, for example, through laws a century old, require a citizen to be a resident a full 12 months before he can vote even in a Presidential election.

These requirements diminish democracy. The people's rights to travel freely from State to State is constitutionally protected. The exercise of that right should not imperil the loss of another constitutionally protected right—the right to vote.

I propose the Residency Voting Act of 1967 which provides that a citizen, otherwise qualified to vote under the laws of a state, may not be denied his vote in a Presidential election if he becomes a resident of the state by the first day of September preceding the election.

VI. CONCLUSION

Seventy years ago, the great American historian Frederick Jackson Turner wrote these words:

“Behind institutions, behind constitutional forms and modifications, lie the vital forces that call these organs into life and shape them to meet changing conditions. The peculiarity of American institutions is the fact that they have been compelled to adapt themselves to the changes of an expanding people. . . .”

This represents a valid exposition of the vitality of our democratic process as it has endured for almost two hundred years.

Over those two centuries Presidents and Congresses have strengthened that process as changing circumstances presented the clear need to do so. History has spared few generations that continuing obligation.

Today, that obligation poses for us the requirement—and the opportunity as well—to bring new strength to the processes which underlie our free institutions.

It is in keeping with this obligation that I submit the proposals in this Message.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

The White House

May 25, 1967

NOTE: Election reform legislation was not enacted during the first session of the 90th Congress.

237 Remarks in Montreal Upon Visiting EXPO '67.

May 25, 1967

Mr. Commissioner General Dupuy, Secretary Martin, Premier Johnson, Ambassador Ritchie, Mayor Drapeau, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

It is always a great pleasure for me to visit Canada. Your magnificent EXPO '67—and

knowledge that this is your centennial anniversary—serves to heighten my interest.

My first trip outside of the United States after I became President was to visit Canada. That was to Vancouver, where we met with Prime Minister Pearson to proclaim the

Columbia River Treaty.

We came to conserve the water resources of our great continent—and so naturally that day it was pouring down rain.

It rained so hard, in fact, that I never delivered the speech that I had prepared for that occasion. But I hope you won't worry. While the temptation is hard to resist, I'm not going to deliver that speech here today.

I well recall some words your Prime Minister spoke to me on that rainy day in Vancouver, more than 2 years ago. He told me then:

"... I assure you, Mr. President, that had you landed at our most eastern airport in Newfoundland, 5,000 or more miles away, or at any place between, our welcome to you would have been equally warm both for yourself and as President of the United States..."

You have focused the eyes of the world on the theme of your exhibition: "Man and His World." We hope that, among other lessons to be learned here, will be this: that proud and independent peoples can live peacefully side by side, can live in peace and partnership as good neighbors, that they need not waste their substance and destroy their dreams with useless quarrels and senseless, unconstructive conflict.

We of the United States of America consider ourselves blessed. We have much to give thanks for. But the gift of providence

that we really cherish is that we were given as our neighbors on this great, wonderful continent, the people and the nation of Canada.

So we are very delighted to be here. We are so glad that you invited us. We thank you very much for your courtesy.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:45 a.m. at the Place des Nations during a visit to the Canadian Universal and International Exhibition, Montreal 1967 (EXPO '67). In his opening words he referred to Pierre Dupuy, Commissioner General of EXPO '67, Paul J. J. Martin, Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs, Daniel Johnson, Premier of the Province of Quebec, A. Edgar Ritchie, Canadian Ambassador to the United States, and Jean Drapeau, Mayor of Montreal.

For the President's remarks with Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson of Canada upon proclaiming the Columbia River Treaty, see 1963-64 volume, this series, Book II, Item 576.

On May 20, 1967, the White House Press Office made public the names of the official United States delegation to EXPO '67 headed by Postmaster General Lawrence F. O'Brien (3 Weekly Comp. Pres. Docs., p. 768).

In honor of the 1817 disarmament agreement between the United States and Canada, the President signed Proclamation 3781 of April 27, 1967 "Rush-Bagot Agreement Days" (3 Weekly Comp. Pres. Docs., p. 664; 32 F.R. 6757; 3 CFR, 1967 Comp., p. 47). The proclamation states that the celebration of the 150th anniversary of the Rush-Bagot Agreement "coincides with the opening of the 1967 Universal and International Exhibition—known as EXPO 67—in Montreal. The theme of the Exhibition, 'Man and His World,' has a close relationship to the spirit of peace and good will embodied in the Rush-Bagot Agreement."

See also Items 238, 239.

238 Remarks in Montreal Upon Presenting the United States Gift to the People of Canada. May 25, 1967

Mr. Commissioner General, my friend Secretary Martin, Mr. Marks, Mr. Tupper, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

It is a very great pleasure to come here today to present this "Great Ring of Canada" to the people of Canada. It was made in the

United States of America, but it is all Canadian.

The 12 crystal plaques commemorate your 10 Provinces and your 2 Territories. It displays their coats of arms and their official flowers.

There is also the motto of Canada. That motto is in Latin, which I will not attempt to recite. But I recognize the source, because it is from the Book of Psalms. And, in the version I read as a little boy, it promised that the "righteous shall have dominion also from sea to sea."

The psalm from which Canada takes her motto—and which is so often repeated in this "Great Ring"—contains some other thoughts, which I think would be quite appropriate to recall today.

It describes the just ruler, and it says:

"He shall judge thy people with righteousness, and thy poor with judgment . . .

"He shall judge the poor of the people, he shall save the children of the needy, and he shall break in pieces the oppressor . . .

"In his days shall the righteous flourish, and abundance of peace so long as the moon endureth.

"He shall have dominion also from sea to sea, and from the river unto the ends of the earth."

And so, Mr. Commissioner General, if the President of the United States may be permitted to comment on the internal affairs of a sister nation, Canada's motto was well chosen.

We share the goals and the ideals that are expressed in that motto. It is my profound

hope that this eloquent expression of it will be viewed by generations yet unborn, as a historic symbol. I hope they will have reason to remember it as tangible evidence that two great nations were united in their efforts to create the kind of world for which men have always longed, but really have never achieved.

If that comes to pass, then Canadians and Americans alike may well say for all time: Our ancestors pointed the way.

This is not a crystal ball. We cannot see all that just by looking into it. But I believe it is there. It is there in the history of Canada. It is there in the history of the United States. And I strongly suspect that what is sometimes cloudy and obscure to us will be as crystal clear to our grandchildren as this great work of art that we have come here to unveil today to our friends.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12 noon at the United States Pavilion during a visit to the Canadian Universal and International Exhibition, Montreal 1967 (EXPO '67). In his opening words he referred to Pierre Dupuy, Commissioner General of EXPO '67, Paul J. J. Martin, Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs, Leonard H. Marks, Director of the United States Information Agency, and Stanley R. Tupper, United States Commissioner General for EXPO '67.

The 12 crystal plaques were made of Steuben Glass at the Corning Glass Center, Corning, N.Y.

See also Items 237, 239.

239 Press Briefing in Montreal With Prime Minister Pearson of Canada. May 25, 1967

Ladies and gentlemen:

I want to tell you about our visit here today and to thank the people of Canada, the distinguished Prime Minister, and the other officials of the Canadian Government for their hospitality.

We had a delightful visit at EXPO. We were thrilled to see what you people had done there in the way of permitting other

nations to come here and demonstrate their friendship for your great country and to exchange exhibits and ideas with our neighbors.

I imposed on the Prime Minister by going with him to lunch and counseling with him on the problems that confront the peoples of the world today. We, of course, discussed the situation that exists in the Middle East,

the discussions that took place yesterday in the Security Council of the United Nations, and the likely discussions that will take place there in the days ahead.

As you know, we in the United States have a very high regard for Prime Minister Pearson. He has worked with our people over a long period. He has served in our Capital. He has distinguished himself as a citizen of the world. And he is one of the great living experts on the particular area of the world which greatly concerns us now.

The Prime Minister and I exchanged ideas. Our visit was a very agreeable one. We not only talked about the Middle East, but we talked about our respective countries, our problems with each other, the problems that good neighbors do have.

We also talked about the situation in Vietnam, as we have on other occasions. I brought him up to date on the reports that we have from there—our viewpoint. I am returning to Washington very shortly where I will meet Lord Casey from Australia, who is due there at 5:30.

I would summarize our visit by saying my talk with the Prime Minister and others was quite constructive and very agreeable. I would hope that in the days ahead I might have the opportunity to come here for a somewhat more extended stay than the situation today would permit.

I have been President a little over 3 years; and I have had a chance to visit Canada

three times. I would like to have some other visits in the future.

Q. Mr. President, would you care to entertain questions?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I don't plan to have a press conference.

Q. How about the Prime Minister?

THE PRIME MINISTER. The President is due in Washington at 5:30 to meet with the Governor-General of Australia, so I hope he won't be detained.

I think the President, who I was so happy to have as my guest at Harrington Lake, has said all that can be said about our talks.

We covered a lot of ground. From my point of view, they were very helpful, indeed, and I am very grateful to the President for getting his viewpoint on some of the very dangerous and difficult international situations that face us today.

I just want to express my gratitude for the President taking time to come here and, as he has indicated, he hopes to get back in our centennial year to Canada for a little longer visit.

So, I think if you will excuse us, I will go to the plane with the President and wave him goodbye to Washington.

Reporter: Thank you.

NOTE: The press briefing was held at 4:15 p.m. at Uplands R.C.A.F. Base in Ottawa at the close of the President's visit to Canada. During his remarks he referred to Richard G. Lord Casey, Governor-General of Australia.

See also Items 237, 238.

240 Memorandum on the Need for Action To Prevent Oil Pollution of Coastal Waters. May 26, 1967

Memorandum for the Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Transportation:

The recent oil spillage disaster off the coast of England and the oil pollution epi-

sode on the northeast coast of this country resulted in tragic harm to marine life and waterfowl, ruined vast stretches of natural recreational facilities and imposed a tremen-

dous cost in human effort and economic resources. It is imperative that we take prompt action to prevent similar catastrophes in the future and to insure that the Nation is fully equipped to minimize the threat from such accidents to health, safety, and our natural resources.

I am asking you to undertake, on an urgent basis, a study to determine how best to mobilize the resources of the Federal Government and the Nation to meet this problem. I would like you to co-chair the project and report to me within ninety days on the steps taken to implement this memorandum with recommendations as to what additional authority is necessary to assure an effective national and international program.

The study should contain a thorough assessment of the existing resources, legal authorities and capabilities of the Federal Government and the private sector, as well as recommendations as to where the responsibilities for any new programs should be placed. In your study, you should also seek the appropriate participation and draw fully upon the resources and experience of other interested Government agencies, industry, labor, and the scientific community.

Your effort should not be limited to oil spillage alone but should include other pollutants and hazardous substances. Among the areas which you should consider are:

- The prevention of oil spillage accidents through the design of vessels and through control of the movement of vessels carrying these materials.
- Techniques for detection, recovery, and neutralization of spilled pollutants.
- Techniques for minimizing harm to marine and other wildlife.
- Preventative measures relating to offshore production of oil and other minerals.

—Opportunities for broad international cooperation in the program.

—Development of contingency plans to deal with these emergencies.

—Evaluation of research and development projects and priorities.

Some efforts are already underway. Representatives of your Departments and the Corps of Engineers have visited the site of the Torrey Canyon disaster. The National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development has investigated the subject. Representatives of this Government have participated in an emergency meeting of the Intergovernmental Marine Consultative Organization which is comprised of representatives of many countries. A special study group representing the Department of Interior's Water Pollution Control Administration, the Coast Guard and the Army Corps of Engineers has been formed to consider the problem. The long-standing United States National Committee for the Prevention of Pollution of the Seas by Oil has taken up the problem in emergency sessions as has the Oil Pollution Industry Advisory Panel of the Merchant Marine Council.

These existing groups should be fully utilized as you conduct your study.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

NOTE: According to press reports, the 936-foot tanker *Torrey Canyon*, carrying 118,000 tons of crude oil, ran aground on March 18, 1967, approximately 15 miles off Land's End on the west coast of Britain. Oil spillage affected over 75 miles of coastline, damaging recreational facilities and injuring marine life and waterfowl.

On April 16, 1967, an oil slick, thought to have originated from a tanker sunk off the coast of New Jersey during World War II, caused similar damage to a 40-mile stretch of Cape Cod, Mass.

The study requested by the President resulted in a joint report, dated February 1968 and entitled "Oil Pollution—A Report to the President on Pollution of the Nation's Waters by Oil and Other Hazardous Substances" (Government Printing Office, 31 pp.).

241 Remarks at the Christening of the Aircraft Carrier U.S.S.

John F. Kennedy. May 27, 1967

Mrs. Kennedy, Caroline and John, Mrs. Joseph Kennedy, Senators Kennedy and other members of the Kennedy family, Secretary McNamara, Secretary Nitze, Mr. Holden, distinguished platform guests, ladies and gentlemen:

In March 1943, almost a quarter of a century ago, a young naval lieutenant assumed his first command—a tiny PT boat—and sailed intrepidly into the savage battle for the Solomons.

Next year 5,000 Americans will put to sea in this giant ship named *John F. Kennedy*, for whom the voyage of destiny began in the Solomons and ended tragically at the pinnacle of national affection and respect, the Presidency of the United States.

This is the third carrier since the end of the Second World War to bear the name of a man. Carriers are normally named for famous battles, or great ships of the past. Its only companions are named for Franklin Delano Roosevelt and James V. Forrestal.

And this is highly appropriate because these three singular men had a great deal in common:

- Each of them died in the service of his country.
- Each of them understood that, whatever the risk, men must defend freedom, the heaven in the bread of life that alone makes true peace possible.
- Each of them believed—in John Kennedy's moving words—"It is the fate of this generation . . . to live with a struggle we did not start, in a world we did not make. But the pressures of life are not always distributed by choice. And while no nation has ever been faced by such a challenge, no nation has ever been so ready to seize the burden and glory of

freedom."

To face that challenge, John Kennedy knew, took strength as well as idealism. He knew it as a student who saw the failure of appeasement in the 1930's; he knew it as a naval officer in the South Pacific he knew it as President of the United States.

Because John Kennedy understood that strength is essential to sustain freedom, because he recognized that we cannot afford to mark time or stand in place, he requested funds for this carrier from the Congress in 1963.

In the year 2000—and beyond—this majestic ship that we christen here today may still be sailing the oceans of the world. We pray that her years will be years of peace. But if she must fight, both the flag she flies and the name she bears will carry a profound message to friend and foe alike.

For the 5,000 Americans who will man this great ship—and for all their countrymen, whose hopes ride with them—this is a moment of reflection.

Today, as throughout our history, we bear fateful responsibilities in the world. From the moment of our national creation, American ideals have served as a beacon to the oppressed and to the enslaved.

In times past, it has often been our strength and our resolve which have tipped the scales of conflict against aggressors, or would-be aggressors. That role has never been an easy one. It has always required not only strength, but patience—the incredible courage to wait where waiting is appropriate, to avoid disastrous results to shortcut history. And sacrifice—the tragic price we pay for our commitment to our ideals.

No President understood this Nation's historic role and purpose better than John F.

Kennedy. No man knew more deeply the burdens of that role. And no man ever gave more.

Let this ship we christen in his name be a testament that his countrymen have not forgotten.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:58 a.m. at Newport News, Va. In his opening words he referred to Mrs.

John F. Kennedy, her children Caroline, who christened the carrier, and John F. Kennedy, Jr., Mrs. Joseph P. Kennedy, mother of the late President, Senator Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts, Senator Robert F. Kennedy of New York, Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara, Secretary of the Navy Paul H. Nitze, and Donald Holden, president of the Newport News Shipbuilding and Drydock Company. During his remarks he referred to James V. Forrestal, who served as Secretary of the Navy under President Franklin D. Roosevelt and later as Secretary of Defense.

242 Statement by the President Upon Signing Bill Establishing the John Fitzgerald Kennedy National Historic Site. May 27, 1967

SOME BUILDINGS become landmarks because their architecture is imposing; others, because they are meant by a nation or a people to be monuments and symbols.

Still others are set apart through no quality of their own. They become famous because they evoke the name and the memory of great men—or one great man.

So it is with the two-story frame house at 83 Beals Street, Brookline, Massachusetts.

On May 29, 1917, John F. Kennedy was born in that house.

Today we establish it as a national historic site.

President Kennedy's family bought that house not long ago and presented it to the people of the United States. Through the generosity of his family, it will be restored in a style reflecting his boyhood years there, 1917-1920.

I am happy to sign this bill today. For years to come, for great numbers of visitors it will make more rich, more vivid, and more meaningful the memory of a great American.

NOTE: As enacted, the bill (S. 1161) is Public Law 90-20 (81 Stat. 29).

243 Exchange of Memorial Day Messages With Chairman Thieu of the Republic of Vietnam. May 30, 1967

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

Dear General Thieu:

Your thoughtful Memorial Day message will be deeply appreciated by the American people. It will have particular meaning in those homes and families where a life has been given in the defense of our common freedom.

In remembering our own honored dead,

our thoughts turn inevitably to the valiant Allies with whom we have shared the burden of resisting aggression. Thus we are mindful today of the great sacrifices of the Vietnamese people, and we look forward to a brighter day of peace and progress in Vietnam, in Asia, and throughout the world.

Sincerely yours,

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

GENERAL THIEU'S MESSAGE

Dear Mr. President:

On the occasion of Memorial Day, I wish to express to you, in the name of the Vietnamese people and in my own name, our most sincere gratitude for the valiant officers and men of the United States who have made the supreme sacrifice of their lives to defend freedom and to ensure a just and durable peace in this part of the world.

Americans and Vietnamese have toiled and struggled together on this soil for a noble cause. The sacrifices that our two peoples have made together in this common cause strengthen every day the bonds of friendship between our two nations. They

constitute the bulwark against tyranny, for the preservation of an international society in which East and West can cooperate in harmony, in mutual appreciation and mutual respect.

We are confident of the successful outcome of this struggle, and shall do our best so that the sacrifices of these brave heroes will not be made in vain.

Sincerely yours,

LT. GENERAL NGUYEN-VAN-THIEU

Chairman of the National
Leadership Committee

NOTE: The text of the messages between the President and Lieutenant General Thieu was released at San Antonio, Texas.

244 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report of the
Railroad Retirement Board. May 31, 1967

To the Congress of the United States:

I am pleased to transmit the Annual Report of the Railroad Retirement Board for Fiscal Year 1966.

For three decades the insurance system administered by the Board has been protecting railroad workers and their families against the economic hazards which accompany unemployment, sickness, old age and death.

During the period covered by this report, more than 1 million individuals received \$1.2 billion in retirement and survivor benefits—an increase of \$82 million over the preceding year. These payments brought to \$14.5 billion the total amount paid to retired employees, wives, and survivors of deceased employees since the program began in 1936.

In fiscal 1966 payments for unemployment

and sickness dropped below the \$100 million mark—to \$88.1 million—for the first time in 13 years. This reduction reflects the unprecedented economic expansion which this country has enjoyed during the last six years. In each, unemployment among railroad workers showed a significant decline.

The increases in retirement and survivor benefits reported here represent increased comfort and security in the retirement years of many worthy citizens. But even greater comfort and protection would come with Congressional enactment of the Social Security amendments which I have proposed this year. The proposed 20 percent increase would in the first year alone bring \$65 million in added benefits to some 385,000 railroad workers and their families.

I again urge the Congress to take this vital step toward our goal of providing every

[244] May 31

Public Papers of the Presidents

elderly citizen an adequate income and a meaningful retirement.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

The White House

May 31, 1967

NOTE: The report is entitled "Railroad Retirement Board, 1966 Annual Report for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30" (Government Printing Office, 164 pp.).

The Social Security Amendments of 1967 were approved by the President on January 2, 1968 (Public Law 90-248; 81 Stat. 821).

245 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report on Special International Exhibitions. May 31, 1967

To the Congress of the United States:

I am pleased to transmit the Fourth Annual Report on Special International Exhibitions conducted during fiscal year 1966 under the Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act of 1961.

The primary purpose of the program—in which the Nation's economic, social and cultural achievements are exhibited in international fairs and expositions—is to build bridges of understanding between the United States and other countries of the world. Each exhibit is designed to show how our accomplishments relate to the capabilities and aspirations of the different countries. Because the exhibitions feature the products of American industries, they also contribute to mutually profitable trade relationships.

Since the program began in 1954, more than 100 million people—primarily in Eastern Europe and the developing countries—have witnessed 176 exhibits designed to help them understand, appreciate and benefit from American progress and experience.

During fiscal year 1966, the United States participated in a broad range of international events:

—*Trade Fair Exhibitions in Algeria, Ethiopia, Hungary, Iraq, Poland, Tunisia and Yugoslavia.* These exhibitions dramatized our progress in mechanical equipment for farm and

industry, educational techniques, electronics and space.

—*"Expo 67".* During the year, plans were laid for our participation in the World's Fair which opened in Montreal, Canada, in April 1967. "Creative America" was chosen as the theme of this country's exhibit, which pictures American achievements in the arts and space technology.

—*Labor Exhibits at Trade Fairs in Ethiopia, Hungary, Iraq, Poland and Yugoslavia.* The purpose of these exhibits was to project the true image of the American worker and the role he plays in the affairs of this Nation.

—*Special-Purpose "East West" Exhibits in the Soviet Union, Hungary, Poland and Yugoslavia.* More than 2 million persons attended these exhibits, which featured the machinery of American industry, American architecture and the graphic arts.

As in past years, the program's effectiveness was the result not only of Government efforts, but also of the contribution of materials, time and talent by hundreds of private firms.

All Americans are indebted to them for their efforts to help carry America's message to the world.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

The White House

May 31, 1967

NOTE: The report, entitled "Special International Exhibitions, Fourth Annual Report, 1966 (Report of the United States Information Agency)," was

issued by the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, Department of State (45 pp.).

246 Remarks of Welcome at the White House to Prime Minister Holt of Australia. June 1, 1967

Mr. Prime Minister, Mrs. Holt, Ambassador Waller, Mrs. Waller, Australian friends, ladies and gentlemen:

Mr. Prime Minister, Mrs. Johnson and I are very happy that you and Mrs. Holt could join us here today for the beginning of what I know will be a most pleasant and enjoyable visit.

At the Manila Conference last fall, we, and the leaders of five other nations of Asia and the Pacific, proclaimed some goals that we felt all of our peoples could aspire to—to be free from aggression; to conquer hunger, illiteracy, and disease; to build a region of security, order, and progress; and to seek reconciliation and peace throughout this great region.

We are ready, Australia and the United States—and all of the nations of the Asian and Pacific region—to vigorously pursue those goals with all the strength and all the determination that we can muster. We are ready to reshape the future of the peaceful and secure Asia that is to be.

But today we fight shoulder to shoulder with our Vietnamese, Korean, Thai, Filipino, and New Zealand allies. We fight not because we like to, but only to insure the right of a small nation to make its own future and to have its own people determine what that future will be.

Tomorrow we shall work to build and to repair what has been broken, to make the harvest larger, and to make the future of all men brighter.

We shall do it with the power of electricity—not the power of bombs. We shall do

it with tools—instead of tanks. We shall do it with teachers, doctors, and technicians.

We know—you and I—that this is going to be done, for we know that it has already been done in both of our countries.

Your country, the great land of Australia, has only just begun. Ahead of it lies the promise of rapid growth, of ever-increasing prosperity. Each day, almost, I seem to see where you are discovering new sources of wealth, new buildings are rising up in your growing cities, new factories are open to make needed goods and to provide jobs.

Australia, I know, stands ready—as does the United States—to try to help others move down the path that we have trod from very simple and very hard beginnings to strength, independence, and wealth.

But these things will not come and they cannot come, unless there is a security, a dignity, and an opportunity. And security will never come to Asia unless there are men of courage and men who are prepared to stand up and resist when the aggressor moves in to steal, and to kill, and to conquer.

This is what a man whom we both admire so much once said—Winston Churchill. This is what he meant, when he declared: "Courage is the first of human qualities, because it is the one quality that guarantees all others."

The brave men who fight today wearing our uniforms—your men and ours and our other allies—struggle there to make all else possible. And we know that they will succeed.

Mr. Prime Minister, we take a great deal

of pleasure in again welcoming you to this Capital City and to this country of ours.

I welcome you as a brave leader, as a long-time and a very loyal friend, and as a wise statesman.

I repeat, again, for Mrs. Johnson and my family, we are so glad that you and Mrs. Holt are here.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:35 a.m. on the South Lawn at the White House where Prime Minister Holt was welcomed with full military honors. In the party were Australian Ambassador John Keith Waller and his wife. The Prime Minister responded as follows:

Mr. President, Mrs. Johnson, distinguished members of the administration and of the diplomatic corps, ladies and gentlemen:

Thank you, Mr. President, for the friendliness and the warmth of your welcome—a warmth and friendliness of welcome to Australia, to my Government, to Mrs. Holt and myself, and to those members of the official party who are with me.

We are looking forward to another valuable talk in that series of talks that you and I have had together, which, at all times, have proved informative and helpful to us.

We have many important issues to discuss. There is, of course, our mutual concern with the events in Vietnam, the peaceful progress of which you have spoken in Southeast Asia and the Pacific, to which you have given so much constructive thought; the implications for our two countries of the United Kingdom's application to join the European Economic Community; the military dispositions of the United Kingdom east of Suez—which concern us both.

There will always be between two countries who are so prominent—despite our difference in size and stature—in affairs of world trade, economic and trade problems which we can usefully and fruitfully discuss together.

It is, perhaps, a mark of our mutual interest, of our friendship, our close relations, and the many matters that concern us together that this should be the fifth in a series of talks you and I have enjoyed together in the past 12 months.

I question whether any other head of government has had the same good fortune to see you so often and speak to you closely on so many different occasions: my two visits to Washington last year; your own spectacular and historic first visit of a United States President to Australia; the Manila Conference, which you have just referred to, with its reminder of those high goals we set at that very fruitful conference there; and now, this series of talks together

here in Washington.

As to Vietnam: On my journey here, I had the opportunity of a very valuable briefing from Admiral Sharp, your Commander in Chief of the Pacific Command. He was able to give me, in factual terms, evidence of the progress being made in all aspects of the military campaign.

Yesterday, in Los Angeles, speaking to the World Affairs Council, I was able to canvass some of the aspects of our joint interest in this conflict. If the reaction I received there is typical of the feeling of the people of the United States, I would believe that there has been a growth in understanding and support for the place that the United States is playing in that significant conflict.

The last time I visited you, Mr. President, I was able to tell you something of the progress which—thanks to the shield of American protection—the free countries of Southeast Asia and the Pacific were able to make.

It seemed to me this had not been widely reported here. As one of those countries which had been able to take advantage of the security and the protection, the resistance to Communist aggression which had been made possible by the massive intervention of the United States of America, I was able to speak of the progress which we and other countries were making.

Now, nearly 12 months later, with many major developments, most of them favorable from our viewpoint, including the end of confrontation in Malaysia, the steady economic progress in countries running around the arc of Asia and Southeast Asia, from Korea, Taiwan, Malaysia, Thailand, the emergence in Indonesia of a strong anti-Communist government anxious to cooperate in tasks of rehabilitation and the reconstruction of the economy there—these things have been substantial gains for us.

In my own most recent visit, which included—as you know—visits to Cambodia, Laos, to neutral countries, and to Taiwan and Korea, I found every evidence of friendship for my own country.

I found in those countries, which have aligned themselves with us, not only an appreciation of all that your great country is doing, but a determination to press on with the economic progress which has been so spectacularly a feature of their recent experience.

So I think we meet together with hope in our hearts. Perhaps the struggle may still be long; perhaps it may be shorter than the superficial evidence would indicate.

I know from my own quite intimate contacts with you that there is no national leader in the world more anxious to secure a peace—more anxious to secure a just and enduring settlement in Vietnam than yourself.

In all the endeavors that you make in order to

bring about a peaceful conclusion to this struggle—which means so much to the free peoples of Asia and the Pacific and, indeed, to the free world as a whole—you have at all times been able to count, as you shall be able in the future, upon the friendly and loyal support of your ally, Australia.

We have countries with great needs of economic development. Even with the strength and power of the United States, I know that there are many tasks to which you would be willing and anxious to turn your hand if so much of your resources were not being deployed for the purposes of resistance to aggression, and the need to insure the peace.

In my own country, it is for us a deprivation to have to divert manpower and resources from the task of developing a continent of virtually the size of the United States.

So, apart from our own natural, humanitarian instincts, we have a vested interest in the material

welfare of our countries in the securing of a peace.

I reject the criticisms of those who question in some fashion our good faith in this particular matter.

You, sir, are the third in line of United States presidents who have seen clearly the need to meet the aggression as it has come in Vietnam.

If peace is to be secured, it will not be by some wobbling in our actions, in our purposes. It will be by the demonstration of our unwavering resolution to press on, be it long or short, with the struggle, until a settlement, a just and enduring settlement, can be secured.

It will be in that spirit, I know, that you and I will embark on our fruitful talks together.

Thank you, again, all of you, for the warmth of your welcome to the head of an Australian Government.

247 Special Message to the Congress Transmitting Reorganization Plan 3 of 1967: Government of the District of Columbia.

June 1, 1967

To the Congress of the United States:

I am transmitting Reorganization Plan No. 3 of 1967 to provide a better government for the citizens of the Nation's Capital.

The explosive growth of the District of Columbia challenges the city on every front—from schools and hospitals, courts and police, to housing and transportation, recreation and job opportunities. If the District is to meet these tests and fulfill the needs of its citizens, it must, as I said in my message on the National Capital, “have the most responsive and efficient government we are capable of providing.”

The plan I submit today is more than a matter of routine reorganization. Its vital purpose is to bring Twentieth Century government to the Capital of this Nation: to strengthen and modernize the government of the District of Columbia; to make it as efficient and effective as possible.

The present form of District government was designed almost a century ago for a

community of 150,000 people. The District government then employed less than 500 persons and administered a budget of less than four million dollars.

Today Washington has a population of 800,000. It is the center of the country's fastest growing metropolitan area with a population of 2.5 million. The District's Government now employs some 30,000 people and the proposed 1968 budget is more than half a billion dollars.

The machinery designed more than 90 years ago to govern a small community is now obsolete. The commission form of government—unorthodox when the Congress accepted it as a temporary measure in 1874—provides neither effective nor efficient government for the Nation's Capital. That form of government has long since been abandoned by the few cities which adopted it around the turn of the century. Today none of the Nation's 27 largest cities and only two of the country's 47 cities with populations

exceeding 300,000 have a government of divided authority.

The District of Columbia is governed by three Commissioners. Each Commissioner is the chief executive—the mayor—but for only a part of the government. Yet, the problems of the District of Columbia, like those of any major city, cannot be neatly broken into three parts. Any effort to control crime, for example, cuts across virtually every function of government—from police and corrections to housing, education, health and employment. An effective attack on the problem requires action by two or more Commissioners and the Departments for which they are separately responsible—a time-consuming and often costly process.

The District has been fortunate in the caliber and dedication of the men who have served as Commissioners, but it can no longer afford divided executive authority. Its government must be able to respond promptly and effectively to new demands and new conditions. This requires clear-cut executive authority and flexible government machinery—not divided authority which too often results in prolonged negotiations and inaction.

The problem of divided executive authority in the District is aggravated by the additional non-executive responsibilities now borne by the Commissioners. As a member of the Board of Commissioners, each must now make rules and regulations on matters with which he is not otherwise concerned as an executive. Some of these quasi-legislative responsibilities—such as police regulations and property taxation—are of great importance to the city. Many—such as the naming of streets and the labeling of potato packages—are merely time-consuming. None should require a substantial portion of the time of the chief executive of a major city.

The reorganization plan I propose would remedy these deficiencies in the present form of government. It would:

- Unify executive and administrative authority.
- Eliminate competing and sometimes conflicting assignments of responsibility.
- Provide for the informed exercise of quasi-legislative functions through a Council which would be bipartisan and representative of the community.
- Permit the single Commissioner to organize the District government to provide effective day-to-day administration.

Under the plan, subject to Senate confirmation, the President would appoint a single Commissioner as chief executive and a bipartisan Council of nine members. The Commissioner would serve a four-year term, corresponding to that of the President. Council members would serve three-year terms, with three members to be appointed each year. The staggered terms would insure continuity of experience on the Council.

The plan would abolish the present Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia. Its powers and responsibilities would be apportioned between the single Commissioner and the Council.

The Commissioner would be assigned the executive functions now vested in the Board of Commissioners. He would be given responsibility and authority to organize and manage the District government, to administer its programs and to prepare its budget. The plan also provides for an Assistant to the Commissioner to help him carry out these responsibilities.

The Council would be assigned the quasi-legislative functions now performed by the Board of Commissioners. The plan describes more than 430 functions which would be transferred to the Council. These include

major responsibilities such as the approval of boundaries and plans for urban renewal, establishment of rules governing the licensing of professions, and setting of rates for property taxation. The Council would also be empowered to review and revise the Commissioner's budget before submission to the President.

Since the plan was announced in my Message on the Nation's Capital, we have been working to strengthen the Office of Commissioner and the Council. Out of this process of refinement four key changes have emerged, and have been incorporated into the plan.

First, the plan would authorize the Commissioner to veto actions of the Council with which he disagrees. The Council, in turn, could override such a veto by a three-fourths vote of its members. This provides due recognition for the responsibilities of the chief executive, while at the same time preserving the right of the Council to act on matters of overriding importance.

Second, the terms of Council members would be set at three years instead of two. The reduction in turnover and increase in experience would add strength to the Council.

Third, the salaries of the Chairman, Vice Chairman and Council members would be increased to reflect their important responsibilities.

Finally, the plan recognizes that the machinery of the District's Government, no matter how modern, cannot realize its highest purpose unless it is infused with the most experienced, informed and able leadership.

The 800,000 citizens of the District of Columbia deserve nothing less than such leadership, not only as a matter of fundamental right but because the District occupies a special and central role in the affairs of the Nation.

The best talent available must be found for the key posts of Commissioner and Assistant to the Commissioner. The Commissioner is the chief executive of the District of Columbia. The Assistant to the Commissioner will be his chief aide, his deputy, and will perform such duties as the Commissioner may prescribe.

In the search for leadership necessary in these crucial posts, the President and the Congress must balance the need to draw from the best talent in the Nation with the need for local experience and local involvement that are such valuable assets to enlightened municipal government. The plan therefore provides for the Presidential appointment of both these men, subject to Senate confirmation, with the requirement that at least one of them be a resident of the District for three years prior to appointment.

We would be indifferent to the cause of good government if the search and selection of the Commissioner and his Assistant were confined only to those who reside within the geographic boundaries of the District. This plan does not take that course. It provides a wide range of choice—opening the field not only to those who reside in the District, but to those who live in other parts of the Nation. At the same time, the plan assures that local experience will be well represented in the highest councils of the District Government.

Not only must either of the top executive positions be filled with a District resident, but each member of the nine-man Council must have been a resident of the District for at least three years prior to appointment.

Moreover, in selecting the Commissioner, I will look first to the residents of the District and I hope that he can be found here.

Of all the benefits of the plan, one stands out in particular—the strong leadership it provides as the cornerstone of support for

any effective attack against crime. With that leadership and with the continued commitment and devotion of its police, the District can move with a greater sense of sureness and purpose against the spectre of crime that haunts the streets and shops of the Nation's Capital.

Of all the duties of the new single Commissioner none will be more important than his leadership in a renewed community effort to stem the rising tide of crime in the District.

The reorganization plan has been prepared in accordance with chapter 9 of title 5 of the United States Code. At my direction, it has been discussed with each member of the interested Committees of Congress or with their Staff Assistants. I have found, after investigation, that each reorganization included in the plan is necessary to accomplish one or more of the purposes set forth in section 901(a) of title 5 of the United States Code.

I have also found that it is necessary to include in the plan, by reason of the reorganization made, provisions for the appointment and compensation of the new officers specified in sections 201, 203 and 301-303 of the plan. The rates of compensation fixed for these officers are comparable to those fixed for officers in the executive branch of the Government having similar responsibilities.

The functions which would be abolished by the provisions of section 503(c) of the reorganization plan are provided for in subsection (e) of Section 6 of the Act of March 3, 1925, 43 Stat. 1121, as amended (D.C. Code, sec. 40-603(e)).

The plan would not impair the corporate status of the District of Columbia government. Nor would it in any way detract from

the powers which the Congress exercises with respect to the District.

This reorganization plan would provide improved management of the municipal responsibilities vested by Congress in the government of the District of Columbia. It would bring savings to the District taxpayers and the Federal Government, although overall costs will not be less because of the increasing scale and complexity of municipal government. The precise amount of such savings cannot be itemized at this time.

The proposed reorganization is in no way a substitute for home rule. As I stated in my Message on the Nation's Capital, the plan

"will give the District a better organized and more efficient government . . . but only home rule will provide the District with a democratic government—of, by and for its citizens."

I remain convinced more strongly than ever that Home Rule is still the truest course. We must continue to work toward that day—when the citizens of the District will have the right to frame their own laws, manage their own affairs, and choose their own leaders. Only then can we redeem that historic pledge to give the District of Columbia full membership in the American Union.

I recommend that the Congress allow the reorganization plan to become effective.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

The White House

June 1, 1967

NOTE: Reorganization Plan 3 of 1967 is printed in the Federal Register (32 F.R. 11669) and in Title 3 of the Code of Federal Regulations (3 CFR, 1967 Comp., p. 345). It became effective in part on August 11, 1967, with other parts to take effect as provided in section 504(b) of the plan.

248 Toasts of the President and Prime Minister Holt of Australia.

June 1, 1967

Prime Minister and Mrs. Holt, Members of the Cabinet, members of the diplomatic corps, Members of Congress, members of the press, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

Tonight we are fortunate to celebrate not one, but three very welcome visitors—the Australian Prime Minister and his lady, and the first day of June. They make a very warm and happy combination.

The Prime Minister and I have spent a very fruitful day with each other. We have been doing what comes naturally to each of us—talking.

Now, this evening, we have joined you at the table, if only to demonstrate a first law of politics: Man does not live by words alone.

Prime Minister Holt, you and your gracious lady make this house a very happy one tonight. After dinner, we hope to repay you with some entertainment down the hall in the East Room. I think you will feel at home there. It is the room where we Americans indulge in something very close to an Australian blood sport—but here in America, we call it a press conference.

On those occasions, Mr. Prime Minister, I am often reminded of you for another reason. There always seems to be a boomerang loose in the East Room.

So that is one private bond between us. It gives personal strength to the public ties that unite our two peoples. History already records our affection and our trust—and the partnership and alliances they invigorate. It will someday record what the casual, the cynical, the doubting, the shortsighted, or the impatiently critical may miss. That is

our shared success in helping to build a secure, stable, and prosperous new part of the world—the New Asia.

The nations of free Asia—many of them new to independence—have already turned a corner. They are determined that aggression will not turn them back—and, Mr. Prime Minister, so are we.

This climate of hope owes a great deal to an Australia that offers Asia an example of what freedom can mean.

The free Asian need only look south to see his tomorrow. He will see an Australian Government, led and directed by a competent management, elected by the people, and devoted to the people's interests.

He will see the free and vigorous Australian people—whose living standards are among the highest in the world—who share widely in their nation's wealth—who hardly know any poverty at all and who are virtually each and every one of them employed—who have the highest rate of home ownership to be found anywhere in the world.

All Asia can see hope when they look at this happy land—a land where government and private industry put the fruits of the earth to increasing good use for all, with the help of Ed Clark.

As the Ambassador said to me for the last 10 days awaiting your arrival, "Let us all look to tomorrow—and when we look to tomorrow, let us look to Australia."

Let us honor the shining record and the promise of our good friends and our good partners—the Australians.

Tonight, to those few we could crowd

into this room—and this is one dinner where we didn't get any rejections—I ask each of you to toast one of their bravest and one of their best—the Prime Minister of Australia.

NOTE: The President proposed the toast at 10:26 p.m. at a dinner in the State Dining Room at the White House. During his remarks he referred to Edward Clark, U.S. Ambassador to Australia. As printed this item follows the text released by the White House Press Office.

Prime Minister Harold Holt responded as follows:
Mr. President, Mrs. Johnson, Members of the Congress, the Cabinet, the diplomatic corps, the judiciary, all the other many distinguished people who are here tonight:

I am, of course, gravely handicapped by the fact that there has been a malfunction in this particular instrument. So the President—either by accident or design—has assured that I shall be speaking to you off the cuff.

Frankly, I prefer it that way because when one speaks that way, one speaks from the heart. Tonight, my heart is very full.

It is a great honor to the Australian people; it is a great honor to the Australian Prime Minister and his wife, and to his Government to have a function tendered to him in this fashion and to hear—as I have heard tonight—the moving words which have come from the President of the most powerful, the mightiest, richest, strongest nation in the world.

So I say, "Thank you, Mr. President," as President of the United States. May I say thank you also to Lyndon Johnson and Mrs. Johnson—our very warm and very dear friends.

I feel that the friendship which has long existed, cemented in the comradeship of struggle in order to help others to achieve the liberties and the freedom to which we all aspire—that has developed between our two countries—has been warmed by the growth of this friendship which has developed between Mr. and Mrs. Johnson and Mr. and Mrs. Holt.

Long may it continue—long after both of us have left the offices which we at present enjoy.

We are honored by the presence of you all. I was impressed by the distinguished names that came before me as we received you together with the President and Mrs. Johnson in the receiving line this evening.

I thought, how many heads of government could come to a function such as this and find themselves among so many friends—close friends—some old friends, and some new friends.

I don't know any people who make their friendships more quickly and abide more deeply than the friendships that develop between the people of Amer-

ica and the people of Australia.

You have kindly included in the record of music, which we delighted in this evening, the Australian tune—some people have tried to make a national anthem out of it—"Waltzing Matilda." Well, it hardly rates that. But at least no Australian can hear "Waltzing Matilda" without a beating of the heart and a quickening of the pulse.

And Mrs. Hammerstein, who has almost been assimilated by you, stirred as that number came up.

Now, Mr. President, earlier today, we had this exchange of words to which you refer. I must acknowledge my gratitude and indebtedness to you for the very valuable talk we had together, and for the talks I had later with your distinguished and most able Secretaries, Mr. Dean Rusk and Mr. Robert McNamara.

The unfortunate thing about all this is we can't say a great deal about it. That, of course, is a large part of the value of these discussions. They are intimate discussions.

We reveal to each other what we think, what we know, in a way which could not be publicly disclosed without some difficulty or disadvantage in one direction or another.

But it has its problems. The press, of course—those people that meet you in this other room here and prove difficult to you—in my own country, they prove difficult to me—are always anxious to know what it is we have had to say to each other.

I recall it particularly, because you may recall that on the last time that we met in this room, you had—in the course of your speech—a few words of verse. I found it a bit hard to draw on my limited repertoire at the time to come back with something that seemed appropriate.

I was delighted to find that tonight you hadn't extended me even further by some fresh presentation of some classic tract from the beauties of English literature.

But this was taken up by a cartoonist in my country—perhaps struck by the fact that not much came out of our public communications—and he drew a very graphic cartoon of yourself and myself under which he had me making this statement: "We had a frank exchange of poems."

I did come along tonight prepared in case you did slip one out quickly. It was three lines from, I think, "Julius Caesar," by Shakespeare. I think it is relevant to our respective problems.

"On such a full sea are we now afloat; and
We must take the current when it serves,
Or lose our ventures."

That sums up, I think, Mr. President, where you and my country stand in relation to one of the most significant conflicts of modern history, a conflict in Vietnam, which to my mind, overshadows in

significance even the topical and troublesome conflict which you see flaring up in the Middle East.

The conflict in Vietnam is fundamental to the future of free men. It is a fine thing that in the history of mankind, three Presidents of the United States—from different branches of the politics of the United States—a Republican President and two Democrats—have seen that this was an issue between men to be free or men to be slaves.

You are fighting the battle for men to be free.

You, Mr. President, I believe, will go down in history, not because you took up that struggle which had been so clearly perceived by President Eisenhower and by President Kennedy, but because—more clearly than any other leader of the European race—you have seen the Asia of tomorrow, the burgeoning, blossoming Asia of a new era, that you have seen—and I believe I have seen for my country as I moved about it—perhaps more than any other head of government not of Asian race himself.

The last time we were here, we talked of this together and you said many things which were significant to the future, I believe, of mankind.

Since then, I have had the opportunity to go through more countries of this area. Perhaps we shouldn't speak so much of Asia as if it were just a grouping that described a whole lot of people in much the same terms, because there are greater diversities of cultures, of traditions, of habits of life, of physical appearance, of outlooks, than are to be found anywhere else in the world—but her hope.

To my mind, the 20th century may have been

the century of Europe, but the 21st century will be the century of Asia.

If this proves to be the case, it will be because an enlightened President of the United States of America saw that in the prospect—that the people of Asia had to throw off the shackles of the past, to throw off the tribulation of the past, to poverty, to disease, to illiteracy, to hunger, to ill health, to all the things that have kept man bound through the centuries and by modern technology, by principles of freedom, by the friendliness and encouragement and help that enlightened people in a modern age could bring to three-fifths of mankind, we have virtually transformed the world in which we live.

This is the promise you hold out to us, Mr. President. I hope that with the courage of resolution you have shown in so many other directions, you and your people will have the courage, the resolution, and the vision to see this hope of mankind realized.

Thank you for your friendship.

May I say this final word: The President and I today were exchanging views as to how we approach the problems of life.

I said, "Well, I like to base my philosophy on being fair, firm, forthright, and friendly."

He said, "My objectives are peace, progress, and prosperity."

I said, "Let's marry the two together and I think we have got it made."

Thank you very much.

While you are on your feet, may I ask you to join me in a toast to the President of the United States of America, and Mrs. Johnson.

249 Remarks of Welcome at the White House to Prime Minister Wilson of the United Kingdom. June 2, 1967

Mr. Prime Minister and Mrs. Wilson, distinguished members of your party, ladies and gentlemen:

Mr. Prime Minister, your visit here this morning maintains a tradition that was begun by two great statesmen representing our countries.

One was a great Englishman. More than a quarter of a century ago, he had this to say:

"It is not given to us to peer into the mysteries of the future. Still I avow my hope and faith, sure and inviolate, that in the

days to come the British and American people will for their own safety and for the good of all, walk together in majesty, in justice and in peace."

That was Winston Churchill. He spoke to the Congress of the United States only 19 days after Pearl Harbor.

I have never forgotten those words. Nor have I forgotten others spoken just 4 years earlier by a great American, who said:

"If we are to have a world in which we can breathe freely and live in amity without fear—the peace-loving nations must make

a concerted effort to uphold laws and principles on which alone peace can rest secure.

"Those who cherish their freedom and recognize and respect the equal right of their neighbors to be free and live in peace, must work together for the triumph of law and moral principles in order that peace, justice and confidence may prevail in the world."

That was Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

He and Winston Churchill struck a common theme of peace and justice. They pledged our countries to a common commitment which we have honored ever since.

So we come here today in another time of trouble, when peace and justice are again in the balance. It is on occasions like this that the counsel of old and trusted friends is most welcome.

Mr. Prime Minister, we are so happy to have you and Mrs. Wilson and your party with us. We look forward with anticipation to a constructive meeting—a pleasant exchange of views on the future of our countries and the future of the world.

We know that your coming here is pleasing to the people of our country. We hope your stay will be a pleasant one.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:25 a.m. on the South Lawn at the White House where Prime Minister Harold Wilson was given a formal welcome with full military honors. The Prime Minister responded as follows:

Mr. President, Mrs. Johnson, Mr. Secretary, Your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen:

May I first, Mr. President, thank you for the very warm and colorful reception that has been given to my wife and myself here this morning and, Mr. President, for your own kind words of greeting.

I do not think that any words of yours or of mine are needed to underline what you have said, the gravity of the situation the world is facing at this time, nor the importance of the fact that our two countries at this time are able to have discussions on the way ahead. It is fully recognized in your country and in ours.

We have had a debate in Parliament this week that these talks today—as part of the wider talks and consultations going on throughout the world, above all the talks in which your representatives, ours, and our friends are concerned in the Security Council—are of vital importance in creating the conditions for a lasting peace.

Mr. President, I know you will agree when I say that however great the problem that has arisen with such dramatic and startling suddenness in these past 2 weeks, no consideration of that problem should allow or will allow us to be blinded to the continuing importance of very many other great problems that were in our minds and in our hearts before the recent crisis blew up.

This visit of ours was arranged some weeks ago. Even then, we were conscious that there were these great problems of peace and war in Asia, problems of cooperation, cooperation for peace, problems of cooperation for progress in economic affairs that will be taking our time today.

And urgent though the present situation is in the Middle East—and we shall no doubt give a proper priority to it in our talks—both of us know that these other problems, these lasting and abiding problems, require a settlement and will be given the urgency which you and I know that they deserve.

Mr. President, I was heartened by your reminder of the close cooperation between our two countries in war and in peace—and above all in the struggle for peace.

That is what we are here to talk about today, Mr. President, and with you I look forward to getting down to work.

I thank you.

250 The President's Toast at a Dinner Honoring Prime Minister Wilson of the United Kingdom. *June 2, 1967*

I DO NOT propose to make a long speech tonight. This is an occasion for family and close friends—not for pomp and circumstance. The bonds between us, like those between our two countries, are far too strong

to need formal ceremony. We are delighted, Mr. Prime Minister, to welcome you and Mrs. Wilson to this house.

Today, Mr. Prime Minister, you and I must call upon our peoples for sacrifices not

easily explained or readily understood. It is all the more essential that we seek each other's help.

You and I have spent the day talking over the troubled state of the world. In the course of a few hours, we have traveled great distances—from the Middle East to Vietnam, from Europe to Africa.

We have talked of our mutual problems and their possible solutions. Yet tonight we can be impressed by the hopeful signs in the world as well as the dangers.

On your side of the Atlantic, old suspicions are giving way to new ventures of partnership.

The Kennedy Round has moved the world a step closer to freer trade, which will help us all.

Britain has taken a far-reaching decision about her own place in Europe. We know that your bid for Common Market member-

ship is first a concern for Britain and Europe. But—to employ a bit of English understatement—it is of some interest to us. So we wish you well.

An Englishman said this: "I do not believe in a Fate which strikes men however they act. But I do believe in a Fate which strikes men unless they act."

Tonight, together, we are ready to support our common purposes, our mutual hopes for peace—with deeds.

If we do that, no problem will ever be so great that we cannot overcome it.

I pay tribute to you, Mr. Prime Minister, and to the friendship of our people.

Ladies and gentlemen, a toast—to Her Majesty, the Queen.

NOTE: The President proposed the toast at 10:08 p.m. at a dinner in the State Dining Room at the White House.

As printed above, this item follows the text released by the White House Press Office.

251 Remarks in New York City at the New York State Democratic Dinner. June 3, 1967

Mr. Vice President, Governor Harriman, National Committeewoman Kelly, National Committeeman Weisl, Chairman Bailey, Chairman Burns, distinguished members of the very able New York delegation in the Congress, ladies and gentlemen:

First, I want to explain the other dates that I have this evening, so that you won't misunderstand that I am just out on a lark.

We have two other Democratic meetings scheduled and we hope to be able to visit with them. We are sorry that we can't find a place in the greatest State in the Union that will house all of the Democrats in one place, but we have so many of you that we have had to divide them up.

I came here first, because you really are the first in our hearts. You represent all of this State.

I wanted to tell you tonight that a time of trouble is not easy for a political leader, particularly when demonstrators wave signs at him, when they call him bad names, when they threaten him with physical abuse. But I have not come here tonight to discuss the problems of John Lindsay.

There is one thought that I wish I could plant in the mind of every man and woman in this country—and for that matter in the mind of every person in the whole world. And that is this: You can believe in America. You can believe in your country's ability to fulfill her promise to the people and to the world.

I know that you share my deep concern tonight about the situation in the Middle East. We have been working on this problem day and night. The position of your

country, the United States, in this crisis is a bipartisan one. It bears the mark of President Eisenhower. It bears the mark of both of our national political parties. It is designed solely to serve the cause of freedom and to serve the cause of peace in the world.

I shall not go into this situation in detail at this delicate period, but I do want to say this: America's determination is to preserve the peace. It is determined to preserve the territorial integrity of the nations involved in that area.

We are keeping in very close contact with all of the leaders of both of the parties in the Congress. On May 23 I set forth this Government's views in some detail. We are doing everything we can to assist the United Nations Security Council. And you may be sure, also, that we are keeping in very close touch with all the capitals concerned.

To go beyond this tonight would not serve the cause of peace or would not be helpful, but you may be assured that this matter is foremost in our thoughts at all times—even at this hour.

I should like to review with you, very briefly, our country's situation on the domestic front. In doing so, I would ask only one thing of those who doubt America, or who doubt the political party, the Democratic Party, that has guided our destiny over the past three and a half decades. I would ask you tonight to review with me and to remember.

Remember that Franklin D. Roosevelt pledged a New Deal and a better day for America—and we got it.

Remember that Harry Truman pledged a Fair Deal for America—and Harry Truman redeemed that pledge.

Remember that John F. Kennedy promised to get this country moving again—and he did.

Remember that our party, the Democratic

Party, many years ago promised Medicare—and we got it.

Our party promised aid to education—and with the help of your great delegation in Congress, we got it.

The Democratic Party promised civil rights legislation—and we passed the first bill in 85 years, and we have passed three more since then.

The Democratic Party promised to help the poor—and we passed the first poverty program in the history of this Nation.

In all of our American political history, no party could ever say with more truth or more validity, "We passed our program—we lived up to the pledges and the promises we made our people."

When people ask what that promise is, I would answer in the words of Thomas Wolfe:

"To every man his chance—to every man, regardless of his birth, his shining golden opportunity—to every man the right to live, to work, to be himself, and to become whatever thing his manhood and his vision can combine to make him. . . ."

That is what America promises its people. And that is what the Democratic Party—this country's oldest political party—has been delivering to its people.

I would suggest to you tonight that unless we keep working on our programs and our promises—all those that we have made and all the programs that we have passed—for schools and for cities, for health and the aged, for jobs and for progress—all those programs won't wind up meaning very much.

Those promises have to be funded with appropriations. Those legislative measures have to be renewed—they are just a platform that has to be built upon.

The Republican Party told us last November—and they have repeated it many times

loudly since—that they know they are going to repeal a large part of this program. They are going to fight us every inch of the way. They are out to destroy this progress.

But I am here tonight to tell you something else: Before we are finished, they are really going to know they have been in a fight.

So we have not come here to ask your blessings on the work that we have finished. We have come to ask your support for the work that we have yet to do.

When nearly 4 million children under 5 still lack decent medical care, we do have a job to do.

When 1 American family in 10 still lives in a slum, the Democrats have a job to do.

When hundreds of thousands are trapped in the ghetto and tempted by violence, we have a job to do.

And in this very city there are little children who see a picture of a teddy bear and identify it as a rat—the only animal they know.

This unfinished business dictates the future of our party. We need not expect that our job will be easy.

I saw a letter not long ago which complained “that the Government and its supporters are not anxious for peace, and do not accept proffered opportunities to achieve it.”

That letter was written to President Abraham Lincoln. You may remember how President Lincoln answered that charge. He told Horace Greeley that he would talk to any person, anywhere, who could seriously advance the cause of peace and union.

I will tell you tonight that your President has been ready for more than 3 long years to talk to any person, anywhere, who prefers to talk instead of fight.

I saw not long ago a charge by some of the Republicans that the President would “spend

the country into bankruptcy.”

That charge was made against Franklin D. Roosevelt. He answered it by saying, “We are not going to turn back the clock.”

I saw an opinion poll, not long ago, which showed the President’s popularity at a very low ebb.

That poll rated Harry Truman—but it didn’t bother President Truman. He just simply went back to work, made one more historic decision and then said, “If you can’t stand the heat, get out of the kitchen.”

Now, my Democratic friends, let us say here and now tonight: We Democrats can stand the heat.

We believe that history, when it is written, will not be the story of the doubters. Their fate, in the future, will not be in headlines, but it will just be a footnote here and there.

For we know that history deals with acts, with dreams that have been translated into reality, with victories that are won or lost. History deals with promises made and promises kept.

To make promises and to keep promises, to keep them at home and to keep them abroad, is something that the Democratic Party is dedicated to.

To you Democrats who support that party with your talents and with your money, I have come here tonight to meet with three groups of you in the month of June of this year to tell you how much I appreciate the men that you have sent to help me in the Congress, the men that make up the New York Democratic delegation in the Senate, led by Senator Kennedy, and in the House, led by Congressman Celler.

That delegation has day by day, week by week, month by month, helped the Democratic Party in this Nation build a record of progress, build a record of prosperity. We have moved more than 6 million people out of the poverty level up to where they could

have a decent income.

We have raised the minimum wage for 31 million others this year and we have extended its coverage to 7 million more that never knew it before.

Yes, the Democratic Party and the Democratic delegation from New York are dedicated to giving the greatest good to the greatest number.

We yearn and we pray that we may have prosperity, progress, and peace in the world. But until we do, we must try to find the areas of agreement that unite us instead of the few things that divide us.

We Democrats don't always see everything the same way. If we did, we would all want the same wife. But we do have respect for the other man's opinion, we do have tolerance, patience, and understanding for different and dissenting viewpoints, provided in the end—after we reason together—we all rally around the banner to do the job for the people

who need it most.

Yes, we are the party of all the people.

To those of you who provide that leadership, and provide that support, and give us that comfort, that strength, when the going is hard, when it takes courage to stand up and be counted—those of you are the ones that make us grateful and make us proud of the party that we belong to.

Thank you for coming here tonight.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:10 p.m. in the Imperial Ballroom at the Americana Hotel in New York City. In his opening words he referred to Hubert H. Humphrey, Vice President of the United States, W. Averell Harriman, U.S. Ambassador at Large and former Governor of New York, Representative Edna F. Kelly, national committeewoman from New York, Edwin L. Weisl, national committeeman from New York, John M. Bailey, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, and John J. Burns, chairman of the New York State Democratic Committee. Later he referred to Mayor John Lindsay of New York City and to Senator Robert F. Kennedy and Representative Emanuel Celler, both of New York.

252 Statement by the President Upon Appointing the President's Committee on Urban Housing. *June 3, 1967*

IN MY MESSAGE to the Congress on urban and rural poverty, I announced my intention to appoint a committee to study this vital question: How can the resources and talents of private industry be directed into the rehabilitation of urban slums?

I said then that I would ask this group "to examine every possible means of establishing the institutions to encourage the development of a large-scale efficient rehabilitation industry."

I am pleased to announce today the formation of that committee, which will draw upon the talents and the experience of a group of distinguished industrialists, bankers, labor leaders, and specialists in urban affairs.

The committee will be headed by Edgar

F. Kaiser, president of Kaiser Industries, Inc.

No domestic task facing this Nation today is more demanding or more urgent than reclaiming the corroded core of the American city. A substantial part of that task is the rebuilding of the slums—with their 7 million dilapidated dwellings—which shame this Nation and its cities.

So vast an undertaking represents, as well, an enormous potential market. American industry has sought and developed markets around the globe. This one lies—waiting—at its very doorstep.

To tap this market, and do the job that must be done, the inventive genius of private industry and the creative productivity of American labor must be fused with the sup-

port and initiative of State and local governments and the resources of the Federal Government.

We must find the incentives which will stimulate business and labor to apply the most modern techniques, production systems, work practices, and economies of scale to the problem of the city slum.

The committee I am appointing today will explore this complex problem in all of its aspects, and recommend those incentives and the private institutional machinery which it believes will best accomplish the task.

The committee's challenge, in short, is to find the way to harness the productive power of America—which has proved it can master space and create unmatched abundance in the marketplace—to the most pressing unfilled need of our society. That need is to provide the basic necessities of a decent home and healthy surroundings for every poor American family now imprisoned in the squalor of the slum.

A major instrument of progress is already available to us, the model cities program, enacted last year.

The work of this committee can be a major step forward in fulfilling the high purpose of the model cities program—to develop the

blueprint for the future of the American city.

I have asked Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, Robert Weaver, and other responsible Cabinet officers to work closely with the committee.

NOTE: The White House press release making public the text of the President's statement listed the membership of the Committee as follows: Edgar F. Kaiser, Chairman, president, Kaiser Industries, Inc.; Gaylord A. Freeman, Vice Chairman, The First National Bank, Chicago; Joseph D. Keenan, international secretary, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; Charles Keller, Jr., president, Keller Construction Corp., New Orleans; Peter Kiewit, president, Peter Kiewit Sons', Inc., Omaha, Nebr.; John A. McCone, investment banker and corporate director, San Marino, Calif.; George Meany, president, AFL-CIO; J. Irwin Miller, president, Cummins Engine Co., Inc.; Graham J. Morgan, president, member, executive committee, and director, U.S. Gypsum Co.; Raymond D. Nasher, president, Nasher Properties; Walter P. Reuther, president, United Automobile, Aircraft and Agriculture Workers of America, CIO; Walter A. Rosenblith, professor of communications biophysics, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Mass.; John H. Wheller, president, Mechanics and Farmers Bank, Durham, N.C.; Whitney M. Young, Jr., executive director, National Urban League, New York City; Joseph Barr, Mayor of Pittsburgh; S. B. Bechtel, Jr., president of Bechtel Corp., San Francisco; R. V. Hansberger, president, Boise-Cascade, Boise, Idaho; and Leon Wiener, president, National Association of Home Builders.

For the President's message to the Congress on urban and rural poverty, see Item 114.

253 Statement by the President on the Need for Legislation To Prevent or Minimize Electric Power Blackouts. *June 6, 1967*

YESTERDAY, a large and heavily populated area of the United States was crippled by a massive electric power failure.

More than 13 million people across four States—in their homes, in their offices, and on their farms—were without the flow of power which has become so essential to our health, our commerce, and our safety.

America has the world's most advanced power system. But we still do not have safe-

guards to protect the consumer against paralyzing breakdowns.

This was the dramatic lesson of yesterday's failure.

But if the lesson was dramatic, it might also have been tragic.

Fortunately, the failure took place during daylight hours, on a warm spring day. From all reports, no lives were lost, and no injuries occurred.

But blackouts do not respect the season of the year or the hours of the clock. The next failure could just as easily strike in the cold of winter, in the dark of night.

We must take every proper step to avert such a possibility. A nation which is dependent on an uninterrupted flow of electric power cannot tolerate areawide blackouts.

In my 1967 message on protecting the American consumer, I said that legislation was necessary to strengthen the reliability of the power systems of this country. That legislation is highly technical and complex and required careful examination, planning,

and drafting to shape it. The Federal Power Commission will submit the legislation to the Congress shortly.

While we cannot guarantee that blackouts will never again occur, we can and should take every step to reduce their likelihood.

I hope—and I urge—that this legislation—so vitally important to every American family—will be promptly considered and speedily enacted.

NOTE: Legislation to strengthen the reliability of electric power systems was not enacted during the first session of the 90th Congress.

254 Statement by the President on the United Nations Security Council's Cease-Fire Vote in the Middle East Situation.

June 6, 1967

THE CEASE-FIRE vote of the Security Council opens a very hopeful path away from danger in the Middle East. It reflects responsible concern for peace on the part of all who voted for it. The United States has warmly supported this resolution. We hope the parties directly concerned will promptly act upon it. We believe that a cease-fire is the necessary "first step," in the words of the resolution itself—a first step toward what we all must hope will be a new time of settled peace and progress for all the peoples of the Middle East.

It is toward this end that we shall now strive.

NOTE: The statement was read by the President at 8 p.m. in the White House Theater. Three previous statements, by Special Assistant to the President George E. Christian and Secretary of State Rusk on June 5 and 6 had dealt with earlier stages of the crisis.

On June 5, on announcing the outbreak of fighting in the Middle East, Mr. Christian stated that the United Nations Security Council had been "called into urgent session." The President, he said,

had asked Secretaries Rusk and McNamara to brief House and Senate leaders at 9:30 a.m. following an 8:30 meeting of the President with the two Cabinet officers, Special Assistant Walt W. Rostow, and himself.

At 6:10 p.m. on June 5 Secretary Rusk read a statement to the press and responded to questions. In the statement Secretary Rusk referred to the President's "very fundamental statement" of May 23 (see Item 233), "and to his reaffirmation of the policies, enunciated by four Presidents, that the United States is committed to the support of the independence and territorial integrity of all the nations of the area of the Near East." The Secretary stressed that the United States was making "a maximum effort in the Security Council to bring about a cease-fire." In his statement and again in answer to a query Secretary Rusk emphasized that while we were not a belligerent, the Government had been deeply concerned about the situation and alert to the issues at stake and our obligations as a permanent member of the Security Council.

In a later statement to the press, Secretary Rusk, speaking at 9:05 a.m. on June 6 outside the West Lobby at the White House, characterized as "utterly and wholly false" charges by Cairo that United States carrier-based planes had participated in the attacks on Egypt.

Full texts of the three statements are printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 3, pp. 831-833).

255 Statement by the President Upon Establishing the National Security Council Special Committee on the Middle East.

June 7, 1967

THE United Nations Security Council has called for a cease-fire in the Middle East. This first clear step toward lasting peace has the strongest support of our Government. We have worked as hard as we could to avoid hostilities and to end them. But the fighting came, and the road forward to real peace and progress will not be easy. Still there is now a real chance for all to turn from the frustrations of the past to the hopes of a peaceful future. While the first responsibility falls to the peoples and governments in the area, we must do our best to that end, both inside and outside the United Nations.

The continuing crisis and the effort to help build a new peace will require the most careful coordination of the work of our Government. To ensure this coordination I am today establishing a Special Committee of the National Security Council. The Secretary of State will preside over this Committee, and its members will be the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of Defense, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Director of the CIA, the Chairman of the Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board, and Mr. Walt Rostow. I shall meet with the

Committee from time to time as necessary, and so will the Vice President and the Ambassador to the United Nations.

I have asked Mr. McGeorge Bundy to serve as a Special Consultant to the President and to be Executive Secretary of the Committee. Mr. Bundy has worked with us before, and he has been in informal consultation in the last year on a number of subjects. Mr. Bundy has now asked his board of trustees at the Ford Foundation for a temporary leave of absence, and he is already at work. I am asking all agencies of the Government to assist him with such staff support as he may request for the Special Committee. The Committee will meet regularly at the White House.

NOTE: The President made the statement at a morning meeting of the National Security Council in the Cabinet Room at the White House. Later, at 1:37 p.m. a press briefing was held by George E. Christian, Special Assistant to the President, and McGeorge Bundy, President of the Ford Foundation and former Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs. Following the briefing Mr. Bundy replied to questions concerning his new assignment. The full texts of Mr. Christian's statement and Mr. Bundy's remarks are printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 3, p. 837).

256 Toasts of the President and of President Banda of the Republic of Malawi. June 8, 1967

President Banda, Mr. Vice President, Mr. Secretary of State, distinguished members of the Presidential party, Mr. Justice Douglas, gentlemen:

We are honored today to visit once again with the distinguished President of the Republic of Malawi.

We hope that for President Banda—as for

us—this visit is like a homecoming. Dr. Banda was educated in the United States of America. He has spent a great deal of time here in our country. We are delightfully encouraged that he keeps returning despite the fact that he knows us reasonably well.

Since Dr. Banda's arrival, he and I have

been engaged in a very fruitful discussion of the problems of Africa and the problems of the world. The Doctor has provided me with his insights on a very wide range of concerns. I must say to my colleagues here today and citizens of my country, that I am very pleased to find such broad agreement between us on the international questions of the day.

But while Malawi's attention is rightly focused on the future—on the problems of international development, President Banda leads a new nation—a nation which is working very hard to offer its people—the citizens of its land—a better future tomorrow.

Gibbon called independence “the first of earthly blessing.” Malawi's independence is well-established. But President Banda and his countrymen realize, recognize, and know that nationhood is much more.

They know, as we learned a long time ago, that ringing speeches count very little unless they are accompanied by economic advance. They know that development is just another word for work, for planning, and for long, hard application.

They know that the future of Malawi is largely a product of a people's faith in themselves. The real test is the amount of effort that they put behind that faith.

Americans, Mr. President—as you know—understand these truths. We, too, are a very young nation. We, too, faced an uphill economic fight in the early years of our independence.

I am reminded of an observation of one of my predecessors in the Presidency, President Grant. The Pilgrims, he said, found they had to make a living in a climate “where there were nine months of winter and three months of cold weather. . . .”

Of course, I realize that this does not precisely describe your problem.

But our challenge, Mr. President, in many ways is very similar to the challenge that you face. It is this experience which has taught us a lesson that you know well. That lesson is that the ingredients of economic growth are not just physical resources, not just a good climate, not just fertile soil.

The critical elements are people—human beings—their dreams, their application, their dedication, their persistence.

I know that the people of Malawi—and their distinguished President—have these qualities in abundance. How do I know it? We broke ground for a pulp mill in the last hour and we built 300 miles of highways already.

So my good friends from throughout the Nation, particularly from the State of Indiana where the distinguished President went to school, the State of Ohio—represented here by Senator Young today—where the distinguished President took his education, I ask all of you to rise and join me in a toast to our most honored guest, Dr. H. Kamuzu Banda of the Republic of Malawi.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:35 p.m. at a luncheon in the State Dining Room at the White House. In his opening words he referred to President Hastings Kamuzu Banda of Malawi, Hubert H. Humphrey, Vice President of the United States, Dean Rusk, Secretary of State, and William O. Douglas, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court. As printed above this item follows the text released by the White House Press Office.

President Banda responded as follows:

Your Excellency, Mr. President, Mr. Vice President, Mr. Secretary of State, distinguished guests, and gentlemen:

I am tricked. When I came here, as a matter of fact, I did not know that the luncheon was going to be like this. I was told in Zomba by the American Ambassador that the President wanted to have just a quiet lunch with me, you see.

So when I came here this morning, all I expected was that it would be just probably the three of us, the President himself, and the Secretary of State, somewhere, not in a gathering of this kind.

However, I would like to thank you very much,

Mr. President, for your kindness in arranging a function of this kind to give me an opportunity to meet you and your colleagues, and those that work with you.

As you have rightly said, when I come here, I feel the homecoming spirit, because I was educated in this country.

I had my high school in this country at Wilberforce Academy just outside of Xenia—about 9 or 10 miles from Xenia.

Then from there, I went to the University of Indiana in Bloomington, Indiana; from there to the University of Chicago where I got my first degree, and then Meharry Medical College in Nashville, Tennessee—after which I went to Edinburgh.

So, you see, I feel at home here. That is probably why I behave as I do, I speak as I do, I act as I do—many, many times when others don't exactly see my point.

You see, I came here at the most impressionable age.

If I went back home after I was a doctor, gave up my medical practice in London and began to fight for my people's political freedom, it was because you, your country, taught me.

"I know not what course others may take, but as for me, give me liberty, or give me death!"

That saying, which my high school teacher taught me, rang in my mind when I went back home.

Anyway, I didn't come here to talk politics. But what I would like you to know is that what you have said is exactly what I am telling my people. From the very day I went back home, I told my people: "Independence does not mean money and wealth will rain on our heads like manna from heaven. No. It means hard work."

It so happens that we have no gold or copper or diamonds or oil there. So I say to my people, "Here we have no mines, no factories. Our mines and factories are the ground—the soil. From the soil every penny we have in this country comes in the form of maize, groundnuts, tobacco, cotton, and other products of the soil."

My people know my policy—hard work. And I am happy to tell you, Mr. President, that my people listened to me.

I said to my people, "We have won our independence now, but we have to build this country. And to build this country, we have to have money. If I am to be listened to by the President of the United States, by the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, by the President of the Republics of France or Germany, you, my people, must work hard so that when I go to Washington, to London, go to Paris, go to Bonn I will say to them, 'Look, Mr.

President, my people have cleared the road. All the bush are cleared, all the trees. But there is the river, the Shire River.

"They cannot bridge it with their femur—with their legbone. It requires steel and steel requires money.' If I tell my friends in the West that you, my people, are working hard, but there are things we cannot do with our hands—we need money, they will listen to me."

As a result, these boys, women, everywhere work very, very hard. I come here now to say I want a road. My people have cleared the grass and the trees. We need good bridges. Therefore, the kind of road that my people can build cannot do it. You have to persuade your banks, or your international development association, and other organizations like that to help us. That is why I am asking for that.

At the same time, we have trees. We are planting trees. We can't turn them into anything else, unless you help us. That is why I am asking you to ask "Mr. Chase Manhattan" and other bankers.

You have mentioned that since I have been here this morning we have broken ground on a number of points. I am not going to go into detail about that, but I would like you to know, Mr. President, that whatever it may cost me, I always do what I think is the right thing—according to my own conscience.

In 1960-61 I was asked to lecture at Yale. I told the students there—when they asked me what was going to be Malawi's foreign policy, when we became independent—that Malawi's policy, when we became independent would be this: "Discretionary alignment and nonalignment. No automatic alignment, because," I said, "no nation or a group of nations is always right and no nation or a group of nations is always wrong. Therefore, Malawi's policy, foreign policy, will be to associate with any power that is, on a particular given international problem, according to my view, in the right."

And it so happens that most of the time, according to my understanding anyway, the West is right.

Therefore, Mr. President, Mr. Vice President, Mr. Secretary of State, if you read in the papers or hear that I am unpopular, or the unpopular man number one in Africa, you will understand now why.

[At this point President Johnson made the following concluding remarks: "The President and I had just concluded our conversation before lunch, but in the light of what he said about his people listening to him, I am pleased to observe that he has a formula that I would like to inquire more definitely into. So as you go your own way, I will be talking with President Banda."]

257 Letter to Senator Mansfield on the Situation in the Middle East.
June 8, 1967

Dear Mike:

I am delighted to respond to your note with a brief statement on the current situation as we see it. I entirely share your view that it is good for the President and the Senate to be in close touch on this matter.

Our most urgent present concern is to find a way to bring the fighting in the Middle East to an end. We are deeply concerned that there has not yet been an effective response to the two unanimous votes by which the UN Security Council has called for a cease-fire. While the representative of Israel agreed to comply if other parties also agreed, only Jordan, among the Arab States, has agreed to the cease-fire.

Ambassador Goldberg, on my instructions, has requested the immediate convening of another Security Council session, to deal with the current situation, and we have presented a Resolution whose text I attach.

The fighting has already brought the suffering and pain that comes with all such conflict. These losses have included the lives of Americans engaged in the work of peaceful communication on the high seas. On this matter we have found it necessary to make a prompt and firm protest to the Israel Government which, to its credit, had already acknowledged its responsibility and had apologized. This tragic episode will underline for all Americans the correctness of our own urgent concern that the fighting should stop at once.

So we continue to believe that a cease-fire is the urgent first step required to bring about peace in that troubled part of the world. At the same time we know, of course, that a cease-fire will be only a beginning and that many more fundamental questions must be tackled promptly if the area is to enjoy

genuine stability. Our new Resolution begins to deal with some of these questions.

Let me emphasize that the U.S. continues to be guided by the same basic policies which have been followed by this Administration and three previous Administrations. These policies have always included a consistent effort on our part to maintain good relations with all the peoples of the area in spite of the difficulties caused by some of their leaders. This remains our policy despite the unhappy rupture of relations which has been declared by several Arab states.

We hope that the individual states in the Middle East will now find new ways to work out their differences with each other by the means of peace, and in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. We look beyond the current conflict to a new era of greater stability which will permit all the peoples of the area to enjoy the fruits of lasting peace. Our full efforts will be directed to this end.

Sincerely,

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

P.S. While this letter was in the typewriter I learned of the announcement, in the proceedings of the Security Council, that the United Arab Republic accepts the cease-fire resolutions subject only to acceptance by Israel. Thus we seem at the edge of progress in the directions this letter indicates. You can be sure that this Government will continue its work for peace, especially in the Security Council where Ambassador Goldberg has done such brilliant and productive work in the last days.

[The Honorable Mike Mansfield, United States Senate, Washington, D.C.]

NOTE: The United States resolution of June 8, 1967,

on the situation in the Middle East is printed in the Department of State Bulletin (vol. 56, p. 948).

Senator Mansfield's letter, dated June 8, was made public by the White House Press Office with the President's reply. The text follows:

Dear Mr. President:

As I said this morning, it would be a great help to me, and I think to the Senate as a whole, if we

could have your own current views on the situation in the Middle East. That situation has developed so rapidly in recent days, and the issues before us there are of such great importance that the Senate would be grateful, I am sure, to have your own present assessment.

Sincerely,

MIKE MANSFIELD

258 Remarks at the Swearing In of Vicente T. Ximenes as a Member of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. June 9, 1967

Mr. Ximenes and his family, Senators Anderson and Montoya, Members of the Congress, Members of the Cabinet, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

We have come here today to honor Vicente T. Ximenes.

But we have come here also to reaffirm an ideal that I think all of those present in this room share: the ideal of full opportunity for every citizen in the United States of America.

Mr. Ximenes' life is a very vivid story of what we call American opportunity. He is a distinguished public servant, a teacher, a war hero, a leader of the Mexican-American community. Today, he achieves another high honor as he becomes a member of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission of the United States Government. And we—as a Nation—are honored by his achievement.

As President, I want to see his story repeated—again and again and again.

Because the promise of America is still unfulfilled for too many Americans among us.

Millions of Americans still are poor. They are without training. They are without jobs. They are without hope.

It is our responsibility as public servants and it is our job as public leaders to correct that, to change that, and to get results.

Mr. Ximenes and I are both graduates of the first antipoverty program in Texas in the 1930's. He was a member of the Civilian

Conservation Corps and I was a member of the NYA. Both of those have since gone out of existence, but the need for the kind of training they gave is still here.

Before that, I taught school in the little town of Cotulla in south Texas. It was there in that school, at an early age, that my dream began of an America—my own land—where race, religion, language, and color didn't count against you.

And I made a decision then which I have reaffirmed every day since I have been in the White House—that if ever I had the privilege of holding public office, I would not rest:

- until every American, who wanted it, had a job to work at;
- until every child, who wanted it, had an opportunity to get all the education his mind could take;
- until every family had an opportunity to get a decent home in a decent neighborhood;
- until every single American had entered the open door to full participation in the life of America.

That is what we have been working for in the past 3½ years. That is what they refer to as the "Great Society." It is not great yet, but it has improved a lot in 3½ years—and it is going to improve a lot more, in whatever time we are allotted.

Some of our cynics will criticize us and

some of our opposition will complain, but the record of these years in education, in jobs, in health, in civil rights, and in poverty marks more than just a proud beginning.

Today, our effort in the field of education is three times what it was 3 years ago. The budget this year has a little over \$12 billion for education. Three years ago it had a little over \$4 billion. Three times the effort in education that we had only 3 years ago.

Twelve billion dollars for education. That is twice as much money as Herbert Hoover had for the entire Federal budget when I came to Washington.

In health—we must have sound bodies, if we are to have our minds take that education. We were spending a little over \$4 billion for health 3 years ago. The budget this year is over \$12 billion. Three times as much for the human body—everybody's body—not just the rich man's body, or the poor man's body, the brown man's body, the white man's body, the black man's body. Three times as much for health as we were spending 3 years ago.

In civil rights we have passed three civil rights bills that have made gradual progress, moving along the road until the day where the "emancipation" will no longer be a "proclamation," but will actually be a fact.

Today, I am releasing a special Cabinet report which tells the story of new opportunities that have been created for more than 5 million Mexican-American citizens.

It shows how far government, business, labor, and community leadership still must go to turn the slogan of opportunity into the fact of reality.

Real opportunity—for all Americans—must grow out of the work of selfless public

servants who are, really, to take the risk at all levels.

Real opportunity must grow out of a business community that is ready to use America's resources to create jobs for willing hands and minds.

I am going to establish today the highest level committee a President can create, a Cabinet committee on Mexican-Americans. It will be composed of Secretary Wirtz, Secretary Gardner, Secretary Freeman, Secretary Weaver, and Director Shriver of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

And the President and the Vice President will be around to serve *ex officio*, when they can be helpful.

Right here, now, I am going to sign an order creating that committee—and I am going to ask Mr. Vicente T. Ximenes to serve as the chairman of that committee.

I am saying to Mr. Ximenes, and to the Cabinet members who are on that committee, that I will expect from you not just reports, but I want some solutions. I may get too many of the former—but never too many of the latter.

Mr. Ximenes, we welcome you to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. We believe that you will add a new image and new vitality to its fine work.

We value the historic tradition that you represent.

The State of New Mexico has sent many great men to Washington in the Senate and the House of Representatives, in the Cabinet, and at many levels. They will be looking to you with admiration and with pride. I am sure they will not be disappointed.

So we today affirm this truth: that what we do for any minority, we do as well for the

majority. After all, we do all of this for America.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:10 p.m. in the East Room at the White House. In his opening words he referred to Vicente T. Ximenes, the first Mexican-American to serve on the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, and to Senators Clinton

P. Anderson and Joseph M. Montoya, both of New Mexico.

The special Cabinet report to which the President referred is entitled "The Mexican American: A New Focus on Opportunity." The text is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 3, p. 842).

For the President's memorandum establishing the Inter-Agency Committee on Mexican American Affairs, see Item 259.

259 Memorandum Establishing the Inter-Agency Committee on Mexican American Affairs. June 9, 1967

Memorandum for: Honorable W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary of Labor; Honorable John W. Gardner, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare; Honorable Orville L. Freeman, Secretary of Agriculture; Honorable Robert C. Weaver, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development; Honorable R. Sargent Shriver, Director, Office of Economic Opportunity; Honorable Vicente Ximenes, Commissioner, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission:

Over the past three years, many members of my Administration have had discussions with Mexican American leaders and others interested in their problems. They have discussed the value of our programs to Mexican Americans in their search for equal opportunity and first-class American citizenship.

The time has come to focus our efforts more intensely on the Mexican Americans of our nation.

I am therefore asking the Secretary of Labor, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, the Secretary of Agriculture and the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity to serve on an inter-agency committee on Mexican American

affairs. I am asking Commissioner Vicente Ximenes of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to chair this committee.

The purpose of this committee is to

- assure that Federal programs are reaching the Mexican Americans and providing the assistance they need and
- seek out new programs that may be necessary to handle problems that are unique to the Mexican American community.

I am also asking this committee to meet with Mexican Americans, to review their problems and to hear from them what their needs are, and how the Federal Government can best work with state and local governments, with private industry and with the Mexican Americans themselves in solving those problems.

I would like to be kept informed, at periodic intervals, of the progress being made.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

NOTE: For the President's announcement of the establishment of the Committee, see his remarks at the swearing in of Vicente T. Ximenes as Commissioner of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Item 258.

260 Message to the Congress Transmitting 11th Annual Report of the Surgeon General. *June 12, 1967*

To the Congress of the United States:

I am pleased to transmit the Eleventh Annual Report of the Surgeon General on the Health Research Facilities Program for 1966.

This program, which was inaugurated in 1956, has been a powerful and effective tool in our work toward improving the health of all Americans.

In the past ten years, nearly 1,400 matching grants—totalling about \$400 million—have been made for the construction and renovation of research facilities in each of the 50 States.

In all, the program has stimulated the creation and strengthening of health research facilities costing almost \$1 billion.

In 1966, many exciting new ventures were begun, and many others were completed.

—Construction of research facilities started at three new medical schools: The University of Connecticut Medical School at Farmington; The Pennsylvania State University Medical School at Hershey; The University of Texas South Texas Medical School at San Antonio. These facilities will help promote activities in the three interrelated fields of medical education, research and the delivery of medical services.

—Construction of a new biochemical research facility was completed at the Oklahoma State University.

—A permanent research unit was completed at the Salk Institute for Biological Studies in La Jolla, California.

—The clinical sciences building at the Downstate Medical Center of the State University of New York was completed. Previously, the University's research facilities were scattered through un-

used rooms—and even remodeled porches—of a hospital, as well as in borrowed space in the basic sciences building. Now there are modern research laboratories readily adaptable to the changing needs of biomedical research.

—The area used for health sciences research at Yale University was more than doubled with the completion of a new building.

—An experimental school was completed in Albertson, New York, for severely handicapped children who otherwise would be homebound and restricted to a few hours of instruction by visiting teachers. The school will be run by the Human Resources Foundation, in cooperation with the New York University Medical School, to find new ways to make life more meaningful for our handicapped children.

The success of the program appears not only in facts and figures, but in its overall contribution to a healthier America. It has proved to be an outstanding example of Federal partnership with colleges, universities, hospitals and non-profit research institutions in furtherance of the Nation's efforts to serve its citizens.

It is a privilege, therefore, for me to submit to the Congress the 11th Annual Report of the Surgeon General summarizing our progress under the Health Research Facilities Program.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

The White House

June 12, 1967

NOTE: The "Eleventh Annual Report on Health Research Facilities by the Surgeon General of the Public Health Service" is printed in House Document 134 (90th Cong., 1st sess.).

261 Remarks to the National Legislative Conference, Building and Construction Trades Department, AFL-CIO. June 12, 1967

Mr. Haggerty, presidents of the internationals, delegates to the Building and Construction Trades Legislative Conference, my friends in the labor movement:

As President of the United States, this is the third time that I have had a chance to come and speak to you. Because I so deeply appreciate your invitation, I will not take much of your time this morning—because I am very mindful of the old saying:

“Blessed are the brief, for they shall be invited again.”

As most of you know, the Vice President, Hubert Humphrey, had planned to speak to you today, but he went into the hospital for some minor surgery Friday night. I spoke to him on the telephone just before I left the White House this morning and he is feeling as fine and as chipper as ever, and he expects to be back on the job day after tomorrow. He asked me to extend to each of you his warmest, best wishes and his regrets that he could not be with you today.

He does plan to see you later—in the days ahead.

I don't think I have to tell this audience that Hubert has had a lifelong dedication to the cause of organized labor. I think you might be interested, though, in some of the reports that have come out of Bethesda since he went there for this operation.

The first thing the Vice President wanted to know was if the surgeon had a union card.

Then he inquired if the operating room was an open shop or a closed shop.

He constantly referred to the head nurse as the job steward.

He, finally, checked carefully to see that his hospital room number was not 14(b).

The Vice President is such a firm believer in organized labor that about a month ago

I asked him to lend me a hand in trying to organize the Congress. Unfortunately, as of this morning, I must report that so far we have not recruited even one member for the “International Brotherhood of Congressmen.”

It is good to be back here before the Conference of the Building and Construction Trades Department. I have always felt much in common with this group and with this membership. You are engaged in doing the thing that I think speaks best for America—you are builders. You are building up America.

Recently, I realized that we even had more in common than that. As I have looked out my White House window onto Pennsylvania Avenue these last few months, and as I have traveled about America—and I have seen an occasional demonstrator here and there—I realized that I could assure you this morning, with very deep personal feeling, that you are not the only ones concerned with onsite picketing.

Seriously, now, I said a moment ago that you were the builders of America. I don't think I exaggerate that. Each year more than 80 percent of all the building in America is built through the labor of your 18 international unions. What is perhaps even more significant is that in the 22 years since World War II, America has been built once over again. The value of our postwar structures in America exceeds that of all the construction accrued through to 1945.

In other words, we have built more since the war ended than we had in all the time up to 1945. So you not only do most of the building of a nation, but you do it in a nation that is one of the buildingest nations in the history of all mankind.

I am not here to just pat you on the back, for the future is even more exciting than the past. If it took two decades to build America over again once, it will take much less time—probably closer to one decade—to do that much more building again.

So your job and my job and the job of all Americans who are interested in the future of their country is really, literally, just beginning.

America will be built over again in the years to come—and again and again. And if she is to retain her vitality and her life, we are going to have to watch this building and do it constructively.

Each time this Nation rebuilds itself, it must be better. It must improve itself; it must correct the errors and the omissions of the previous generations.

On the Federal level, we have already begun:

We are encouraging the building of highways. We are doing almost twice as much as we were in 1961.

We are encouraging the building of hospitals. We are constantly expanding that program.

This year, in the field of health, our program will be about three times as large as it was 3 years ago. This year we will allocate, on the Federal level, to health expenditures, about \$12 billion. It was \$4 billion 3 years ago when I became President.

We are encouraging the building of schools. This year we will spend about \$12 billion in the field of education in the United States. Three years ago we were spending about \$4 billion. So in 3 years we are spending three times as much to educate your child and to bring health to your body than we were 3 years ago.

We are encouraging the building and the rebuilding of our central city areas; first, through urban renewal and now through the

model cities program.

We have tried rent supplements. We have tried to expand our housing efforts every way in the world that we can.

So, what it adds up to is: The group of men here, working with their Government, are the builders of America. That is why I wanted to come and be with you.

You know the old story—you don't have to be organized; you don't have to have any leadership; you don't have to be constructive to kick a barn down—any donkey can do that. But it takes a mighty skilled carpenter to build one.

When you see the building that is taking place in America, you will find the complainers will find it too hot or too cold, too wet or too dry, too big or too little, too small or too large—and there will be mistakes.

Show me a man who never made a mistake and I will show you a man who never did anything.

It is pretty difficult for a man—even at home—to get to his front gate without somebody barking at him.

But you builders will have monuments that stand to your memory long after the complainers have been laid away. We may have to call on you from time to time to help us deal with these complainers.

I think you know as well as I do that a nation is not rebuilt better and stronger only with bricks and mortar or wire and pipe. A new schoolbuilding with old books, and underpaid teachers and overcrowded classes and old ideas, is an old school in a new shell.

A new housing development in a ghetto does little good—for anyone—if the people in it are unemployed.

So we must rebuild America—not just the Government—in human ways as well as physical ways.

—Our schools and our education must not only be newer, but must be better.

- Our people must be trained for the jobs of the future, not the jobs of the past.
- Our elderly must have the wherewithal not only for subsistence but for dignity.
- Americans of all racial and ethnic backgrounds must receive the equality that other Americans have taken for granted for centuries. I know that within your unions, there has been progress, great progress, over recent years, but I know, as you know, that more and more remains to be done.

And even all that will not be enough. A rebuilt America—fairer, stronger, more prosperous, better educated, with better health—will only be a hollow echo of itself if it exists in a world of chaos and tyranny and cruelty. So we strive for a better world all over the world.

When we met 2 years ago, we faced a grim and difficult situation in the Dominican Republic and in Vietnam. At that time this great organization sent a message of support to me. It was the very first organizational message that supported our commitment in Vietnam, and it was followed by many others from all over America. I have never forgotten that.

Today, thanks to your support and to the support of most of our fellow Americans, the Dominican Republic flourishes under a free and democratically chosen government—where there has been self-determination and the people, themselves, could select their leaders from the inside instead of having them selected for them from the outside.

In Vietnam, again thanks to your support and the support of most of our fellow Americans, the military situation has been reversed—has turned around totally since that time when you met 2 years ago.

So as I speak here today, we persevere militarily in Vietnam, always hoping and working for a negotiated settlement that

will bring peace to that troubled country.

Last week, at another time of deep world crisis, we saw again that the peace of the entire world can hang precariously upon events occurring in very small and very far-away nations.

Today, in the Middle East—as in Vietnam and in America—we are faced with a task of rebuilding—of putting together a human equation, where men can live together in peace and harmony—where men can live as the Prophet Micah said, “Every man under his vine and fig tree, and none shall make them afraid.”

That is America’s goal in the world at large, as well as our goal at home: We covet no territory. We seek no dominion. We want not an acre of anyone else’s land.

But we do want to give men the opportunity to stand straight and to stand free, to grow to the outer limits of their own ability and to be able to do this growing without fear.

If we are real builders—as you are, and as all of us should be—that is what we will build for our sons and for our grandsons.

As I said to your international presidents, we have not achieved everything we wanted to domestically. We have been engaged in some fights we have had our reverses from time to time.

But we have moved ahead. We are making progress. There is not a nation in the world that wouldn’t like to emulate our growth, our prosperity, our strength, and our advantages.

During the 4 years that I have attempted to lead this country, we have had an unparalleled record of constructive, statesman-like cooperation between the leaders of the labor movement in this country and the leaders of the business movement in this country and the leaders of the Government in this country.

Whether you are tall or short, whether you are fat or lean, whether you are a Republican or Democrat, whether you are a southerner or a northerner, easterner or westerner, I can truthfully say to each of you this morning that in my associations with you—under the leadership of that grand American, George Meany—you have always put your country first. You have been a source of strength and comfort to your President instead of harassment and tirade.

I came here to tell you that—and to say to you that I am not only grateful, but I think free men everywhere ought to be thankful

for the job of building that you have done for America and other free nations.

I—on behalf of all the American people—want you to know that we do appreciate what you have done.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:45 p.m. in the International Ballroom at the Washington Hilton Hotel before more than 100 delegates to the National Legislative Conference, Building and Construction Trades Department, AFL-CIO. In his opening words he referred to C. J. Haggerty, president of the Building and Construction Trades Department, AFL-CIO. Later he referred to George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO.

262 Remarks at the Graduation Ceremony of the Capitol Page School. *June 13, 1967*

Capitol Page School graduates, Members of the Congress, ladies and gentlemen:

I want to say to the school graduates that I am very happy to congratulate you today on your graduation and to have this chance to personally welcome you here to the White House.

I suspect that someday, some other President may be greeting you as Members of Congress or as high officials of Government.

You have had a unique educational experience: unique in your country—and, as far as I can learn, unique in all the world.

You have been given a chance to see Government without glamor—to learn that ideals alone don't make programs; that dreams do not automatically become reality.

You have learned the political realities that go to making up our democratic system.

President Theodore Roosevelt best described those realities once when he said:

"It is not the critic who counts; not the man who points out how the strong man

stumbles. . . . The credit belongs to the man who is actually in the arena, whose face is marred by dust and sweat and blood . . . who spends himself in a worthy cause. His place shall never be with those cold and timid souls who know neither victory nor defeat."

That knowledge gives you a head start in life. It will be useful to you, whether your career is in public service or in private life.

I hope that most of you will consider Government as a career—either as elected officials, like your very able alumnus Senator Church, or in other fields of public service.

For the world that you enter very much needs your help today. For our Nation is called upon not just to maintain the blessings we now enjoy, but to multiply those blessings; to improve the world for all people—and to improve it for generations yet to come.

Doing that enormous job will always be difficult; sometimes frustrating—but always

exciting and most of the time rewarding.

I think you are specially qualified for that high endeavor.

By watching the Congress at work, by helping the Congress at work—you have learned a lesson that a great leader of Congress for half a century, Speaker Rayburn, used to teach: "Ability is no good without energy."

And Mr. Rayburn, who had an old-fashioned faith in integrity, used to say this, too: "No one can destroy the confidence other men have in you—except you."

I congratulate you on arriving at this day in life—in earning this graduation. I wish you well. I have complete faith that the confidence that your parents, your teachers, your associates in the Congress, and all of us have in you will be well placed. It is good to have you here.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:32 a.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House, before presenting diplomas to the graduates. During his remarks he referred to Sam Rayburn, Representative from Texas 1913-1961, who served as Speaker of the House of Representatives 1940-1947, 1949-1953, 1955-1961.

263 Remarks to the Press Announcing the Nomination of Thurgood Marshall as Associate Justice of the Supreme Court. June 13, 1967

Good morning, ladies and gentlemen:

I have just talked to the Chief Justice and informed him that I shall send to the Senate this afternoon the nomination of Mr. Thurgood Marshall, Solicitor General, to the position of Associate Justice of the Supreme Court made vacant by the resignation of Justice Tom C. Clark of Texas.

As most of you know, Mr. Marshall is presently serving as Solicitor General. He has served on the second highest court in the land, the Court of Appeals for the State of New York from which place he resigned, at my request, to come here as Solicitor General.

He has argued 19 cases in the Supreme Court since becoming Solicitor General. Prior to that time, he had argued some 33 cases. The statisticians tell me that probably only one or two other living men have argued as many cases before the Court—and perhaps less than half a dozen in all the history of the Nation.

The Solicitor has had some 50-odd cases.

He has lost only eight of those cases.

His background will be given you by George Christian.

Mr. Marshall was first in his class at Howard. He has had a distinguished record as private counsel and as Government counsel in the courts of the land. I believe he has already earned his place in history, but I think it will be greatly enhanced by his service on the Court.

I believe he earned that appointment; he deserves the appointment. He is best qualified by training and by very valuable service to the country. I believe it is the right thing to do, the right time to do it, the right man and the right place.

I trust that his nomination will be promptly considered by the Senate.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke to the press at 12 noon in the Rose Garden at the White House. During his remarks he referred to Earl Warren, Chief Justice of the United States, and George E. Christian, Special Assistant to the President. Mr. Marshall was present for the announcement.

264 The President's News Conference of
June 13, 1967

QUESTIONS

UNITED STATES POSITION ON THE MIDDLE EAST

[1.] Q. On May 23d you reaffirmed the policy of three Presidents before you, committing this country to the territorial and political integrity of every nation in the Middle East.¹

When Ambassador Goldberg explained the U.S. vote at the cease-fire, he stated the same policy to the world. May I ask how you are going to honor this commitment in view of the Israeli conquest of the Arab lands?

THE PRESIDENT. That is our policy. It will continue to be our policy. How it will be effectuated will be determined by the events of the days ahead. It will depend a good deal upon the nations themselves, what they have to say and what their views are, what their proposals are after they have expressed them.

I cannot give you any rule of thumb or arbitrary formula at this meeting of what the developments in that distressed area will be, other than to say what our policy is.

In that statement, as well as my statement to Senator Mansfield,² you will find that this Government, under many Presidents, has first in its mind—has had and does have now—peace in the area. How that will be involved with the other parts of the statement, as that was a vital part of it, will be determined by the events.

NEGOTIATING BOUNDARY CHANGES

[2.] Q. Sir, could I follow up on that?
THE PRESIDENT. Yes.

¹ See Item 233.

² See Item 257.

Q. Is it correct, then, to assume that if the parties in the dispute negotiate changes in the boundaries that obtained before the fighting, the policy of the United States would not then necessarily be in opposition to such negotiated changes?

THE PRESIDENT. I will stay with the statement, if you can live with it until the nations can adjust themselves to their positions and give their stories. I think it would be better for our country and for them.

I see no real reason for my going beyond the statement I made. I do not think it would serve your interest as an individual or the Government's interest, or the Nation's.

Q. Mr. President, would you favor the two sides sitting down together and negotiating?

THE PRESIDENT. I wouldn't go into that now. I have nothing more to say than my statement.

RUSSIAN PEACE EFFORTS

[3.] Q. Mr. President, during the war the Russians worked more or less in tandem with us to bring about a cease-fire. Is there any indication now or is it your hope that they would work in tandem, the two superpowers, to bring about this peace?

THE PRESIDENT. We would like all nations to do everything they can to promote an acceptable and honorable peace. We can only speak for ourselves. But it is our hope that we can avoid war and can achieve peace. That is going to require the best efforts of all of us.

Q. Mr. President, in the statement³ that

³ The statement which was issued by George E. Christian, Special Assistant to the President, is

was issued on Monday when the fighting started, there was a sentence about new programs of development for the entire area. Could you give us some of your thinking as to what new programs might be involved?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I don't think I ought to go beyond the statement that I made on May 23d at this time.

THE U.S.S. "LIBERTY"

[4.] Q. Mr. President, do you have any more facts that you can release on the attack on the U.S.S. *Liberty*?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I think you know about as much about it as we do.

VIETNAM

[5.] Q. Mr. President, there seems to have been a lull or a fall-off in the fighting in Vietnam in the last few weeks. If that is true, and perhaps you could confirm it for us, do you think there is a change in the situation vis-a-vis both Vietnam and the Soviet Union that might lead us closer to a settlement of that conflict?

THE PRESIDENT. I would not make such a prediction. I think the fighting goes up and down depending on a good many factors.⁴

THE DEBT LIMIT

[6.] Q. Sir, on the domestic side, what does the administration plan to do about the

problems you are having with the debt limit bill in the House?

THE PRESIDENT. The Treasury and Mr. Mills⁵ are exchanging viewpoints, I think, at the moment. I think the committee will take action sometime shortly and make its recommendations to the House. I would not want to anticipate what they would do in their votes, but I think it will be acceptable to the administration.

THE SELECTION OF A NEW SOLICITOR
GENERAL

[7.] Q. Mr. President, have you decided upon a successor to Mr. Marshall⁶ at the Justice Department?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I have not. We have been canvassing some other appointments there. They will be announced later in the week. I doubt that the Solicitor General will be announced for some time, at least until Mr. Marshall's nomination is acted upon.

RACIAL VIOLENCE IN THE CITIES

[8.] Q. Mr. President, we have had a new outbreak of racial violence in the cities this summer and it looks as if it may get worse. I wonder if you would comment on the causes of it and what might be done about it?

THE PRESIDENT. We are trying to do everything we can in cooperation with the cities, the counties, the States, and the private employers to minimize the tensions that exist. We have asked the Congress for help in this direction. They have promptly and generously acted in the \$75 million special

printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 3, p. 831).

⁴Following a verbal report to the President, Lt. Gen. Lewis W. Walt, Commanding General of the III Marine Amphibious Force in Vietnam, met with reporters at 1:30 p.m. on June 12 in the Fish Room at the White House for a news briefing on the military situation in Vietnam. The full text is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 3, p. 864).

⁵Representative Wilbur D. Mills of Arkansas, Chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives.

⁶For the President's remarks to the press announcing the nomination of Solicitor General Thurgood Marshall to the Supreme Court, see Item 263.

appropriation for the cities for the summer.

We shall continue, under the leadership of the Vice President, the Attorney General, Secretary Wirtz, and others in this field, to try to lessen these tensions by providing employment, by opening up recreational areas, swimming pools, supervised play, and additional training facilities, all of which we think will be helpful.

We want to keep these incidents to a minimum, but we will have to rely primarily on the good judgment of the people themselves and the local authorities to try to work out solutions to the problems as they arise.

THE APPOINTMENT OF MR. MARSHALL

[9.] Q. Mr. President, with regard to the Supreme Court appointment, did you receive advice that someone more conservative than Judge Marshall should be appointed?

THE PRESIDENT. No. I received very little pressure of any kind in this connection. I consulted the bar and the bar gave me their opinion—an impression that is similar in Judge Marshall's case to the one given in Justice Fortas'.

Their impression, as I recall it, was that the American Bar Association finds him highly acceptable.

RESUMPTION OF AID TO THE MIDDLE EAST

[10.] Q. Mr. President, to return to the Middle East—for the near future, what plans, if any, do you have for the resumption of economic aid?

THE PRESIDENT. We are reviewing the aid program throughout that area. The Congress is presently considering our program for next year. I would think that the events of the next few days and weeks will determine the extent, the desire, and the need

more clearly.

This morning, I don't think I could say this is it because I might have a credibility problem, if I did that. I don't think that they are that far along. I don't think the needs, the problems we face, are going to be clear this morning.

REGIONAL COOPERATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST

[11.] Q. Mr. President, Walt Rostow⁷ said yesterday in a speech in Vermont that regional cooperation in the Middle East would appear to be a key solution to their problems over there. Does that accurately reflect the administration's thinking of possibilities?

THE PRESIDENT. We have felt, as you know, for some time that where we could—as in Latin America, Africa, or in Asia, in various areas of the world—that the regional approach was a very desirable approach to facing up to the problems, economic and otherwise.

Some areas are further along than others. In the last 2 years, we think we have made considerable progress along this line. We would hope that we could do better in the days ahead in all areas.

INDIVIDUAL VIEWS ON THE CRISIS

[12.] Q. Mr. President, there is a story in the Baltimore Sun today quoting the American Chargé d'Affaires in Cairo saying the administration was not as sensitive to the seriousness of the crisis before it erupted into war in the Middle East. Would you have any comment on that?

THE PRESIDENT. No. I think you will find that there are pro-Egypt spokesmen, pro-Israel spokesmen, and individual opinions

⁷Walt W. Rostow, Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs.

that will flow pretty freely these days.

I do not believe anyone very high in the administration would feel that way about it. The Middle East has occupied a good deal of our thoughts, our attention, and the time of some of the ablest leaders in our Government ever since I came into the executive branch in 1961. It still does.

I do not know the person to whom you refer. It sounds very much like a parochial view, or a local viewpoint.

ARAB CHARGES AGAINST THE UNITED STATES

[13.] Q. Mr. President, the Arabs, particularly the Egyptians, have made quite an emotional case against the United States, claiming that we backed the Israelis and that our Air Force helped them in the military action, itself. What is your reaction to this campaign?

THE PRESIDENT. I think that the people of the world should know that uppermost in my mind, our Government's mind, our people's mind, is trying to contribute anything we can to helping people get along with their neighbors and with each other. I do not want to say anything that would contribute to inflaming the feeling that already exists.

I think that all of you—and most of the world—know that the charges about our active participation with our carrier planes in the events was completely untrue. In due time—when that becomes evident to all the parties—the attitudes of a good many people will change and will improve.

THE SUEZ CANAL

[14.] Q. Mr. President, can you say what steps, if any, are being taken by the users of the Suez Canal to get the canal reopened?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I can't.

THE PROBLEM OF REFUGEES

[15.] Q. Mr. President, have you had an opportunity to look into the problem of the refugees and whether any emergency relief will be needed?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, that is a problem that is high on the agenda of the problems of that area. It will be one that all of the interested parties will no doubt address their attention to.

So far as our reaching an independent, unilateral decision, none has been reached—although we have considered various factors involved and have given a good deal of attention to it for some time.

ROLE OF THE "HOT LINE" IN THE CRISIS

[16.] Q. Mr. President, could you tell us how helpful a role the "hot line" played in Russian-American relations during this period?

THE PRESIDENT. I think it is always helpful when you can convey your thought orally or in writing to a person whom you want to communicate with. We did that on occasions. I did not see, except for the time involved, a great deal of difference between this and the other communications that save time.

You send a message just like you send a cable. There is no voice involved. The "hot line" was something dramatic, I guess. We just write out our message, giving our views, and say, "Here is how we feel about it." They come back with the same message. You take it and read it as you would any other message.

Q. Was time saving important in some of those messages, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. I think it is always good to save any time you can. I don't know how

important it might have been.

Q. Mr. President, was there any voice communication with Premier Kosygin during the period of the crisis?

THE PRESIDENT. No.

ON BEING A PROTESTER

[17.] Q. Mr. President, yesterday Mrs. Johnson said you have been a protester all of your life.

THE PRESIDENT. She has reminded me of that a good many times before yesterday.

Q. You agree with the statement, then?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes.

DISCUSSIONS WITH CHANCELLOR KIESINGER

[18.] Q. Mr. President, what do you expect for a range of topics to discuss with Chancellor Kiesinger when he comes here next month?

THE PRESIDENT. I had lunch yesterday with Mr. Von Hase, his press secretary and advance official. We will have a wide variety of subjects to exchange viewpoints on.

I thought we had a very fruitful meeting in Bonn, although our time was limited and we were limited somewhat by the occasion. We will discuss anything that the Chancellor is interested in.

I am sure that among the matters will be the future of Europe and Germany, our trade problems, our troop deployment problems, our understandings that we have entered into in the past, our relations in the days ahead.

I anticipate that it will be a very pleasant and productive meeting. I enjoyed the Chancellor. We communicated well together. From what Mr. Von Hase said yesterday, I think that it will be one of our most pleasant and productive visits.

We have a good many coming this year.

We are very pleased that the Chancellor has found it possible to accept our invitation. I told him we would be delighted to see him any time, in June, July, August, or September, and he selected July 7th and 8th.

THE FOOD FOR PEACE PROGRAM

[19.] Q. Sir, on the Food for Peace program, have you had a new assessment of the needs in India this year; and, second, do you have pending a reorganization of the United States effort in this area?

THE PRESIDENT. I have no plans for a reorganization. I don't know what you may have pending around the various departments. I suspect that some of them may be pending or you wouldn't have used that word.

I have no plans pending, as far as I am concerned. The assessment on the Indian situation is no different from what it was when we asked Mr. Rostow to ask the Indians to join him in presenting the problem to the rest of the Nation and the world and to assure them that we would do our part, and that when and if they could present to us commitments, we would make every effort to match them at least 50 percent.

We will be considering the various commitments that other nations have pledged in connection with any commitment we may make in the days ahead.

RESUMPTION OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH ARAB COUNTRIES

[20.] Q. Mr. President, sir, do you see any steps the United States might take to encourage resumption of diplomatic relations with the Arab countries?

THE PRESIDENT. We think that at this time the best thing for us to do is to let things clear up and let the people of the area and

the world realize just what has happened. Then we will be exchanging viewpoints with all concerned.

No doubt Secretary Rusk will be talking to the NATO nations today and tomorrow, receiving their viewpoints and giving them ours. I do not expect any immediate decision in that field.

MR. MARSHALL ON HIS NOMINATION

[21.] Q. I was just going to ask Justice Marshall, if we might, how he feels about this appointment.

THE PRESIDENT. I hope the Justice doesn't go into an extended news conference before his confirmation, but I am sure that if you deal purely with health matters he will be glad to respond.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL. You speak for me, Mr. President. We will wait until after the Senate acts.

Reporter: Thank you, sir.

NOTE: President Johnson's one hundred and second news conference was held in his office at the White House at 12:10 p.m. on Tuesday, June 13, 1967. As printed above, this item follows the text of the Official White House Transcript.

265 Statement by the President on Accident Prevention in the Federal Government. *June 13, 1967*

A LITTLE over 2 years ago, I took a look at the safety records of our Federal agencies. I was shocked.

I saw that between 1958 and 1965, 1,200 Federal workers had lost their lives because of job injuries. Nearly 300,000 others had been disabled.

Adding up the cost to the Nation of these deaths and injuries, I found that in those 7 years we had lost over 70,000 man-years of labor. That is equivalent to 1 full year off the job for 70,000 men.

There was no excuse for these shocking statistics. Many of the deaths and injuries could easily have been prevented.

So, in February of 1965, we launched a program called Mission SAFETY-70. Its goal was to reduce the number of accidental injuries to Federal workers—30 percent by 1970.

We have done a great deal since then. Today we have met to recognize outstanding achievements, and to evaluate our program so far.

—For 2 years in a row we have lowered

the injury rate of Federal employees.

—Eighteen major agencies employing over 80 percent of our Federal civilian workers have significantly reduced their injury figures. One—the D.C. Commission—has achieved 29 percent reduction—in only 2 years reaching the target we set for 1970.

But let me emphasize that we have not yet reached our goal. There is no room for complacency.

In some areas, the accident rate is rising. Disabling injuries are up slightly for the first quarter of this year. This needless and costly waste must stop.

I am charging every administrator in the Federal Government with personal responsibility to see that the causes of accidents in his operation are found and eliminated.

We want the Federal Government to set standards of safety that will be copied by public and private groups. It is blind, heartless extravagance to contend that we cannot afford such a safety program.

The agencies we are honoring today prove

that our goal can be attained:

- Secretary Nitze, the Navy Department for its outstanding program of safety in all areas.
- General McKee, the Federal Aviation Agency for reducing the frequency of injuries more than 14 percent, and the severity of injuries more than 33 percent, compared with your previous 3-year average.
- Mr. Ripley, the Smithsonian Institution for successfully reducing a variety of hazards from laser beams to dangers

in the Zoological Park.

There are three honorable mentions:

- The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.
- The District of Columbia Commission.
- The Civil Service Commission.

NOTE: The President's safety awards are made every year to three Federal agencies selected for outstanding improvements in their accident prevention activities.

For a statement by the President on launching Mission SAFETY-70 on February 16, 1965, see 1965 volume, this series, Book I, Item 73.

266 Remarks at a Reception for the Presidential Scholars.

June 13, 1967

Secretary Gardner, parents, friends, fellow intellectuals:

Welcome to the "generational gap."

Since I know that I am talking to some of America's brightest young people, I have no fear of asking any one of you where you stand in your class.

I run no risk of getting the answer that I heard from a young man who said, "Mr. President, I graduated in the upper five-eighths of my class."

I am very proud of your accomplishments, but I hope you will remember what Albert Einstein once said: "Education is what remains when one forgets everything one has learned in school."

These days, if one chooses to believe all that is written about our young people in America, the prospect of having 121 teenagers as guests in this house can scare some people. They read about the alienated young radicals, and the rootless and disillusioned young people with long hair and short skirts.

Well, that doesn't scare me. I have just lived through several years with teenage girls

in this house and it hasn't affected me one bit.

I have kept my "cool." I haven't "bugged out." I am still in "fat city."

I would like to apologize to you for keeping Mr. Thurgood Marshall from your meeting this morning. I don't know if you have had an opportunity to see the afternoon papers, but when Solicitor General Thurgood Marshall was supposed to be with you—he was with me.

Actually, in my office, I was informing him that I wanted him to accept an appointment to the Supreme Court of the United States. He has accepted that appointment, and—the Senate willing—he will become an Associate Justice to succeed Justice Clark.

Mr. Marshall is here with us tonight. Will you stand, please, Mr. Marshall?

One of the President's most important duties is attracting able and talented public servants to Washington.

So I am greatly pleased to have lured 121 potential public servants here this afternoon—even if your stay, you think, is brief.

I congratulate you.

I salute your teachers.

I pay tribute to your parents, who deserve a great share of your honor.

In the United States we have always prided ourselves for our leadership in free education. In every new community, the schoolhouse went up with the church as the first symbol of public obligation.

Yet, for all we have done, much more remains undone.

We have not learned to unlock the full promise of every American citizen. The tragedy of unused talent still plagues us, still affects millions of young people, still troubles our whole society.

For every Albert Einstein—how many immigrants worked out their lives in cotton mills, trapped by poverty?

For every Thurgood Marshall—how many talented Negro Americans never escaped the prison of the sharecropper?

For every Harry Truman—how many promising young men vanished at 16 into the stores, the factories, and the mines?

Our obligation is to build an educational system which will discover and develop these lost Americans.

I am proud to say that our Federal educational effort is three times as much this year as it was 3 years ago. That is progress. We are spending this year over \$12 billion for education in this country. Three years ago we were spending \$4 billion.

So someone, somewhere thinks education is important and is doing something about it.

We have no great guarantee that knowledge brings goodness or wisdom. Knowledge must be bound to a spirit of service. "Though I . . . understand all mysteries, and all knowledge . . . and have not charity, I am nothing."

So, I would commend to you, beyond a life of scholarship, a life of service—more

specifically, a life of public service.

I have said this so many times that it is trite, and particularly members of my Cabinet don't like to hear it. When I was a young man my ambition was to be a preacher, a teacher, or a politician—all three—because they would give me an opportunity to serve others and because I could have some sense of achievement, of doing things for human beings that you never get out of a paycheck.

So I want to commend to each of you some very serious thought—to ask yourselves, "What can you do for your country and, more important, what can you do for your fellow human beings in the world in the allotted time that you have here?"

It is popular today to talk of "scholars in politics." More and more leaders of thought are becoming leaders of action in this country.

That is a movement that I encourage—a movement that I hope all of you will join, because it does us no good to dream dreams if they never come true.

Never before have we needed, in government, the best minds so urgently as we need them today.

Never, I think, have the rewards been so great.

As the stern figure of Uncle Sam said on the old recruiting poster—you remember that fellow with the tall hat, red, white, and blue—which said, "I WANT YOU."

Well, I want you:

—to serve on the school board;

—to serve in the city hall;

—to serve in the statehouse, and—yes—in the White House.

You need not wait for several years to develop that interest and that involvement.

You can help now: I want you to help encourage the brightest candidates for public office; to help run political campaigns; to

help generate interest in public issues—the subjects of our time, the questions that will determine whether we live or whether we die, whether we have peace or whether we have war.

I do not believe that young citizens have a monopoly on brains. Nor do I believe that they have a monopoly on virtue.

But I do know that they have the greatest share of energy, enthusiasm, and courage in our land.

If you are looking for energy, enthusiasm, courage, and fearlessness, you can find it with our young people.

I have seen it in Vietnam. Much to my sorrow, I see it there every day.

I have seen it among the White House Fellows. I have seen it in the Washington summer interns—several thousand we have brought here.

I have seen it in the Peace Corps, VISTA,

and the Teacher Corps.

And, because I see it in your achievements—and because I see it in your faces here in the East Room of the White House this afternoon—I welcome you here. I plead with you to get involved. I hope that on your next visit to Washington, you plan to stay for a long, long time—even undergo a change in administration, if that should come about.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 6:05 p.m. in the East Room at the White House. His opening words referred to John W. Gardner, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

At the ceremony the Presidential Scholars were awarded special medallions for outstanding academic achievement. Announcements concerning plans for the 4th annual Presidential Scholars program and selection of the 1967 Scholars are printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 3, pp. 601 and 788).

267 Remarks to Delegates to the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association Youth Conference. *June 14, 1967*

Mr. Clyde Ellis, delegates to the REA Conference:

We want to welcome you here to the White House this morning and tell you how happy we always are when you come to see us.

We have a very distinguished visitor with us this morning who, I know, will enjoy you—and I think you would want to know. He is the young and brilliant leader of the Australian Labor Party.

Among all the nations in the world, there are few for whom we have more respect or affection than Australia. They have been our friends. They are our allies. We have great respect and friendship for them.

Mr. Whitlam is the new leader of the Labor Party in Australia. At the moment,

the Labor Party is the opposition party. It is like the Republican Party in this country, although they don't have the same views on questions. It is the other party.

It provides constructive leadership for the viewpoint of the people who make up that great party.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Holt, will visit us later at our ranch. He will partake of our REA water and electricity at Johnson City this weekend.

Mr. Whitlam is here with us today. I want to present him to you as our friend and the great leader of a great people.

Mr. Whitlam, would you like to say a word?

MR. WHITLAM. *Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen:*

This is a very great honor for me to have the opportunity to speak with the leader of the greatest country in the world—and to speak to many of the young people from all over this great country—young people drawn here by the invitation and the inspiration of a man who derives so much of his own strength from the land.

For a generation, he has tried to see that everybody in this country had access to the things which you represent in the title of your organization.

I thank him very much for giving me the opportunity to see you, to observe at first hand the great response that you give him, the rapport there is between the leader of your country and the young people of it—particularly from those rural areas which he has done so much to advance.

Thank you, Mr. President, very much for meeting the rising generation of your country.

THE PRESIDENT. I want to thank Mr. Ellis for making reference to the idea—now a program that you are a part of—that I first broached at the national REA convention in Chicago when I was a much younger man.

I have always felt that the future of our land would be largely determined by the quality of our people. I have felt if we were to develop the quality of people that we wanted, we had to give increasing attention to our young people.

When I was a Member of the Congress many years ago, I suggested to the REA leaders of America at their annual convention in Chicago that they have this conference of young people once a year—that they bring them here where they can see their Government in action, meet their President, Vice President, Congressmen, and Senators.

As a consequence, you are here. We are, today, bearing the fruits of that suggestion—that action that Clyde Ellis and his organiza-

tion put into practice.

Last night, we had the Presidential Scholars on the balcony there and in the White House. A few days before, we had the White House Fellows. We had the young scientists and various groups. Almost every week I meet with a group of young people who are going to be leading this Nation tomorrow.

A great President who preceded me in this office, Harry Truman, was serving in the White House when most of you were born. In his last annual message to the Congress, President Truman had this to say to the Congress, and—through the Congress—to the people:

“The Nation’s business is never finished.” And, really, it never is.

New dreams must replace our old dreams; new horizons must open up; new challenges arise to test us—to test our spirit and our resolve.

I said the other day that the period we are going through in our national life today is a “period of testing.” It is bringing out the nervousness that is in us. It is bringing out the excitement, the emotion, that is in us.

Yes, this is a time of testing—testing of our spirit and of our resolve. It is a time of testing of our commitment to a society where all men are equal; where people can live and prosper in peace.

When I first came to this city—36 years ago—I was a little bit older than you. That first visit was one of the most enduring memories that I possess.

The visions, the ideals, the restless hopes of great leaders are a part of the spirit of this city.

When I came here, the bonus marchers were going down Pennsylvania Avenue. Just a few months later, I stood—as one of many thousands on the Capitol grounds—to hear that great President say, “The only thing we

have to fear is fear itself."

Now you are coming into your responsibility. You are facing the challenges that were greater than those that we faced in that dark period of the depression.

In your lifetime—the days ahead of you—you are going to have to completely rebuild this country. You are going to have to clean up the ghettos, you are going to have to tear out the slums, rebuild the cities and the factories.

You are going to have to remake the hospitals—add to them—because we don't have enough to meet our needs.

You are going to have to reconstruct modern schools with better lighting.

By the end of this century, we may very well have doubled in numbers.

Now I want to talk to you about something that is particularly your own. There are about five things that command most of my attention.

First is peace in the world.

Then we have to be concerned with populations in the world.

Next, we have to be concerned with food production in the world, education, conservation, and health.

Those are the big things that occupy our attention. I want to talk to you about our farms for a moment—about our farm production—about how it is going to be necessary to double our food production.

Now that is the kind of challenge that we are going to face up to—that is what we are going to have to meet.

We can't just maintain our present standards because that's not going to be enough. Status quo has never been good for America—or for anywhere else. If it had been good, Clyde Ellis knows—as we served in Congress—the farms would still be dark.

We wouldn't have any running water, any inside bathrooms, or any electric lightbulbs.

We would still be using the old coal oil can with the potato on its snout.

You don't remember that, but I do. We filled a lot of lamps that way when I was coming up.

So we haven't been satisfied with the status quo. We have been busy turning on lights all over this country ever since that day, 34 years ago, when that great President said, "The only thing we have to fear is fear itself."

That statement is true today.

The thing we have to fear most in America is fear. There are a lot of people who just make a full-time job of being afraid.

Now we have been turning on lights in this country since that statement of that great leader. But there are other lights to turn on. There are other expanding forces of our society that we must build and we must produce. And we must do both faster.

Some of our Nation and much of the world still lives in the grim darkness of poverty. Penetrating that darkness is the urgent task of this generation. It threatens our health. It threatens our survival as a society and a civilization.

The real ancient enemies of you and me are disease, illiteracy, and ignorance. We have got to fight those enemies and we have got to conquer them.

That is what we are doing with our poverty program. Six million people have been lifted out of the despondence of poverty.

Last year we increased the minimum wage in this country for 31 million and for the first time we brought 7 million additional people up to a better standard of living.

If you could take back home today one conviction, I would hope it would be this: that your Nation's ability, your country's ability, to meet its challenges is going to

depend largely on you and on your willingness to serve.

Have you ever seen Uncle Sam with that red, white, and blue hat on, pointing his finger and saying, "I want you to buy bonds"? Well, I am pointing my finger to you today and saying I want you to serve your country.

I am not talking about the draft. I am not talking about enlisting in the service. We are very proud of the men who do that, too. But I am telling you today I want you to enter public service, to prepare yourselves for the school board, or as a local community leader, a county commissioner, a county official, the State legislature, a district attorney, a Member of Congress. I hope that out there today is some person who will be occupying this platform someday.

You have the greatest system of government in the world, and you have the greatest country in the world, if you only know it and if you only are determined to develop it, to expand it, to make it grow, and to preserve the good things that we have.

This Nation's business is never finished, Harry S. Truman said before you were born. But he went on to say this, too: "Underneath, the great issues remain the same—prosperity, welfare, human rights, effective democracy, and above all, peace."

Yesterday in the Rose Garden, the President appointed the great-grandson of a slave to the Supreme Court of the United States. That man is one of a half dozen who have argued the most cases before that great court.

Just a short time ago the President appointed the first Negro in history to the Cabinet. Tomorrow the son that didn't have lights when he was born, will have opportunity, just as the Supreme Court Justice had, just as the Cabinet officer had—opportunity to make his own life, to develop his own talents, to provide leadership for

his own country. And some of you, I hope, someday can be here as President of this country or in the Cabinet of this land.

As President Truman said, "Underneath, the great issues remain the same. . . ."

What are they?

Prosperity—we are blessed with a reasonable amount of that now.

Welfare—the education, the health and welfare of our citizens.

Human rights—we have made greater strides in 3 years than we have made in 300 years.

Effective democracy—yes, every citizen has an opportunity and an obligation to participate in it.

And, above all else in the world, peace.

Now, you young people can bring us closer to resolving all of these issues. Your own children will be able to say that what are only dreams today have become living realities tomorrow.

Most of the things that I am proudest of that I have done in 36 years of public service were the most unpopular things I did at the time I did them.

I remember the first REA line I tried to build. The power company came in and over a weekend they built a parallel line that put me out of business. They called it "the spite line." Mr. Ellis was a Congressman then. He remembers all about that.

Then we built the dams on the river and we got one of them up. Just before we closed it to hold the river, they had a big flood and they said it was a Johnson, manmade flood. They tried me in the newspapers and in the investigating committees, on the stump.

There was a lot of criticism because we made a flood. I don't know how we ever made it, but that is what they alleged.

Today that river is peaceful. Those dams are there. That electricity runs all over that land. And that controversy is gone.

So get yourself into some of the controversies of the day.

Mrs. Johnson said this week in New England that I had been a protester all my life. And I have been—protesting the status quo, protesting illiteracy, protesting poverty, protesting ignorance, protesting inadequate treatment of all of our citizens on equal opportunity for all of our people. And by protesting, we have done something about these things.

We have some protesters today; we have some dissenters today.

Most of them are good for us.

I want you to become one. I want you to make this a better world tomorrow than you found it when you discovered America.

You may not remember all about when you discovered it, but remember when you first learned of it.

I want you to write yourself a platform for leaving this a better world than you found it.

My high school motto of my high school graduating class of six—at Johnson City, Texas, population 600—was “Give to the world the best you have, and the best will come back to you.”

If you people from the farms, sons and daughters of the people who make up the great basic industry, agriculture—if you will get excited about public service—if you will “give to the world the best you have, then the best will come back to you.”

We are so glad you could come here and visit with us. We hope you enjoy Washington; we hope you have a lot of fun. Keep your “cool” in the daytime. You are on your own in the evening.

Dr. Billy Graham is over here to give me a little leadership.

Dr. Graham, come on over here and meet

some of these folks.

In some of our most trying periods, Dr. Graham comes here and gives us counsel and strength. This morning, he was here in Washington to talk about our poverty program. He is having lunch with a group of our leaders in the Nation's Government.

He is very familiar with a lot of our human problems. He is not only a voice that is listened to in this country, but one that is respected throughout the world.

If he would say a word, unaccustomed as he is to speaking, I would like him to do so. Dr. Billy Graham.

DR. GRAHAM. I was coming down on an elevator some time ago. A man got on board and said, “I hear Billy Graham is on here.”

The friend of mine pointed in my direction and said, “Yes, there he is.”

He looked me up and down for about 10 seconds and said, “My, what an anticlimax.”

But I think in this period of history—when the President has all the pressures upon him—every one of us ought to vow today, whatever our religious backgrounds, that we are going to pray every day for our President that God would give him strength and wisdom at this hour in the history of the world.

God bless you, and thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:35 a.m. on the South Lawn at the White House before a group of approximately 1,000 young people representing 500 rural electric systems in 25 States. In his opening words he referred to Clyde T. Ellis, executive manager of the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association and Representative from Arkansas 1939–1943. During his remarks he referred to Robert C. Weaver, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, who was the first Negro appointed to the Cabinet, and Solicitor General Thurgood Marshall, recently appointed to the Supreme Court of the United States (see Item 263).

268 Remarks at the Swearing In of Alexander B. Trowbridge as
Secretary of Commerce. June 14, 1967

Secretary and Mrs. Trowbridge, the Trowbridge children, Mr. Justice Harlan, distinguished Members of the Cabinet, Members of the Congress, ladies and gentlemen:

I have come here to the Rose Garden today to perform a very pleasant duty. We have come to welcome a dedicated and dynamic young leader into the President's Cabinet.

We are giving Mr. Trowbridge officially the job that he has been doing, and has been doing very well, for the past several months.

Sandy Trowbridge brought with him, in addition to Nancy, some very striking assets when he joined the administration a little over 2 years ago under the able leadership of the former Secretary of Commerce, Secretary Connor.

Mr. Trowbridge brought an impressive business career in many parts of the world. He brought a record of gallantry under fire in Korea where he fought for his country as an officer in the United States Marine Corps.

Before that, he had earned notable educational honors at Princeton University and he served internships at the United Nations and here in Washington.

Starting early in 1965 he gave outstanding performance in the post of Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Domestic and International Business.

Earlier this year, on the recommendation of Secretary Connor, I asked Mr. Trowbridge to lead the Commerce Department in an acting capacity. The future of the Commerce Department, as many of you will recall, was the subject of some discussion

at that time.

So, I suppose that Sandy may have felt some degree of uncertainty about his immediate plans. I am happy to resolve those doubts here today.

Sandy is going to be our Secretary of Commerce, and I believe he is going to be an outstanding Secretary of Commerce. He brings to the Commerce Department the youthful strength and the vigor which should typify it.

The Commerce Department is the Government agency that deals with the most active and the most imaginative business community in the world.

The Commerce Department has been led by two very able men since this administration came into existence in 1961—Secretary Hodges and Secretary Connor.

Now we have a very able man following in their footsteps.

Many years ago the philosopher Alfred Whitehead wrote that a great society is a society in which its men of business think greatly of their functions.

I urge you here today to think greatly of your functions as American businessmen. America is what it is because of the initiative, the enterprise, the dedication, and the responsibility of our free system.

Together our free enterprise system and our free government have worked shoulder to shoulder to surmount the challenges that we have faced in the days gone by.

Together they will meet and solve the problems of tomorrow.

As we meet here this afternoon we have some confronting us which are pretty immediate. They are going to require real

leadership. I know that Mr. Trowbridge will contribute his part to that leadership.

In our new Secretary, Sandy Trowbridge, I believe that we have a man who will make sure that government upholds its end of this partnership.

Secretary Trowbridge, I congratulate you and your colleagues in the Commerce Department. I look forward to your accomplishments in the days ahead.

On behalf of the President, the Vice President, and all the members of the Cabinet, we welcome you officially today to the post that you have held with such distinction unofficially.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:16 p.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. In his opening words he referred to the incoming Secretary and Mrs. Alexander B. Trowbridge, their children Kimberly, Scott, and Stephen, and Associate Justice of the Supreme Court John M. Harlan who administered the oath of office.

269 Remarks to the Press Announcing the Nomination of Warren Christopher as Deputy Attorney General. *June 15, 1967*

THE PURPOSE of asking you to come in is that upon the Attorney General's recommendation, we will nominate today and send to the Senate the nomination of Mr. Warren Christopher of California to be Deputy U.S. Attorney General.

Mr. Christopher is 41 years of age. He is married and has three children. He is a member of a Los Angeles law firm and a former law clerk to Justice Douglas.

George Christian will give you the details and the biographical sketch.

Mr. Christopher was born in North Dakota.

As you know, the Deputy Attorney General is the second ranking post in the Department.

Mr. Christopher is a graduate of the University of Southern California, 1945; Stanford University, Palo Alto, law degree; the Stanford Law Review president; law clerk to Justice Douglas, 1949-1950; U.S. Delegation of International Textile Negotiations in

Geneva and Tokyo, in 1961; the law firm of O'Melveny and Myers.

Mr. Christopher came to Washington at my request last night with Mr. Califano, who had been in California on other matters yesterday. He had been recommended to me earlier by the Attorney General.

We completed our investigations. He agreed this morning to accept the appointment. The appointment will be sent to the Senate as soon as they convene this morning.

We think we are very fortunate to have this very able, experienced young man join the very fine team that we have in this administration, particularly in the Justice Department, headed by Mr. Clark.

NOTE: The President spoke to the press at 11:45 a.m. in his office at the White House. Mr. Christopher was present for the announcement. The biographical sketch, to which the President referred, is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 3, p. 879).

As printed above, this item follows the text released by the White House Press Office.

270 Remarks at a Democratic Party Dinner in Austin, Texas.

June 16, 1967

AFTER THREE WEEKS of wrestling with the Middle East, it's a real pleasure to come home to the peace and quiet of Texas politics.

In case there are any differences of opinion here, I want to make my own position clear. I am for peace, territorial integrity, political independence, and unrestricted navigation in the Houston Ship Channel.

I have had some reports of divisions among our people here, and for that reason I think it will be necessary for all the peace-loving States in the area to help heal the wounds of ancient conflict. That's why I'm glad to see good friends with us tonight from those peace-loving States of Oklahoma, New Mexico, Arkansas, and Louisiana.

If we can just get a cease-fire, we may be able to bring about a real settlement. And if we can get a settlement, my list of problems will be narrowed down to international disputes, domestic difficulties—and being a grandfather.

As many of you know, that puts a few years on you automatically. Of course, you do get some compliments to go along with your seniority. Cardinal Spellman said once that there are three ages of man: youth, middle age, and “you're looking wonderful.”

But that's only part of the problem of being a Presidential grandfather. Sometime this year the Census Bureau will record the birth of the 200 millionth American.

What if he—or she—turns out to have been born in Austin and is named Nugent?

That will put a real strain on the credibility gap!

Whatever his or her name is, that 200 millionth American will mark a milestone in our history.

We can look back to the time when the 100 millionth American was born—back in 1914—and see how far we have come.

That youngster in 1914 had only one chance in seven of finishing high school. Today, three out of four Americans graduate.

In 1914, the baby's father, if he was a typical industrial worker, put in 55 hours a week. Today, he works only 41 hours, under far better conditions, and with a secure retirement ahead.

Today's farmer earns more than six times as much income—in constant dollars. And today, more than 99 out of 100 farms—compared to 5 in 100 in 1914—are blessed with electricity.

The miracle of longer, healthier, better educated lives did not just happen. We made it happen—all of us—in politics, business and labor, farmers and city people, whites and Negroes, Protestants, Catholics, and Jews.

And the party that shaped the miracle, that campaigned and fought for it, that nourished it and strengthened it and carried it to our people, was this party. That is the way it has been for 35 years, and that's the way it's going to be in the years to come.

Our children's children will have reason to remember the tradition we handed on.

They will know Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman and John Kennedy not only as great names to be learned in history books—but as the men who gave them a chance to know the best that was in them to become.

That is the promise we have made to America. Every major proposal in my time of leadership has had one simple aim: To help the individual help himself—to allow every man to become in the words of Thomas Wolfe, “whatever thing his manhood and his vision can combine to make him.”

In the past 3½ years, we have passed 18 major education laws—not to control education—but to help every American boy and girl unlock his own promise.

We have passed 24 landmark health programs—not to “socialize” medicine—but to free every citizen from the fear of disease.

We have launched a War on Poverty—not to give away the taxpayer’s hard-earned treasure, but to help every citizen discover the treasure of his own ability; to help him get a job and become a taxpayer, not a taxeater.

For I believe in a better deal, not a bigger dole. I believe that our people can take care of themselves—if they are given a fair chance to do so. We are working to give them that chance—not just through the social programs of government, but through wise policies that strengthen American free enterprise.

During the past 3½ years, our economy has known unparalleled prosperity.

- Total production of goods and services—in constant dollars—is up to \$100 billion.
- Five million more people are at work—at the highest pay in history.
- Total profits after taxes are up 31 percent.

—Total wages and salaries have risen 29 percent.

—Farm income per farm is up 30 percent.

Across the land, American families have increased their net wealth by nearly \$160 billion in these 3½ years.

There is good reason to take pride in these figures—and we do. But there is so much that remains undone, so many who have not been reached by prosperity or hope. Every day I realize that we still have “promises to keep—and miles to go before we sleep.”

To travel those miles will demand your support and understanding—your generosity—and your leadership. It will demand your voices, calling for America to carry through with what she has begun, calling for all of us to keep the promises of the past 3 years.

I know that two arenas of conflict—Vietnam and the Middle East—are much on your minds at this hour, as they are on mine.

In the one, American lives are committed tonight. They are committed for the security and independence of the people of South Vietnam—so that they may be free to shape their own future. When that right is secure against outside attack, the need for this commitment of American lives will end.

In the Middle East, our commitment has been not of lives, but of intense political concern. The crisis became acute one month ago, with the dangerous and unjustified closing of the Gulf of Aqaba. During 3 weeks of tension, as for many years past, we pursued a policy based on our belief:

- in the territorial integrity and political independence of *all* states in the area;
- in the avoidance of conflict;
- and in the right of innocent passage at sea.

Our efforts to help keep the peace were intense—but they did not succeed. Conflict

came to the area, and danger to the world.

After 6 hazardous days a cease-fire was achieved. This is a first long step away from peril and we played a responsible part in its achievement.

The great need now is to turn away from 20 years of combat, temporary truce, and hatred toward the building of durable peace in the area. This is a challenge to those who live there first of all, but America will do her share. The first and greatest requirement is that each nation must accept the right of its neighbors to stable and secure existence. If they turn in this direction, these peoples can count upon the friendly help of the United States.

My friends, I thank you for coming these many miles to join with me tonight. This

is a time of testing. It is a time of frustration and danger—but it is also a time of opportunity for the great and prosperous people that we are. We would have less frustrations, and probably less danger, if we were not so strong; but we would have less opportunity as well. Ours is a great responsibility—and a great hope. If our courage holds, and if we are wise as well as strong, we shall see it through.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:52 p.m. at a dinner in the Civic Auditorium in Austin. During his remarks he referred to Francis Cardinal Spellman, Archbishop of New York. He also referred to his expected grandchild who was born on June 21 (see Item 273).

As printed above, this item follows the text released by the White House Press Office.

271 The President's Foreword to the Report of the World Food Panel of the President's Science Advisory Committee. *June 17, 1967*

IN ALL of recorded history, none have surpassed the American people in willingness to share their abundance with others. We have given unstintingly of our material wealth and our precious human resources to benefit the less fortunate of this earth. We have sought to restore those whom war has shattered. We have sought to provide assistance to the newly independent members of the family of nations who are making the effort to break the shackles of tradition and achieve a better life for their peoples.

But as success in programs to eradicate disease and to improve health have given more and more millions the opportunity to live out their natural span of life, the problem of hunger has lingered on and the shadow of starvation and impending famine has grown ever darker.

Hunger's unceasing anguish drains hope, crushes aspirations, and obstructs the generation of programs of self-help. The threat of starvation sets man against man and citizen against government, leading to civil strife and political unrest.

Our programs to help these new countries to increase food production have brought about striking improvement in a few instances. But in the total balance, food has not kept pace with population and the developing world continues to lose ground in this race.

The World Food Problem is one of the foremost challenges of mankind today. The dimension of the challenge will define the dimension of our response and the means for that response. We must join with others in a massive effort to help the less fortunate of the earth to help themselves. I am making

this report public because of its significance for the American people and people all over the world.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

NOTE: The report is entitled "The World Food Problem: A Report of the President's Science Advisory Committee" (3 vol., Government Printing Office). A White House announcement and sum-

mary of the first two volumes, with a list of the members of the World Food Panel, is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 3, p. 894). A similar announcement and summary of the third volume was issued following its publication in November (vol. 3, p. 1631).

The President's foreword was not made public in the form of a White House press release.

272 Address at the State Department's Foreign Policy Conference for Educators. *June 19, 1967*

Secretary Rusk, ladies and gentlemen:

I welcome the chance to share with you this morning a few reflections on American foreign policy, as I have shared my thoughts in recent weeks with representatives of labor and business, and with other leaders of our society.

During the past weekend at Camp David—where I met and talked with America's good friend, Prime Minister Harold Holt of Australia—I thought of the General Assembly debate of the Middle East that opens today in New York.

But I thought also of the events of the past year in other continents in the world. I thought of the future—both in the Middle East, and in other areas of American interest in the world and in places that concern all of us.

So this morning I want to give you my estimate of the prospects for peace, and the hopes for progress, in these various regions of the world.

I shall speak first of our own hemisphere, then of Europe, the Soviet Union, Africa and Asia, and lastly of the two areas that concern us most at this hour—Vietnam and the Middle East.

Let me begin with the Americas.

Last April I met with my fellow American Presidents in Punta del Este. It was an encouraging experience for me, as I believe

it was for the other leaders of Latin America. For they made, there at Punta del Este, the historic decision to move toward the economic integration of Latin America.

In my judgment, their decision is as important as any that they have taken since they became independent more than a century and a half ago.

The men I met with know that the needs of their 220 million people require them to modernize their economies and expand their trade. I promised that I would ask our people to cooperate in those efforts, and in giving new force to our great common enterprise, which we take great pride in, the Alliance for Progress.

One meeting of chiefs of state, of course, cannot transform a continent. But where leaders are willing to face their problems candidly, and where they are ready to join in meeting them responsibly, there can be only hope for the future.

The nations of the developed world—and I am speaking now principally of the Atlantic Alliance and Japan—have in this past year, I think, made good progress in meeting their common problems and their common responsibilities.

I have met with a number of statesmen—Prime Minister Lester Pearson in Canada just a few days ago, and the leaders of Europe in Bonn shortly before that. We

discussed many of the issues that we face together.

We are consulting to good effect on how to limit the spread of nuclear weapons.

We have completed the Kennedy Round of tariff negotiations, in a healthy spirit of partnership, and we are examining together the vital question of monetary reform.

We have reorganized the integrated NATO defense, with its new headquarters in Belgium.

We have reached agreement on the crucial question of maintaining allied military strength in Germany.

Finally, we have worked together—although not yet with sufficient resources—to help the less developed countries deal with their problems of hunger and overpopulation.

We have not, by any means, settled all the issues that face us, either among ourselves or with other nations. But there is less cause to lament what has not been done than to take heart from what has been done.

You know of my personal interest in improving relations between the Western World and the nations of Eastern Europe. I believe the patient course we are pursuing toward those nations is vital to the security of our Nation.

Through cultural exchanges and civil air agreements—through consular and outer space treaties—through what we hope will soon become a treaty for the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons, and also, if they will join us, an agreement on antiballistic missiles, we have tried hard to enlarge, and have made great progress in improving, the arena of common action with the Soviet Union.

Our purpose is to narrow our differences where they can be narrowed, and thus to help secure peace in the world for the future

generations. It will be a long, slow task, we realize. There will be setbacks and discouragements. But it is, we think, the only rational policy for them and for us.

In Africa, as in Asia, we have encouraged the nations of the region in their efforts to join in cooperative attacks on the problems that each of them faces: economic stagnation, poverty, hunger, disease, and ignorance. Under Secretary Nicholas Katzenbach just reported to me last week on his recent extended trip throughout Africa. He described to me the many problems and the many opportunities that exist in that continent.

Africa is moving rapidly from the colonial past toward freedom and dignity. She is in the long and difficult travail of building nations. Her proud people are determined to make a new Africa, according to their own lights.

They are now creating institutions for political and economic cooperation. They have set great tasks for themselves—whose accomplishments will require years of struggle and sacrifice.

We very much want that struggle to succeed, and we want to be responsive to the efforts that they are making on their own behalf.

I can give personal testimony to the new spirit that is abroad in Africa, from Under Secretary Katzenbach's report, and then in Asia, from my own travels and experience there. In Asia my experience demonstrated to me a new spirit of confidence in that area of the world. Everywhere I traveled last autumn, from the conference in Manila to other countries of the region, I found the conviction that Asians can work with Asians to create better conditions of life in every country. Fear has now given way to hope in millions of hearts.

Asia's immense human problems remain,

of course. Not all countries have moved ahead as rapidly as Thailand, Korea, and the Republic of China. But most of them are now on a promising track, and Japan is taking a welcome role in helping her fellow Asians toward much more rapid development.

A free Indonesia—the world's fifth largest nation, a land of more than 100 million people—is now struggling to rebuild, to reconstruct and reform its national life. This will require the understanding and the support of the entire international community.

We maintain our dialogue with the authorities in Peking, in preparation for the day when they will be ready to live at peace with the rest of the world.

I regret that this morning I cannot report any major progress toward peace in Vietnam.

I can promise you that we have tried every possible way to bring about either discussions between the opposing sides, or a practical deescalation of the violence itself.

Thus far there has been no serious response from the other side.

We are ready—and we have long been ready—to engage in a mutual deescalation of the fighting. But we cannot stop only half the war, nor can we abandon our commitment to the people of South Vietnam as long as the enemy attacks and fights on. And so long as North Vietnam attempts to seize South Vietnam by force, we must, and we will, block its efforts—so that the people of South Vietnam can determine their own future in peace.

We would very much like to see the day come—and come soon—when we can cooperate with all the nations of the region, including North Vietnam, in healing the wounds of a war that has continued, we think, for far too long. When the aggression ends, then that day will follow.

Now, finally, let me turn to the Middle East—and to the tumultuous events of the past months.

Those events have proved the wisdom of five great principles of peace in the region.

The first and the greatest principle is that every nation in the area has a fundamental right to live, and to have this right respected by its neighbors.

For the people of the Middle East, the path to hope does not lie in threats to end the life of any nation. Such threats have become a burden to the peace, not only of that region but a burden to the peace of the entire world.

In the same way, no nation would be true to the United Nations Charter, or to its own true interests, if it should permit military success to blind it to the fact that its neighbors have rights and its neighbors have interests of their own. Each nation, therefore, must accept the right of others to live.

Second, this last month, I think, shows us another basic requirement for settlement. It is a human requirement: justice for the refugees.

A new conflict has brought new homelessness. The nations of the Middle East must at last address themselves to the plight of those who have been displaced by wars. In the past, both sides have resisted the best efforts of outside mediators to restore the victims of conflict to their homes, or to find them other proper places to live and work. There will be no peace for any party in the Middle East unless this problem is attacked with new energy by all, and certainly, primarily by those who are immediately concerned.

A third lesson from this last month is that maritime rights must be respected. Our Nation has long been committed to free maritime passage through international

waterways, and we, along with other nations, were taking the necessary steps to implement this principle when hostilities exploded. If a single act of folly was more responsible for this explosion than any other, I think it was the arbitrary and dangerous announced decision that the Straits of Tiran would be closed. The right of innocent maritime passage must be preserved for all nations.

Fourth, this last conflict has demonstrated the danger of the Middle Eastern arms race of the last 12 years. Here the responsibility must rest not only on those in the area—but upon the larger states outside the area. We believe that scarce resources could be used much better for technical and economic development. We have always opposed this arms race, and our own military shipments to the area have consequently been severely limited.

Now the waste and futility of the arms race must be apparent to all the peoples of the world. And now there is another moment of choice. The United States of America, for its part, will use every resource of diplomacy, and every counsel of reason and prudence, to try to find a better course.

As a beginning, I should like to propose that the United Nations immediately call upon all of its members to report all shipments of all military arms into this area, and to keep those shipments on file for all the peoples of the world to observe.

Fifth, the crisis underlines the importance of respect for political independence and territorial integrity of all the states of the area. We reaffirmed that principle at the height of this crisis. We reaffirm it again today on behalf of all.

This principle can be effective in the Middle East only on the basis of peace between the parties. The nations of the region have had only fragile and violated truce lines for 20 years. What they now need

are recognized boundaries and other arrangements that will give them security against terror, destruction, and war. Further, there just must be adequate recognition of the special interest of three great religions in the holy places of Jerusalem.

These five principles are not new, but we do think they are fundamental. Taken together, they point the way from uncertain armistice to durable peace. We believe there must be progress toward all of them if there is to be progress toward any.

There are some who have urged, as a single, simple solution, an immediate return to the situation as it was on June 4. As our distinguished and able Ambassador, Mr. Arthur Goldberg, has already said, this is not a prescription for peace, but for renewed hostilities.

Certainly troops must be withdrawn, but there must also be recognized rights of national life, progress in solving the refugee problem, freedom of innocent maritime passage, limitation of the arms race, and respect for political independence and territorial integrity.

But who will make this peace where all others have failed for 20 years or more?

Clearly the parties to the conflict must be the parties to the peace. Sooner or later it is they who must make a settlement in the area. It is hard to see how it is possible for nations to live together in peace if they cannot learn to reason together.

But we must still ask, who can help them? Some say it should be the United Nations; some call for the use of other parties. We have been first in our support of effective peacekeeping in the United Nations, and we also recognize the great values to come from mediation.

We are ready this morning to see any method tried, and we believe that none should be excluded altogether. Perhaps all

of them will be useful and all will be needed.

So, I issue an appeal to all to adopt no rigid view on these matters. I offer assurance to all that this Government of ours, the Government of the United States, will do its part for peace in every forum, at every level, at every hour.

Yet there is no escape from this fact: The main responsibility for the peace of the region depends upon its own peoples and its own leaders of that region. What will be truly decisive in the Middle East will be what is said and what is done by those who live in the Middle East.

They can seek another arms race, if they have not profited from the experience of this one, if they want to. But they will seek it at a terrible cost to their own people—and to their very long-neglected human needs. They can live on a diet of hate—though only at the cost of hatred in return. Or they can move toward peace with one another.

The world this morning is watching, watching for the peace of the world, because that is really what is at stake. It will look for patience and justice, it will look for humility and moral courage. It will look for signs of movement from prejudice and the emotional chaos of conflict to the gradual, slow shaping steps that lead to learning to live together and learning to help mold and shape peace in the area and in the world.

The Middle East is rich in history, rich in its people and its resources. It has no need to live in permanent civil war. It has the power to build its own life, as one of the prosperous regions of the world in which we live.

If the nations of the Middle East will turn toward the works of peace, they can count with confidence upon the friendship, and the help, of all the people of the United States of America.

In a climate of peace, we here will do our full share to help with a solution for the refugees. We here will do our full share in support of regional cooperation. We here will do our share, and do more, to see that the peaceful promise of nuclear energy is applied to the critical problems of desalting water and helping to make the deserts bloom.

Our country is committed—and we here reiterate that commitment today—to a peace that is based on five principles:

- first, the recognized right of national life;
- second, justice for the refugees;
- third, innocent maritime passage;
- fourth, limits on the wasteful and destructive arms race; and
- fifth, political independence and territorial integrity for all.

This is a time not for malice, but for magnanimity; not for propaganda, but for patience; not for vituperation, but for vision.

On the basis of peace, we offer our help to the people of the Middle East. That land, known to every one of us since childhood as the birthplace of great religions and learning, can flourish once again in our time. We here in the United States shall do all in our power to help make it so.

Thank you and good morning.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:31 a.m. in the West Auditorium at the Department of State building in Washington. In his opening words he referred to Dean Rusk, Secretary of State.

On June 28, 1967, the White House issued a statement on the status of Jerusalem, the text of which follows:

The President said on June 19 that in our view "there must be adequate recognition of the special interest of three great religions in the holy places of Jerusalem." On this principle he assumes that before any unilateral action is taken on the status of Jerusalem there will be appropriate consultation with religious leaders and others who are deeply concerned. Jerusalem is holy to Christians, to Jews, and to Moslems. It is one of the great continuing tragedies of history that a city which is so much the center of man's highest values has also been, over and

over, a center of conflict. Repeatedly the passionate beliefs of one element have led to exclusion or unfairness for others. It has been so, unfortunately, in the last 20 years. Men of all religions will agree that we must now do better. The world must find an

answer that is fair and recognized to be fair. That could not be achieved by hasty unilateral action, and the President is confident that the wisdom and good judgment of those now in control of Jerusalem will prevent any such action.

273 The President's Telegram to His Daughter Luci on the Birth of His Grandson Patrick Lyndon Nugent. *June 21, 1967*

YOU handled this superbly as you do all things. I am so happy for you and Patrick, Senior, and Patrick Lyndon. Our best Hereford heifer is being curried for delivery to the Lewis-Nugent Ranch consigned to your nine-pound son, who incidentally I know doesn't look like a donkey and I hope his father will quit publicizing him as an elephant. The time has come to get the

Republicanism out of all these Waukegan products.

Love,

Daddy

[Mrs. Patrick J. Nugent, Seton Hospital, Austin, Texas]

NOTE: The text of the telegram was made available to the press through the White House Press Office; it was not made public in the form of a White House press release.

A White House announcement of the birth of the President's grandson is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 3, p. 903).

274 Letter Requesting a Study of the Status and Needs of American Museums. *June 21, 1967*

[Released June 21, 1967. Dated June 20, 1967]

Dear Mr. Ripley:

America's five thousand museums are among our most precious cultural and educational resources. Their collections, their trained staffs, and their facilities contribute immeasurably to the enrichment of the nation's life and to educational advancement at every level.

Not only do imaginative museum exhibits excite the curiosity of millions; many scholars—in science, in the arts and the humanities—rely upon museum collections for their raw material.

Attendance at U.S. museums has already passed 300,000,000 visits a year. In many places, inadequate museum budgets and facilities are under severe strain. In the fu-

ture, the nation's museums will be expected to reach and serve additional millions. Accelerated research programs will cause more and more scholars to seek access to museum collections.

Our museums have shown their willingness to join with other institutions to promote the "increase and diffusion of knowledge among men." Certainly they should have the wherewithal to do that great work effectively.

For this reason, I am requesting the Federal Council on the Arts and Humanities to study thoroughly the status of American museums and report to me. What is their present condition? What are the unmet needs of America's museums? What is their relation to other educational and cultural

institutions? I hope that the Council will recommend ways to support and strengthen our museums.

The Federal Council is the appropriate body to consider the status of our museums. Its member agencies should provide all possible help to the Council as it performs its work.

I look forward to receiving the Council's recommendations.

Sincerely,

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

[Honorable S. Dillon Ripley, Chairman, Federal Council on the Arts and Humanities, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.]

NOTE: The text of the letter was made available to the press through the White House Press Office; it was not made public in the form of a White House press release.

275 Remarks Upon Presenting the Young American Medals for Bravery and Service. *June 21, 1967*

Attorney General Clark, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, distinguished Members of Congress, distinguished award winners, ladies and gentlemen:

This is one of the pure pleasures of the office that I hold—recognizing the courage, the commitment, the idealism of young Americans.

These are the fundamental values of a democratic society. Each of them gives great meaning to the others:

- Idealism without commitment is like a bright light burning in a vacuum.
- Commitment without idealism can easily become frenzied and destructive.
- Without courage, those values may fail at the moment of testing—for nations, as well as for men.

Today we come here to the Cabinet Room to honor three young Americans who have demonstrated their idealism, their commitment, and their great courage.

Their achievements are unique. But in a deeper sense these three, whom we honor, represent the great numbers of American youth who share their values:

- those who are fighting at this very hour to make it possible to have a decent future for the Vietnamese people, as

well as freedom and liberty everywhere in the world;

- those Peace Corpsmen—and women—who are sharing their knowledge and their experience with people whom history has never before given any chance;
- those VISTA volunteers, and those members of the Teacher Corps, who are enriching the lives of their fellow Americans.

It is easy—particularly when you have witnessed and survived the perils of teenage culture in your own family—to question the customs of the young.

But the hard fact is this: The basis of improvement, in our civilization, has been that each generation set out to improve on its parents. Sometimes there has been more posturing than progress. But, in perspective, I hope that all of you will be able to improve on us, as much as we think we improved upon those Victorians who peer sternly out of family albums at us.

And I trust that you will retain the hard core of democratic idealism that has been each generation's most treasured legacy to its children.

Today it is my proud privilege to award Young American Medals to Gloria Cassidy,

to Nathaniel Curry, and to Drusilla Akamine.

Gloria—you and Nathaniel demonstrated outstanding bravery in rescuing children from burning homes.

“Courage,” as Mark Twain once said, “is resistance to fear, mastery of fear—not absence of fear.”

Your physical courage has set a magnificent example to your generation—as well as to your elders.

Drusilla—your work with retarded children has brought a precious sense of belonging to youngsters who often are sentenced to life imprisonment, in a cell of callous neglect.

What you have done requires great perseverance—immense inner strength—and a maturity of spirit. Yours is the moral courage that leads men and women to endure disappointment and heartbreak, for the sake of others.

All of you are here this morning because, long before you performed the acts that we come here to honor today, there was instilled in you an idealism, a sense of commitment, and a capacity for courage. Either by accident or design, those values were called upon—

at an hour of need for someone else. And when called upon, each of you responded.

I pray that this great Nation of yours, like you, will always respond when called upon—as you have responded when you were called upon.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:32 p.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House. In his opening words he referred to Attorney General Ramsey Clark and J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

The President presented the gold Young American Medals to the following: Gloria Cassidy, 15, of New York City, who at the age of 13 rescued her two younger brothers from the family's burning apartment; Nathaniel Tyrone Curry, 18, of Opa Locka, Fla., who at the age of 16 rescued a 2-year-old child from a neighboring house which had caught fire; and Drusilla Chiyono Akamine, 20, of Honolulu, Hawaii. For 5 years Drusilla had done varied volunteer work with the Hawaii Association to Help Retarded Children, organizing weekly “teen canteens” for the retarded, planning a “teen march” which collected \$5,000 for the Association, and forming a teen group to inform the public on problems of mental retardation. The group also successfully petitioned the legislature to approve additional classes for the retarded.

Winners were selected by the Young American Medals Committee, composed of Mr. Hoover, Solicitor General Erwin N. Griswold, and Clifton F. Sessions, Director of Public Information, Department of Justice.

276 Remarks to Members of the National Council on Crime and Delinquency. June 21, 1967

Mr. Attorney General Clark, members of the Council on Crime and Delinquency:

I welcome you here as companions in concern for America's future.

Maintaining public order is the basic need of society. Your concern for that basic issue—as citizens and as leaders of the business community—is a promise that this Nation's attack on crime and delinquency can and will succeed.

The work the National Crime Commis-

sion just completed this spring threw light on some very dark landscapes. One lesson became clear: If we can reduce delinquency, we can have the key to reversing the rising rate of crime.

The facts are tragic and here are some of them:

—400,000 American boys and girls were behind bars last year awaiting trial in this country. 100,000 of them were locked up in jails with hardened crim-

inals. They were in jailhouses instead of schoolhouses—where they should have been.

—One out of every six boys in our land will go to juvenile court before his 18th birthday.

—The rate of repeated crime is highest among criminals who began as juvenile delinquents.

These are confessions of failure. If I could have my wish granted this morning, I would wish that every parent in this country, every citizen of this land could be familiar with these facts, could have them brought to his attention, could understand them—and would do something about them.

The day a boy appears before the bar of justice to answer for a crime, that day that boy has failed. But on that same day, somebody else has failed, too—you have failed, and I have failed, and we have failed as a society, because we did not successfully prevent that confrontation.

Before Congress today is a major Juvenile Delinquency Prevention Act. For the first time, it will enable communities to plan their own assaults on delinquency—to prevent careers in crime, not just to punish them.

I hope the time for talking is coming to an end and the time for doing is starting. To all those people who say to their followers that they are against crime—let's not just say it; let's do something about it. Let's show it by our votes as well as our voices.

Before the Congress today is the Safe Streets and Crime Control Act. That is a proposal to strengthen our police forces, our correctional systems, to strengthen the courts of this country. The House Judiciary Committee this morning reported the Safe Streets and Crime Control Act of 1967. This is

a major step toward crime control and toward safer streets for our citizens.

I hope that everyone in this country will become alarmed at what is happening and will ask their representatives in Congress to do something about it.

This legislation is important. This legislation is overdue. This legislation is needed. And we ought to work—and vote—and pass this legislation during this session.

The problem of crime is imbedded in the conditions of our society. It involves the question of how people live, what kind of stake they have in the life of their country.

Most juvenile delinquency is rooted in poverty.

Most careers in crime begin in a world that has no hope.

The most urgent picture of delinquency is of a boy, trapped in that world, who doesn't know how to find his way out of it.

He is surrounded by all the abundance that the great resources of America can produce—but he knows in his own heart he has failed.

Before he is a man, he faces his future over the point of a knife or at the end of a gun.

We can never conquer delinquency unless we can find some way to help him break out of that cycle.

That is why the problem is more than just improved courts. That is why it is more than correctional systems. That is why it is more than police procedures. These are all fundamental.

But our task really is to build a ladder for the young Americans who are born into that dark and hopeless world.

For most boys and girls in this country, the rungs of that ladder are normal conditions of life:

—They need medical care to provide

- health for their bodies;
- Adequate schools with the right kind of teachers;
- A decent home to live in;
- The opportunity to train for a good job at a good wage.

Programs to provide these are now before the Congress.

I don't know why some people sit idly by and are willing to take the more expensive route—the delinquency route, the jail route, the penitentiary route.

It takes more of our money to take care of a convict in a penitentiary than it does to prepare a boy to be a good taxpaying citizen who can read and write.

But today, if you will carefully examine the political mimeographs, you will see the old voices of fear, distrust, propaganda, prejudice, and politics blocking progress. They do it several ways.

Some do it by objecting to the model cities program, finding a thousand reasons why we shouldn't do anything. They say we do too little, or we do too much, or we do nothing, or we ought not to do anything at all. But it all adds up, in the end, to the same thing—nothing.

They object to the War on Poverty. They talk about the mistakes we made yesterday and the day before and the week before. Sure, we make mistakes. But point them out and we will correct them. Let's not throw the baby out, though, with the dishes.

Let's correct the mistakes where we find them. Maybe we don't save but half of them, but if we save 10 percent of them, it is worth everything we have spent.

They object to the Teacher Corps. There is not enough money involved in the Teacher Corps to pay for one dam. But there are thousands and thousands of boys and girls who are going to be delinquents, unless

we can get good teachers who are willing to volunteer to go into these communities and provide the leadership that we need.

Some people take great pride in opposition for opposition's sake. You don't have to be very brave to finally whip the Teacher Corps. But, what have you done? You have developed some more juvenile delinquents.

When we get up and talk about doing nothing with our cities, doing away with our poverty program, forgetting our Teacher Corps, I think that we ought to be willing to bear the responsibility and wear the badge of delinquency and of failure.

The voice of the people—willing to plan and invest in the future of this Nation—must be rallied, must be led, and must be louder than those who complain, those who object, and those who write political platforms looking out for themselves instead of the people of this country.

When you have a Teacher Corps program, or a poverty program, or a model cities program you are not looking after parties and you are not looking after Presidents. You are looking after just one thing—the human beings who live out there, regardless of their religion, their color, their geography, or their race. They are all human beings.

I hope that those of you who are giving your time by coming here with the Attorney General today will take this message back to the communities in which you live. I hope that you will try to lead your neighbor, inspire your neighbor, and persuade your neighbor to give us understanding and to awaken to the fire that is burning in this country.

I hope that you will pledge yourselves to help your neighbors see that we can stop careers in crime before they start. They don't start here in the Cabinet Room. They start out where you live. You would like to dump

them here sometimes. You like to say that the President is responsible, or that someone else is responsible. But they start right in your own front yard, or maybe in your back street, or maybe the alley across the way.

You can help these folks by seeing that we nip crime in the bud, before it starts to grow and spread like a fire in the forest.

There is no reason in this atmosphere of affluence, there is no reason in this rich land of ours why we should have the high percentage of delinquencies that we have, why we should have the high, increasing crime rate that we have.

It means we have been failures. We have got to do something about it. We have asked the Congress to do something about it. We believe before this year is out that we will

have a program in our cities, that we will have a Teacher Corps, and that we will have an adequate poverty approach.

If we do, it is something that you men and women will be able to take justifiable pride in.

None of us can be pleased with producing a convict. And when we do nothing, that is what we produce.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:20 p.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House to members of the Council's National Emergency Committee. In his opening words he referred to Attorney General Ramsey Clark.

The National Council on Crime and Delinquency was founded in 1907. It is a voluntary organization with citizen action programs operating through 19 State councils, and with citizen committees in 135 communities.

277 Message to the Congress Transmitting the Second Annual Report of the Office of Economic Opportunity. *June 22, 1967*

To the Congress of the United States:

I am pleased to transmit the Second Annual Report of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Poverty defies simple description. It is a cycle which begins with an infancy of deprivation, continues in a youth of hopelessness, extends to a jobless adulthood, and finally ends—for those who survive—in a bleak and despairing old age. At every stage, the conditions of life are poor housing, inadequate education and training, deficient health care, and often, gnawing hunger.

When we began our concentrated effort to eradicate poverty in America less than three years ago, we knew that no single program could accomplish so complicated a task. We knew that the campaign would have to be waged on many levels and in many ways.

We knew that a coordinated attack led by a single Office of Economic Opportunity would be necessary.

We knew that—if the cycle was to be broken—the keys would have to be opportunity and self-help.

We knew that the Federal Government could not undertake alone the programs which would offer opportunity and encourage self-help. Initiative would have to come from, and responsibility be shared by, the communities in which poverty festered.

The programs of the Office of Economic Opportunity are built upon these principles.

This report provides heartening evidence of the substantial progress this Nation is making on the entrenched patterns of poverty.

In fiscal 1966:

—733,000 young children from poor

families were given a chance to make a decent beginning in life through the Head Start program.

- 528,000 jobs were made available by the Neighborhood Youth Corps, enabling disadvantaged youths to stay in school or prepare for meaningful employment.
- 57,430 young people, once lost and forgotten in our society, found new confidence and new skills with the Job Corps.
- More than 20,000 high school students from poor homes received the educational help they needed to go on to college through Upward Bound.
- More than 335,000 adults began to overcome illiteracy with basic educational instruction.
- 3,592 VISTA Volunteers helped communities across the land undertake needed self-help projects.
- More than 1,000 lawyers provided legal services in 43 States, showing that the law can serve the poor as well as it serves the rest of society.

The list of statistics goes on. All point to the same basic fact. These programs are sturdy ladders in the deep well of poverty where millions of Americans have been

trapped. And—despite the crippling effects of a lifetime of deprivation—many have been able to begin the long climb up. But the real story lies behind the statistics, in the individuals who have escaped from hopelessness and despair and are contributing to our society far more than they have received.

All Americans can take pride in the solid advances that have been made. As disease can be conquered, as space can be mastered, so too can poverty yield to our determined efforts to bring it to an end.

But our pride cannot obscure the job that remains to be done.

During the past two and a half years, these programs have reached some 8 million of America's poor. But some 24 million of our impoverished fellow citizens have not yet been reached.

The challenge that remains with us is to insure that all Americans share in the prosperity of our land.

A light has been turned on. We must keep it aglow.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

The White House

June 22, 1967

NOTE: The report is entitled "The Quiet Revolution; 2nd Annual Report, Office of Economic Opportunity" (Government Printing Office, 137 pp.).

278 The President's Toast at a Luncheon Honoring Visiting Danish, Italian, and British Leaders. June 22, 1967

Mr. Prime Minister Krag; Mr. Prime Minister Moro; Mr. Foreign Minister Fanfani; Foreign Secretary Brown; Mr. Vice President; Mr. Chief Justice; Members of the Court and the Cabinet; distinguished Members of the Congress; Senator Fulbright, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee; Mr. Morgan, Chairman of the House

Foreign Affairs Committee; General Wheeler; ladies and gentlemen:

Senator Mansfield has asked me to request the Senators to leave in time to be at the Senate Chamber at 3 o'clock. So in order to avoid any misunderstanding, I don't want to create the impression that the reason that Senator Dirksen leaves my table rather

abruptly is because he doesn't like what I am saying or he doesn't like what I feed him.

But I am going to depend on Senator Dirksen—as the colleader of the Senate—at the appropriate time to give the signal. I am sure, as you usually do, all of you will follow him.

We are very grateful, though, that the Members of the Senate would join us on such short notice. I did not know until yesterday that we could have this group here together today. It has been hurriedly arranged.

I apologize for not giving you more time, but I know you can understand the problems of a grandfather.

But the pace of change in our time is almost too swift for men to comprehend or to really adjust to it. Two days ago, I was a parent—only a parent. Yesterday, my role changed drastically; I became a grandfather.

I did not seek that high office, but now that I have been chosen, the path of duty is clear—and I shall serve.

And at this moment of great and critical change, I am blessed with the presence of good friends and strong partners in this house. My own happiness is the greater because you have come here today to share your strength and your friendship with us.

I recognize that other events, Mr. Prime Ministers, Mr. Foreign Ministers, have brought you here—events that threaten the peace and challenge the intelligence and forbearance of all nations.

This is not the first time we have faced a crisis together and it will not be the last. We have weathered past storms, because we have consulted and because we have acted together, and we shall weather this storm for this very same reason.

Each of us must play his part in helping to build a permanent peace in the Middle

East. I said on Monday that the main responsibility for the peace of the region depends upon its people and its own leaders.

What will be truly decisive in the Middle East will be what is said and what is done by those who live in the Middle East. There may well be helpful roles for others—the United Nations or outside mediators—but I said that we are ready to see any method tried. We believe none should be excluded altogether.

I have appealed to all to adopt no rigid view. For our own part, we have promised that the Government of the United States would do its part for peace in every forum at every level at every hour. I know that you share our eagerness to help find the path to peace in the Middle East. We value this chance to hear your views on how it may be found.

Our responsibilities are very great and so, of course, are our opportunities. We think—and we work—and we act, not only for the millions whom we serve at this moment, but for their children and those who will come after them.

I can tell all of you that I am more acutely aware of this now than ever before, now that I have achieved grandfatherhood. I would like to help make a world for young Patrick Nugent and his contemporaries—in every land—that will be safer, more prosperous, more hopeful, and certainly, more peaceful by far than the world that I have inhabited.

So working together—and reasoning together—and planning together—being patient and understanding together, I believe that we can achieve such a world.

So just as I am grateful to you statesmen who have come from across the waters, I am grateful to the leaders in the field of foreign affairs and relations in our Congress, in our courts, in our press and others who have

come here today to help me honor these leading spokesmen of great nations.

So now I should like to ask you to join me in toasting the King of Denmark, the Queen of England, and the President of Italy. The King, the Queen, the President.

NOTE: The President proposed the toast at 2:19 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House. In his opening words he referred to Jens Otto Krag, Prime Minister of Denmark, Aldo Moro, Prime Minister of Italy, Amintore Fanfani, Foreign Minister of Italy, George Brown, Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom, Hubert H. Humphrey, Vice President of the United States, Earl Warren, Chief Justice of the United States, Senator J. W. Fulbright of Arkansas, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Representative Thomas E. Morgan of Pennsylvania, Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, and Gen. Earle G. Wheeler, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. As printed this item follows the text released by the White House Press Office.

Prime Minister Krag responded as follows:

"Mr. President, allow me—first of all—to express my gratitude, sir, for giving this luncheon today.

"All our guests around these tables know how hospitable you are. Once again, we enjoy the honor and pleasure of being with you in the White House. It has been a period of some very hectic weeks in international politics for all of us, but inevitably, the

burdens fall most heavily on the shoulders of the great powers.

"We all marvel at the way in which you carry your great responsibilities, Mr. President.

"I should like to say that it is a great comfort for all of us to know that the United States, under your leadership, is steering a course of moderation and reconciliation in the present situation in the Middle East.

"No doubt the coming months will present us with a multitude of international problems. It is our hope that the climate of good will and common sense will prevail eventually.

"I can assure you, Mr. President, that the three European governments represented here will do whatever is in our power to bring this about.

"We all know that yesterday was a very important and happy day in your life and for Mrs. Johnson, because your daughter Luci gave birth to your first grandson. I am sure he will have the same high qualities as his grandfather.

"On behalf of the three European nations being guests here, I would like to propose, ladies and gentlemen, that we all toast the President of the United States."

During the day the President met for discussions with Prime Minister Krag, Prime Minister Moro, Foreign Minister Fanfani, and Foreign Secretary Brown. A report on the meetings was given to other correspondents by Forrest Boyd of the Mutual Broadcasting System (3 Weekly Comp. Pres. Docs., p. 909).

279 The President's Toast at a Luncheon Honoring Chairman Kосygin of the Soviet Union, Glassboro, New Jersey. June 23, 1967

Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, Mr. Foreign Minister, Mr. Ambassador:

We are delighted that you have had a chance to even briefly visit our country and we are especially pleased that you have come here today for a meeting with us.

We both have special responsibilities for the security of our families, and over and beyond all our families is the security of the entire human family inhabiting this earth. We must never forget that there are many peoples in this world, many different nations each with its own history and ambitions.

There is a special place, however, in this world and a special responsibility placed upon our two countries because of our strength and our resources. This demands that the relations between our two countries be as reasonable and as constructive as we know how to make them. It is also our obligation that we make it possible for other countries to live in peace with each other if this can be done. And that is why today we have here discussed with you some questions affecting the peace of the entire human family of 3 billion people.

I want to inform Secretary Rusk, Minister Gromyko, and Secretary McNamara and the other distinguished guests present here that you and I have discussed various aspects and possibilities for strengthening peace in the world such as the nonproliferation agreement, and certain questions arising out of the Middle East situation. We also agreed that both of us, as well as our two nations, made some small contribution to bringing about a cease-fire in the Middle East. We only regret that this contribution between us had not made it possible to *prevent* the outbreak of hostilities—although we tried.

I want to emphasize that the results of today's meeting will be judged by what we can achieve in the future in order to achieve peace.

I quoted to the Chairman the story about the author, Charles Lamb, who threw down in disgust a book he had been reading. To his sister's question of whether he knew the author, he said, "No, because if I did, I would like him."

And by the same spirit, Mr. Chairman, I hope that today's meeting has contributed to getting us to know each other better, and

therefore, to like each other better, just as our Ambassadors in Moscow and Washington have become more acquainted and liked by the people they deal with. And so, Mr. Chairman, I should like to thank you for coming here.

We thank you for coming. We want very much to resolve some of these questions.

We would like to have the opportunity to sit down further and discuss some aspects of the antiballistic missile system, nonproliferation, perhaps some questions arising out of the Middle East situation and at least explore the situation in Southeast Asia as well as questions of mutual interest in Europe and the Western Hemisphere.

And now I would like to ask each of you to stand and raise your glass to the health of the Chairman, the Soviet Union, and to peace in the world.

NOTE: The President spoke at Hollybush, the home of Dr. Thomas E. Robinson, president of Glassboro State College, Glassboro, N.J. In his opening words he referred to Aleksei N. Kosygin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., Andrei A. Gromyko, Soviet Foreign Minister, and Anatoly F. Dobrynin, Soviet Ambassador to the United States.

As printed above, this item follows the text released by the White House Press Office.

280 Remarks Following the President's First Meeting With Chairman Kosygin at Glassboro, New Jersey. *June 23, 1967*

THE CHAIRMAN and I have met since we arrived here a little after 11 today.

Our meeting gave us an opportunity to get acquainted with each other. We have exchanged views on a number of international questions.

Among these problems were the Middle East, Vietnam, and the question of nonproliferation of nuclear weapons.

We agreed that it is now very important to reach international agreement on a nonproliferation treaty.

We also exchanged views on the questions of direct bilateral relations between the Soviet Union and the United States of America.

Finally, we agreed that discussions on these questions should be continued in New York between Secretary Rusk and Mr. Gromyko during next week.

This meeting today was a very good and very useful meeting. We are in the debt of the great Governor of New Jersey for his hospitality.

We are inviting ourselves to return here again at 1:30 on Sunday afternoon. We will continue our discussions here then. Those of you who have Sunday afternoon off, we will be glad to have you come, too.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:40 p.m. at Hollybush, home of the president of Glassboro State College. Chairman Aleksei N. Kosygin responded as follows:

Esteemed ladies and gentlemen:

I wish first of all to thank the President for arranging this meeting, and all the more so that he has arranged a meeting in so pleasant and beautiful

a locality and town.

I also want to thank the hosts, the masters of the house who have given us these facilities, have given us a roof over our heads under which we could meet.

I suppose you can get the impression from what the President said that we have amassed such a great number of questions that we weren't able to go through them all today, which is why we have decided to meet again this Sunday.

As regards the statement which the President has just made to you, I have nothing whatsoever to add. I think it was very correctly drawn up.

I hope you won't be offended with us if we have kept you here for all this time and have not told you very much. Please excuse us.

281 Remarks at a President's Club Dinner in Los Angeles.

June 23, 1967

WHEN I heard that you were holding a political science seminar in Los Angeles tonight—with a modest tuition fee—I decided I would like to join you.

California, aside from being the largest and greatest State in the Union, is also a proving ground for political theories. The world has been told so often that a successful politician really had to be something of an actor. California now seems to have proved it.

I know many of you here are interested in show business—especially in motion pictures. And I want you to know that your President sleeps better every night knowing that Jack Valenti is your president.

Jack has told me about a new film he has just seen, based on California Democratic politics. The first scene shows all the Democratic leadership of California in a smoke-filled room. And to reduce the budget for this scene Jack said there is no soundtrack. But that doesn't detract from the movie—because nobody was talking to each other anyway.

After going through the problems of Punta del Este and Vietnam, the pickets and

protesters, and then the Middle East, it is quite a comfort for me to come here and enjoy the peace and quiet of California politics.

I want to get in some plugs here and now because I hope no one ever charges me with ingratitude or short memory. I am too busy getting ahead to ever try to get even.

I don't know how I can thank this wonderful orchestra for the entertainment they have given us, and Ed Ames, the Supremes, Eddie Martin, and the others who have helped them, because they want to help me. They will always have a special spot in my heart.

To those of you who came here tonight to help the Democratic Party, I want you to know that for the first time in the 35 years I have been in Washington you have made the Democratic Party debt free tonight.

Every one of you have had to give up a few dresses, or postpone a few bills—payment of them—or not take your trip, or sacrifice in some way. You did not give to your favorite charity—you gave to us.

I want you to know that I know it, that I appreciate it and I am thankful that this country has people like you who will help

their President get rid of this burden he has been carrying. I inherited a debt of \$4 million when I became President. I inherited a campaign that was just around the corner in November 1963, a campaign in the spring of 1964, and all through that year.

After having spent many millions of dollars in that campaign, we still owed \$4 million. We have been trying to work ourselves out from under it ever since. Tonight you made it. To that grand man, other than whom there is no other like him in this Nation, Arthur Krim, who heads the President's Club, and to Lew Wasserman, who is associated with him, I say that every Democrat should revere your memory and your contribution.

With the proceeds of this dinner, we can now begin to marshal the resources that we need to carry our case to all the people in the election of 1968.

I came here tonight to speak very briefly to you about our commitments and our responsibilities, of our Party's commitments to all the American people, of our Nation's responsibilities in the world.

Thirty-five years ago, with the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt, the Democratic Party made a promise to every American. We pledged ourselves to revitalize the old American dream of individual opportunity. We declared that the task of government was to provide each American with the chance to achieve his full capacities.

Through four administrations of our Democratic Party we have kept faith with that commitment. Franklin Roosevelt promised a New Deal and he delivered it. Harry Truman pledged a Fair Deal—and we got it. John Kennedy promised to get America moving again—and he did it.

Then in 1964, our Democratic Party was reelected on the most far-reaching platform that any party ever had, by the greatest total

number of votes that any party had ever had, by the highest percentage that any candidate ever received. Since that day 85 percent of the promises made in that platform are tonight the law of this land.

The Congress that you elected that year, the great 89th Congress, charted a road to new American greatness that our children are going to be reading about in the centuries to come. Your great, able, and hard-working California delegation in the Congress, and your Democratic leaders here in your State, did their full share of this work. I want to publicly express my personal gratitude to each member of that delegation in Congress and say thank you very much.

Don't change them. Some of them vote wrong once in a while. We don't see everything alike. If we did, we would all want the same wife. We all do the best we can. We all do what we think is right. The big problem is knowing what is right.

In the middle third of this century, great Presidents and great Congressmen have cut through the tangle of doubt, dissension, and disinterest that for years blocked millions of Americans on the road to a better life.

These men that did that were doers, not doubters. They saw America's destiny as a thing to be achieved and they set out to achieve it. They made very bold promises to all of our people and, as I observed a moment ago, they kept those promises.

Democrats cannot speak tonight only of the proud past that they have all helped to build. They must speak tonight of the gap between what is and what ought to be. What is that?

- When millions of American children still lack decent medical care,
- When one out of every six Americans lives in a slum,
- When filth is heavy in the air, in our rivers, our lakes, and our waters,

- When Americans do not feel safe on the streets at night or even in the daytime or in their homes,
- When millions of Americans have less than 75 cents a day to spend on the food that they eat,
- When all these things are true, we cannot luxuriate in our record. We have much to do. Much more to do. The clock is ticking.

In our time we have drawn the roadmaps of progress. But a roadmap is not a road. Passing a good bill is progress, but it is only the first stage of progress. We need the resources that will make that bill work. A single legislative victory cannot teach a child to read and cannot prepare or train a man to hold a job and make out of him a taxpayer instead of a taxeater.

We are getting started on building these roads. But we cannot rest until they are built—until we have translated the bright laws into better lives for all of our people. So, those who fought us when we gained our first victories for America are still fighting—the voices of gloom and doom, criticism, complaints, obstruction for obstruction's sake. We just cannot sit by and let them win by attrition what they lost in the open struggle in the election and in the Congress the past 3 years.

If we are alert to that danger, if we press on to redeem the promises that we have made and the hopes that we have aroused, I have not the slightest doubt about retaining the confidence of the American people in the Democratic Party.

Because you know and I know the Democratic Party is the party of the people. It is the party for the folks.

In your minds tonight, quite apart from partisan matters, I am sure, are other concerns of our country in the world—in Vietnam, where our brave sons are dying to re-

deem a pledge to freedom that the United States of America made—and in the Middle East, where the rights of men and the rights of nations are threatened.

I have spoken many times of our goals and of our resolution in Vietnam. Earlier this week, just an hour before the United Nations met, I stated America's position on the somber problems of the Middle East.

I said: "Our country is committed—and we here reiterate that commitment today—to a peace that is based on five principles:

- "First, the recognized right of national life.
- "Second, justice for the refugees.
- "Third, innocent maritime passage.
- "Fourth, limits on the wasteful and destructive arms race, and
- "Fifth, political independence and territorial integrity for all."

Let the world be sure of what I think you can be sure of and that is: As long as I am the President of this country America will keep her commitments and America will meet her responsibilities.

This is a good time to repeat and warn the fainthearted and the weak-kneed that this is a time of testing for our country, a time of testing at home and a time of testing abroad in 122 other countries that are watching us through their fieldglasses.

But there have been many times of testing for the American people—and we have risen to that challenge together, firm in our resolve before—and we shall rise again.

This morning in New Jersey, at what the distinguished Chairman called a little farmhouse, we had another meeting. It was a smaller meeting than this one. It cost less. But since it has attracted some attention, I think I shall say a word about it.

It was a good meeting and I am very glad it took place. I am grateful to my good friend, the great Democratic Governor of

New Jersey, Dick Hughes, and my newly-made friend, Dr. Robinson, the president of the college, who is a Republican. They found a very quiet place for us to meet.

This morning I found myself in a house that had been visited before by Presidents—Theodore Roosevelt and William Howard Taft. So it was in no partisan party spirit that we went to Hollybush. We went to serve what we believed to be a great national purpose, the purpose of peace for human beings.

I said to the Chairman that we have 200 million people and we might have even had 200 million the day before yesterday when Patrick Lyndon Nugent was born, but we didn't announce that we had reached that goal that day, because I know immediately the Los Angeles Times would have charged the administration with having a credibility gap.

I said that we not only had a responsibility to our 200 million and their more than 200 million—the 400 million together—but we had a responsibility to 3 billion people in the world because of our strength and obligations as great powers; that responsibility was peace and trying not only to secure it for ourselves but to secure it for all human beings.

The world's peace now hangs heavily tonight upon the wisdom, judgment, and understanding of these two very great states—the United States of America and the Soviet Union.

There are deep and very serious differences in our two societies, but one thing we do have in common, as Chairman Kosygin himself said when he addressed the United Nations, is a grave responsibility for world peace in a nuclear age. Every crisis in the last 20 years has necessarily invoked that common responsibility and repeatedly we have seen the dangerous consequences of incom-

plete understanding.

We have also repeatedly seen that when others are irresponsible in word or in deed a very special burden for care seems to always fall upon America. So I was glad to meet with Chairman Kosygin this morning. We talked throughout the day quietly and straightforwardly.

I am glad to say to you that I found he came to our meeting in the same spirit. He had some seniority on me. He had been a grandfather for over 18 years and I had been a grandfather for only 18 hours, but he and I agreed that we both very much wanted a world of peace for our grandchildren.

We talked about the problems of the Middle East in detail. We shall continue to talk about them. We talked about the problems of Southeastern Asia. We talked about the arms race and about the need for new agreements there. We talked about the need for common action on constructive initiatives for peace. We reached no new agreements—almost, but not quite. New agreements are not always reached in a single conversation. So, we are going to eat lunch and spend Sunday together again at Hollybush.

I don't want to overstate the case. I don't want to get your hopes too high. I do think, though, that we understand each other better. I do think that I was able to make it very clear, indeed, that the strength and the determination of our country and the Government are fully matched by our persistent eagerness to talk and to work, to fight for peace and friendship with all who will work and talk with us.

But all of you must remember that one meeting does not make a peace. I don't think there is anyone in the world who ever wanted peace more than the leaders in the world of countries who are not at peace. You must all remember that there have been many meetings before and they have not

ended our troubles nor have they ended our danger. There is not a nation in the world we would trade places with tonight.

These meetings just have not ended our troubles and our dangers and I cannot promise you that that will not happen again. The world remains a very small and very dangerous one. All nations, even the greatest of them have hard and painful choices ahead of them. What I can tell you tonight—and I have no doubt about it at all—is that it does help a lot to sit down and look at a man in the eye all day long and try to reason with him, particularly if he is trying to reason with you. That is why we went to Hollybush this morning and reasoning together there today was the spirit of Hollybush.

I think you know me well enough to recognize that that is my way of doing things—“Come now,” as Isaiah said, “and let us reason together.” What I think is even more important—that is the way I think we must finally achieve peace.

Those who do not smell the powder or hear the blast of cannon, who enjoy the luxury and freedom of free speech and the right to exercise it most freely at times really do not understand the burdens that our Marines are carrying there tonight, who are dying for their country, or the burdens that their commanders are carrying, who wish they were all home asleep in bed, or even carrying a placard of some kind.

But they can't be and still retain our national honor. They can't be and still preserve our freedom. They can't be and still protect our system. When they can be—with honor—they will be, at the earliest possible moment.

Sometimes I think of my friends who don't understand all of the cables I read from all of the 122 countries. They don't hear all the voices of despair and of all the chaotic conditions that come to us through the day. Sometimes I think of that Biblical injunction,

when I see them advising their fellow citizens to negotiate and saying we want peace and all of those things.

I try to look with understanding and charity upon them, and in the words of that Biblical admonition, “God, forgive them for they know not really what they do.”

I can just say this to you: There is no human being in this world who wants to avoid war more than I do. There is no human being in this world who wants peace in Vietnam or in the Middle East more than I do.

When they tell me to negotiate, I say, “Amen.” I have been ready to negotiate and sit down at a conference table every hour of every day that I have been President of this country, but I just cannot negotiate with myself.

And these protesters haven't been able to deliver Ho Chi Minh any place yet.

I was not elected your President to liquidate our agreements in Southeast Asia. I was not elected your President to run out on our commitments in the Middle East. If that is what you want, you will have to get another President.

But I am going—as I have said so many times—any time, any place, anywhere, if, in my judgment, it can possibly, conceivably serve the cause of peace. That is why I went to that little farmhouse way up on the New Jersey Pike today to spend the day, and that is why I am going to get over to see my grandson by daylight in the morning.

I have been up since 4:30—1:30 this time. I have been about 24 hours on the go. Then we will fly back to New Jersey Sunday for another go at Hollybush.

All I ask of you is two things:

Be proud of yourself, of your family, and of your associates for making my burden light by coming here and cleaning up this debt, wiping the slate clean, and making

the Democratic Party fiscally sound and solvent where we don't have to carry a tin cup and walk around begging. That is number one.

Number two—give me your confidence and your prayers, because, God knows, I need them.

I looked at all my communications the other day, my phone calls, and my visitors and I finally observed to one of my assistants, "Why does nearly everybody say something ugly to the President?"

He said, "Mr. President, I have worked here for 29 years. I was here with Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. Truman, Mr. Eisenhower, and Mr. Kennedy." And, he said, "Somehow or other the people just don't seem to like Presidents."

That may be true at times, but when I read about my decline and my defeat, I look back over the problems that other Presidents have had and I don't seem to remember many of them that the American people turned their backs on in a time of crisis or in a time of war.

Whatever the prophets may say and whatever the columnists may write—back to Lincoln's time, at least—that is all the time I have had to research, since I started reading these columns—no President has ever been

turned upon when he was engaged in trying to protect his country and its interests against a foreign foe.

So about all the strength that we have and the strength of our system, the strength of our courageous young men who are ready to die for that system, and the strength that comes from your confidence and the comfort that comes from your support and to every man and woman in the room tonight, whatever color, whatever religion, whatever party—there are not all Democrats here; some Republicans want to help the President, too—I want to say this: You will never know how much the confidence that you have given me tonight means to me and how much strength it will give me in the days ahead when I will need it most.

Thank you. Good night.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:30 p.m. at the Century Plaza Hotel in Los Angeles. During his remarks he referred to, among others, Jack Valenti, president of the Motion Picture Association of America, Inc., and former Special Assistant to the President, Governor Richard J. Hughes of New Jersey, and Dr. Thomas E. Robinson, president of Glassboro State College, Glassboro, N.J., at whose home he met with Chairman Kosygin (see Items 280, 282, 283).

As printed above, this item follows the text released by the White House Press Office.

282 Remarks Following the President's Second Meeting With Chairman Kosygin at Glassboro, New Jersey. *June 25, 1967*

THE CHAIRMAN and I met again today and talked for somewhat more than 4 hours, beginning at lunch and working through until just now.

We have gone more deeply than before into a great number of the many questions before our two countries in the world. We have also agreed to keep in good communication in the future through Secretary Rusk

and Foreign Minister Gromyko, through our very able Ambassadors, Mr. Dobrynin and Mr. Thompson, and also directly.

We have made further progress in an effort to improve our understanding of each other's thinking on a number of questions.

I believe more strongly than ever that these have been very good and very useful talks. The Chairman and I join in extending

our thanks to Governor and Mrs. Hughes, to President and Mrs. Robinson, and to the good people of Glassboro for the contribution that they have made in making these good meetings possible.

And now I should like to ask the Chairman to say a word or two.

CHAIRMAN KOSYGIN. *Esteemed ladies and gentlemen:*

I would like first of all to thank all the citizens of Glassboro and the Governor, and the president of the college, for having created a very good atmosphere for the talks that we were able to have here with your President.

I think altogether we have spent and worked here for about 8 or 9 hours, and we have come to become accustomed to this place. We like the town and we think the people of Glassboro are very good people. We have come to like them. And we have been very favorably impressed by the time we have spent here.

As during the first meeting which took place on June 23d, the exchange of views between the President and myself touched upon several international issues.

Also, in the course of these conversations we had a general review of the state of bilateral Soviet-American relations.

On the whole, these meetings provided the

Governments of the Soviet Union and the United States with an opportunity to compare their positions on the questions under discussion, and this both sides believe is useful.

Once again, on my own behalf and on behalf of all those who have come here with me, I wish to extend my profound gratitude to you all. Goodby.

[Following their remarks to members of the press, Chairman Kosygin and the President spoke briefly to the assembled crowd.]

CHAIRMAN KOSYGIN. I want to thank you all very sincerely for this very warm welcome. May I salute friendship between the Soviet and American peoples, and to all of you I want to wish every success and happiness, and express the hope that we shall go forward together for peace.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON. You good people of Glassboro have done your part in helping us make this a significant and a historic meeting.

We think that this meeting has been useful, and we think it will be helpful in achieving what we all want more than anything else in the world—peace for all humankind.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President and Chairman Aleksei N. Kosygin spoke at 6:20 p.m. at Hollybush, Glassboro, N.J.

283 The President's Remarks Upon Arrival at the White House Following the Glassboro Meetings With Chairman Kosygin. *June 25, 1967*

ON MY RETURN tonight to the White House after 2 days of talks at Hollybush, I want to make this brief report to the American people.

We continued our discussions today in the same spirit in which we began them on

Friday—a spirit of direct, face-to-face exchanges between leaders with very heavy responsibilities.

We wanted to meet again because the issues before us are so large and so difficult that one meeting together was not nearly enough.

The two meetings have been better than one, and at least we learned—I know I did—from each hour of our talks.

You will not be surprised to know that these two meetings have not solved all of our problems. On some we have made progress—great progress in reducing misunderstanding, I think, and in reaffirming our common commitment to seek agreement.

I think we made that kind of progress, for example, on the question of arms limitation. We have agreed this afternoon that Secretary of State Rusk and Mr. Gromyko will pursue this subject further in New York in the days ahead.

I must report that no agreement is readily in sight on the Middle Eastern crisis, and that our well known differences over Vietnam continue. Yet even on these issues I was very glad to hear the Chairman's views face to face and to have a chance to tell him directly and in detail just what our purposes and our policies are and are not in these particular areas. The Chairman, I believe, made a similar effort with me.

When nations have deeply different positions, as we do on these issues, they do not come to agreement merely by improving their understanding of each other's views. But such improvement helps. Sometimes in such discussions you can find elements—beginnings—hopeful fractions of common ground even within a general disagreement. It was so in the Middle East 2 weeks ago when we agreed on the need for a prompt cease-fire. And it is so today in respect to such simple propositions as that every state has a right to live; that there should be an end to the war in the Middle East; and that in the right circumstances there should be withdrawal of troops.

This is a long way from agreement, but it is a long way, also, from total difference.

On Vietnam, the area of agreement is smaller. It is defined by the fact that the dangers and the difficulties of any one area must never be allowed to become a cause of wider conflict. Yet even in Vietnam I was able to make it very clear, with no third party between us, that we will match and we will outmatch every step to peace that others may be ready to take.

As I warned on Friday, and as I just must warn again on this Sunday afternoon, meetings like these do not themselves make peace in the world. We must all remember that there have been many meetings before and they have not ended all of our troubles or all of our dangers.

But I can also repeat on this Sunday afternoon another thing that I said on last Friday: that it does help a lot to sit down and look at a man right in the eye and try to reason with him, particularly if he is trying to reason with you.

We may have differences and difficulties ahead, but I think they will be lessened and not increased by our new knowledge of each other.

Chairman Kosygin and I have agreed that the leaders of our two countries will keep in touch in the future through our able Secretaries and Ambassadors, and also keep in touch directly.

I said on Friday that the world is very small and very dangerous. Tonight I believe that it is fair to say that these days at Hollybush have made it a little smaller still, but also a little less dangerous.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:43 p.m. on the South Lawn at the White House. His remarks were broadcast over nationwide radio and television.

284 Statement by the President Upon Signing Bill Providing Funds for Saline Water Conversion Research. *June 26, 1967*

I HAVE APPROVED legislation that will allow American scientists and engineers to intensify their efforts to break the cost barrier for desalting water.

The legislation provides more than \$23 million to spend in our search for economical ways to purify the world's vast quantities of salt and brackish waters. When added to money already available, it raises funds for fiscal 1968 to nearly \$27 million.

Less than 10 years ago, we were spending only \$725,000 for such research. It cost up to \$2.50 per thousand gallons to extract fresh water from the sea. Since then, we have learned how to reduce the cost of producing fresh water to as little as 22 cents per thousand gallons.

Now we are challenged to lower that cost even more.

The effort to create fresh water from the sea is a partnership which engages government, industry, and our great educational institutions:

—One hundred and fifty colleges and universities in 35 States are conducting vital research and development.

—One hundred and fifty-five industrial companies throughout the Nation have joined this hopeful venture.

Already, several inland communities are converting unusable and brackish sea water to pure water for their regular municipal supply. In a few weeks, Key West, Fla., will become the first city in the United States to obtain virtually all its water supply from the ocean.

A new plant to be built by the Metropolitan Water District of Southern California will produce 150 million gallons of fresh water at a cost as low as 22 cents per 1,000 gallons.

Now we must continue to develop technology—so that the unlimited resources of the ocean can bring new life to parched fields; so that men can begin to cultivate lands that have been empty and barren for centuries.

With the signing of this legislation, we make a good investment. Its return in the future holds great promise not only for America but for all the world's people.

NOTE: As enacted, the bill (H.R. 6133) is Public Law 90-30 (81 Stat. 78).

285 Statement by the President Upon Signing the Mental Health Amendments of 1967. *June 26, 1967*

MENTAL ILLNESS is not something which strikes some other person in some other family. It strikes one American in ten.

—It fills nearly half our Nation's hospital beds.

—It costs States and communities more than \$3 billion each year—often for inadequate care.

—It costs the Nation \$20 billion each year

in lost wages and taxes.

And the cost in anguish and sorrow is far beyond counting.

Three and a half years ago our country decided to face, boldly and frankly, this major health problem—to face it with a major health program: Community Mental Health Centers.

All of us can remember when the

problem of mental illness was veiled in ignorance and shame and superstition. Not long ago, a sick or deeply troubled person was hidden away—treated more as a prisoner than as a patient; locked in a faraway place whose very name struck fear, the insane asylum.

Now we are changing all that: taking down the bars of fear; letting in the air of knowledge; emphasizing, for the first time, modern local services; outpatient care; prevention as well as cure.

In 1963 we invested in a totally new idea: the conviction that community centers could bring treatment of the mentally ill out of the darkness; out of isolation—into places where the people live.

In 1965 Congress provided funds to train workers for the centers; to hire mental health specialists.

By signing this bill we extend those great programs. In addition, we give America's mental health centers new power to overcome some old problems: to work with disturbed children, to cure alcoholics and drug addicts, to counsel troubled families and others deeply in need of help.

We have brought down the number of patients confined to mental hospitals—from 570,000 in 1955 to 425,000 in 1966.

That is real progress.

But there are still many items of unfinished business, many problems yet to be solved:

—The total number of patients in mental hospitals is down. But the number of

young patients is going up.

—Suicide is the 10th leading cause of death in our society. But among college students, it is the third leading cause.

—Dependence upon drugs is a growing problem. And more than half the Nation's narcotics addicts are under 30.

I see this bill as one way to prevent such tragedies.

I see this bill not as an isolated effort, but as part of our total health strategy.

I see it as a sign that marks the distance we have come away from superstition, toward enlightenment.

And I see it as a pledge: a pledge that the things we have begun—in health, in education, in meeting human needs—we do not intend to slow down.

If there are any who think they see us slowing down; if there are any who believe that the cutting edge of progress has gone dull in America—let them examine this record.

In February of this year Federal funds had helped 173 mental health centers in 44 States where 28½ million people live.

By June 30, we expect to reach 286 centers in areas where 47 million Americans live.

We are taking another step toward a better life for every family. We renew our pledge to the poor, to the sick, to every citizen. We will meet our commitments abroad. But nothing will keep us from meeting them at home.

NOTE: As enacted, the bill (H.R. 6431) is Public Law 90-31 (81 Stat. 79).

286 Remarks in Baltimore to Delegates to the National Convention of the United States Jaycees. *June 27, 1967*

President Suttle; Governor Agnew; Senators Brewster and Tydings; Congressmen Garmatz, Fallon, Machen, Long, and Frie-

del; Mayor McKeldin; Mr. D'Alesandro; Mr. Shriver; distinguished Jaycees and your ladies:

I am glad that you asked me to come here today and I am so happy that I could come.

Someone said recently that "I am for the future. I expect to live the rest of my life there."

So all of us here this morning are going to live the rest of our lives in the future—most of us in this country. Not only are we going to live our lives in the future, what is more important, our children and our grandchildren are.

We can give them a country where crime is commonplace, where strife is certain, where free enterprise is frowned upon, where the state is everything—or we can invest our money and our efforts wisely enough to make the next generation freer and happier than ours has been.

A former President of the United States once said—when he was speaking about our living under the first amendment and exercising the freedoms that go with it—that "criticism is no doubt good for the soul." But we must beware that it does not upset our confidence in ourselves.

You would hardly expect a man who had an automobile for sale to tell you that the motor heated, the wheels had not been put on properly, the horn wouldn't blow, that the automobile itself had a very short life—and then expect you to buy it.

But we hear other nations say so many things about our own in criticism—and we say so many things ourselves—that I sometimes wonder if the rest of the world hears only what is wrong with America.

It is good that we have a system where we can freely talk about what is wrong because when we have the proper information, we make the proper judgments. We can only get information by communication.

Proceeding on the assumption this morning that you young leaders of America have heard some of the things about what is

wrong with this country, I am going to assume that I may be permitted to talk about some of the things that are right with America.

I should like to ask each person here to engage in a little introspection for the next few minutes I am privileged to be with you. I would like you to ask yourselves to count your own blessings—to ask yourself: "What do I have to be thankful for; what do I have to appreciate; what do I have to be proud of; what do I have to look forward to? What do I have that my grandfather did not have—or that my father did not have—or that my brother did not have?"

Let us compare some of the present day conditions to "the good old days."

Or if we could—and still be polite—we might compare some of our conditions in America to some of the conditions in other countries that we have had pointed up to us from time to time.

Let us look at our educational system—because the very basis of a great nation is an educated mind, a healthy body, and a free enterprise system.

Fifty years ago in our educational system, only 10 percent of our boys and girls graduated from high school. Today that figure is not 10 percent. It is 75 percent. And that is more than double that of France or West Germany, Italy or Great Britain.

Fifty years ago only about 4 percent of our young people went to college. Today that figure is about 40 percent. Only 10 percent of the young people of Great Britain and France go on to institutions of higher learning.

Now, let us look at some other education we are getting from protesting and expressing dissent in this country. During a week a short time ago, our newspapers and our TV programs and our radio commentators, informed us fully about the protestors

and the “peace-niks” who invaded the Pentagon.

They came there to stay—they walked over the tulips; they sat down on the steps; they slept in the halls. After we had analyzed it all carefully and the reports had been fully given—sometimes dramatically and occasionally emotionally—the “sleep-ins” numbered 12, a bare even dozen.

During the very same week, there were 10,000 young Americans who voluntarily—on their own—walked into the military enlistment centers directed by the Pentagon and volunteered their services and their lives for America.

Let me repeat, there were over 10,000 first term enlistments in 1 week.

Unfortunately, a student carrying a sign or a protester wearing a beard, or an attention-seeker burning a draft card in front of a camera can get more attention—and more billing—than all 10,000 of these volunteers.

So we will continue to have those visit the Pentagon to speak their mind. We will continue to have those visit the enlistment stations to give their lives—but let us keep the two in perspective.

In exercising our freedoms, let us check on them as we go along—and be sure that we never abuse them.

Americans are the best fed, the best paid, and the best educated people in the world. That is something we ought to be proud of in America. I know what we do when we are not the best fed, or the best read, or the best paid.

All we have to do is look back to the situation in Washington when I first came there in 1931—when the bonus marchers were driven down Pennsylvania Avenue—and the emergency legislation that was required in the days following, when the banks had to be closed and reopened again, when our farm commodities were being burned, when our

soup kitchens stretched for half a mile in some of the main centers of our towns.

Well, so much for our employment and our education. What about our health conditions?

Deaths from the dread diseases have been cut in half in the last 50 years. Life expectancy has doubled in the last 100 years. Infant mortality rates have been cut in half in the last 30 years. Artificial kidneys now in use soon will be joined by the artificial heart.

Measles have been retired from the pages of history. Polio is no longer the fear of every mother in the land—thanks to our great medical profession, and thanks to a country which has concentrated on trying to do what is right—and correct what is wrong.

Medical care has recently forged an extraordinary partnership. We have almost 20 million elderly persons. We have over 200,000 doctors working with this group. Under the medical care program, over 5 million Americans in the last year—and the first anniversary is coming up very soon—have received physician services. Almost 3 million have received hospital care.

I have not come here to say to you that all is right and perfect. We still have many problems. We are facing up to them. We are recommending measures to deal with them. We won't get them all. We may just get a fraction of them—but we are not ignoring them—we are not running away from them—and we are not cutting out on them.

I saw in some report from some great university yesterday something about how we had cut back on our poverty programs, and how we had denied our people education programs and health programs because we were defending our country.

Well, that is just not true. That is just not so.

A little over 3 years ago—when I became

President—we had no poverty program. We were in Vietnam, but we had no poverty program. We started one—and we have increased it every year since.

This year, we are increasing it by 25 percent—without tucking tail and running in Vietnam.

More money will be spent on poverty in the United States in trying to do something about it this year by the Federal Government than we spend in Vietnam.

In our educational program—when I became President a little over 3 years ago—we were spending \$4 billion a year. This year our budget is \$12 billion—three times as much for education in 3 years—and we are still doing our duty in Vietnam.

In our health program 3 years ago, we were spending a little over \$4 billion a year in the Federal Government for health needs. This year our budget is a little over \$12 billion—three times as much for health in 3 years as we were spending 3 years ago.

We still have many problems of unemployment and poverty. Even though America's poorest housing is in a luxury class for the masses of some other countries, we do have slums. We want to do something about them. And we are doing something about them.

We passed our model cities program this year. That is the most far-reaching step in that direction that this Nation has ever taken.

Today there are 7 million fewer people living in poverty than there were 7 years ago. The unemployment rate has dropped from 5.7 to in the neighborhood of 3.7. Operation Head Start has already given three-quarters of a million children from poor families a leg up on education; and it is growing every day.

More than a million persons are receiving job training under Federal programs com-

pared to none 7 years ago.

Almost one million people are going to college this year because of higher educational programs enacted under our administration and passed by our Congress.

We all owe a debt to the Congress which has enacted this legislation for us.

So when you go back and talk about something that went wrong—how a motor failed—or how a red light stuck—or how someone looked on television—or how long they spoke—or what they didn't say—ask yourself to remember some of the good things that you have produced.

Our educational system—summarizing—is second to none anywhere in the world. Our prosperity is second to none anywhere in the world. Our standard of living is second to none anywhere in the world.

We produce more goods; we transport more goods; we use more goods than anyone in the world.

We own almost a third of the world's railroad tracks. We own almost two-thirds of the world's automobiles—and we don't have to wait 3 years to get a new one either.

I shouldn't be surprised—if you are anxious enough right now—but what some people on this very floor will take your orders.

The Baltimore New Car Dealers Association had better be careful or they will get out-figured. Someone will make you a cut-rate proposition.

We own half the trucks in the world. We own almost half of all of the radios in the world. We own a third of all of the electricity that is produced in the world. We own a fourth of all of the steel. Our health conditions rank favorably with those of other countries in the world. Although we have only about 6 percent of the population of the world, we have half of its wealth.

Bear in mind that the other 94 percent

of the population would like to trade with us.

Maybe a better way of saying it would be that they would like to exchange places with us.

I would like to see them enjoy the blessings that we enjoy. But don't you help them exchange places with us—because I don't want to be where they are.

Instead, I believe we are generous enough—I believe we are compassionate enough—and I believe we are grateful enough that we would like to see all of them enjoy the blessings that are ours.

So I say to you young business leaders of America, there never has been a time when the business groups of this country—the young leaders of this country—the employees and the labor leaders of this country have cooperated with their Government more than now. And your President is grateful for it.

I want to leave one thought with you. If you forget everything else I say, please remember this when you go back to your own community to provide them with the leadership that I want to provide you—that I am trying so hard to provide you.

You say to them that it is not absolutely essential—it is not a prerequisite—it is not required that you tear our country down, and our flag down, in order to lift them up.

I want to conclude now by just quietly saying a word to you about this larger world that we all live in. I think it is on your mind and in your heart—as it is on mine and in mine.

We are in South Vietnam today because we want to allow a little nation self-determination. We want them to be able to go and vote for the kind of leaders they want and

select the type of government they want. We want them to be free of terror and aggression in doing that—as we want it for ourselves.

We made a contract. We had an agreement. We entered into a treaty that was confirmed by our Senate, 82 to 1, saying that in the face of common danger, we would come and help.

We came. We are helping. We are doing our best. I solicit the cooperation of each of you to the extent that you can give it.

We Americans are deeply concerned about the recognition of the right of self-determination. That is what each of you demands for yourself. So let us help your fellow man in other parts of the world enjoy it, too.

Self-determination is really the right to live. That is what we ask for all of the nations of the Middle East—not just for some of them.

We believe that for the peoples of the 122 nations of the world, speaking now of the underdeveloped nations of the world specifically, real self-determination only comes when hunger and disease and ignorance and poverty are overcome. We believe that the peoples of all of these nations are entitled to that self-determination. They won't have it until we can conquer those ancient enemies—illiteracy, ignorance, disease, and poverty.

Just as it is here in our home, we believe in the first amendment, in free speech and in a free press. We believe in the Bill of Rights. We believe what matters abroad is also freedom from fear and freedom from want—the freedom to make choices and not just to submit to a brutal destiny.

Two days ago, not very far from here, I met with Chairman Kosygin of the Soviet

Union. The nations we spoke for are two of the most powerful nations in all the world. In the family of nations, two of the strongest have two of the greatest responsibilities.

For my part, and for our Nation, that responsibility involves helping other nations to choose their own futures as they see it.

We seek as well maximum understanding between these two great powers. For 10 hours we looked at each other with only the interpreters present in a very small room.

Though our differences are many, and though they run very deep, we knew that in the world's interest it was important that we understand, if we could, the motivations as well as the commitments of each other. We religiously, dedicatedly, and determinedly worked at that assignment for those 2 days.

That is why we met in the house called Hollybush. To bring about better understanding, and to discuss respective goals and commitments, we came there.

When we left I believe we had achieved that. We agreed we would continue to maintain contact through diplomatic channels, through other means of communication, and direct contact.

In Saigon, in the Sinai, at Hollybush in New Jersey, in the slums of our cities, in the prairies of our land, in the hollows of Appalachia, in scores of underdeveloped countries all around the world where men struggle to make their own future and to secure their little families, that is what we are all about.

If the young leadership of our country supports us over the long hard pull that lies ahead, if you can endure the tensions, if you can understand that the air is going to be rough and the road is going to be bumpy,

you can, in the words of your own creed, "Help us unlock earth's great treasure—human personality."

Then the cussers and the doubters will be relegated to the rear; the doers and the builders will take up the frontlines.

Now you are going to return to your homes. You have engaged in looking at yourselves and at your country. I have been able to discuss it for only a very brief time.

I am going back to attend a 1 o'clock meeting with Secretary Rusk and Secretary McNamara and others who are giving everything they have to your country. We are not only going to talk and plan and work and pray to develop ways and means of keeping your country and your families secure, but we are going to do our dead-level best to bring peace to every human being in the world.

Our problems are many. Our solutions are few. I am not as concerned about the individual differences that we have with other nations—because with few exceptions I think those can be reconciled—but I am concerned that every boy and girl, that every man and woman who enjoys citizenship and freedom and prosperity and the blessings of this land know what they have and are determined to build upon it, to improve it—and by all means to keep it.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:08 p.m. at the Civic Center in Baltimore, Md. In his opening words he referred to William W. Suttle, president of the United States Jaycees, Spiro T. Agnew, Governor of Maryland, Senators Daniel B. Brewster and Joseph D. Tydings and Representatives Edward A. Garmatz, George H. Fallon, Hervey G. Machen, Clarence D. Long, and Samuel N. Friedel, all of Maryland, Theodore R. McKeldin, Mayor of Baltimore, Thomas J. D'Alesandro 3d, president of the City Council of Baltimore, and R. Sargent Shriver, Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

287 Statement by the President Upon Providing for Emergency Relief Assistance for War Victims in the Middle East. *June 27, 1967*

THE RECENT HOSTILITIES in the Middle East took their inevitable toll in human suffering. While we are urgently searching for a lasting settlement of the Middle East problem, we must bear in mind that the first humanitarian task and the first task of reconstruction is to bind up the wounds of conflict—to begin to find homes for the homeless, food for the hungry, and medical care for the sick and wounded.

The American people have always responded generously to human suffering anywhere in the world. In this humanitarian tradition, the United States will join with other nations in a special effort to provide emergency assistance in the Middle East now. I have directed the establishment of a reserve of \$5 million from contingency funds, to meet urgent relief needs in the period immediately ahead. We will allocate these funds through a number of channels, in whatever ways best help the war victims and encourage contributions from others, including the countries within the area.

As a first step, I have directed that our Government participate in the appropriate United Nations emergency programs of food and medical relief. In addition, we are offering \$100,000 to the American Red Cross for immediate use by the International Red Cross to assist all victims of the conflict.

The Secretary of State will keep emergency needs under constant review and will cooperate fully with the intergovernmental and private organizations now at work.

I must emphasize that this is an emergency relief program. Even while we are joining in this effort to meet urgent needs, we must look toward a permanent and equitable solution for those who have been displaced by this and previous wars. It will not be enough simply to fall back on the relief arrangements of the past. There will be no peace for any party in the Middle East unless this problem is attacked with new energy by all, and certainly, primarily by those who are immediately concerned.

288 Memorandum on the Fundraising Campaign in Federal Agencies in the Washington Metropolitan Area. *June 27, 1967*

Memorandum for Heads of Executive Departments and Agencies:

I am pleased to announce that the Honorable Lee C. White, Chairman of the Federal Power Commission will serve as Chairman of this year's Combined Federal Campaign for the Washington Metropolitan Area. This is an important job and I am glad that Chairman White has agreed to undertake it.

The campaign this year, as for the past three years, combines into one single drive

the campaigns of the United Givers Fund, the National Health Agencies, and the International Service Agencies. In this one drive Federal employees in the Washington Metropolitan Area will have an opportunity to share in meeting the needs of over 150 local, national and international health, welfare and social service agencies.

The success of the past Combined Federal Campaigns shows that Federal employees and military personnel like a once-a-year on-the-job campaign. A combined drive is

convenient for employees and makes it possible for them to give their contribution through payroll deductions. Also, it is more economical for the Government since it cuts down on the number of campaigns.

The need of the voluntary organizations supported by the Combined Federal Campaign is greater than ever. These organizations perform essential services in helping the disadvantaged, in serving youth and the aged, in healing the sick, and in helping those in need overseas. I hope Federal em-

ployees will be generous in their support. The Washington area community in which each one of us lives and works is a better place because of the efforts of the voluntary organizations we support in this drive.

I request that you serve personally as Chairman of the combined campaign in your organization and appoint a top assistant as your Vice Chairman. Chairman White should be advised promptly of the person you designate as your Vice Chairman.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

289 Remarks of Welcome at the White House to the King and Queen of Thailand. *June 27, 1967*

Your Majesties:

On behalf of the people of the United States, I welcome you once again to my country.

All of us who had the pleasure of meeting you when you were here in 1960 remember that visit with a very special warmth and with great pleasure.

Since that time, Mrs. Johnson and I both have had the privilege of visiting Your Majesties in Thailand. We will never forget your hospitality nor the friendship of the Thai people themselves—and the warmth with which they welcomed us to your country when we were there last fall during our trip to Asia.

That our heads of state and government have met often in recent years, I think is a symbol of the changing times and the changing relationships. Until very recently, the United States and Thailand were thought of as the most distant of lands.

They were widely separated by both geography and interests. Today, we look at it from an entirely different viewpoint. We see ourselves as your neighbors. We are only hours apart. We are neighbors who share

the problems and the opportunities of a great, common Pacific frontier.

We welcome Your Majesties as the beloved leaders of a gallant nation which has not only the desire to be free—because all nations have that—but the wisdom and the courage to do what is necessary to be free.

There was a time not long ago when some of our friends in Asia were deeply concerned about their future. They wondered whether they were destined to be dominated by an aggressive alien power.

They wondered whether they would have to face that power alone—unaided by friends who wished them well, but whose wishes could not be translated into reality.

Those days are gone. Throughout Asia, there is a new spirit. It is a spirit of faith in the future. It has brought in its wake confidence—confidence that the future of Asia is not something that is preordained, but is something that can be built and shaped to Asian desires by Asian efforts.

I am glad to say that the people of your nation of Thailand have led the way. Thailand never gave in to despair. Thailand never assumed that its independence could

not be maintained.

Your people knew that men are not the victims of history—but are the makers of history.

You were among the first to send your sons to fight for liberty in Korea. Without hesitation, you took your stand as a charter member of the SEATO Alliance.

Now, today, you are making an invaluable contribution to the struggle of freedom in Vietnam.

I have no doubt about the outcome of those efforts in which we have joined as Pacific partners. When the free men of Asia's future write the history of the present, the gallantry and the courage of the Thai nation will be a luminous page.

Your Majesties, Mrs. Johnson and I are so delighted that we could welcome you once again. We look forward to very useful and fruitful discussions with you—and a happy evening in the White House together tonight.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:08 p.m. on the South Lawn at the White House where King

Bhumibol, who was accompanied by Queen Sirikit, was given a formal welcome with full military honors. The King responded as follows:

Mr. President, I am very thankful for your kind words of welcome. This welcome is really a warm welcome.

We come on this visit to the United States on a people-to-people visit. That means we have had the opportunity to meet people of different walks of life and that we have had the occasion to know a little more about your country and aspirations, and also that we may present our views and bring our ideas to you directly.

This visit is drawing to its end. It is a very suitable conclusion that we should come here to Washington to meet the President and Mrs. Johnson.

We meet you both not only as head of state, but as old friends. That is part of our people-to-people visit.

We hope the result of this kind of visit, which is not only a visit of protocol and red carpets, but it is a meeting of people who have the same ideas and ideals—so that we can cooperate better and we can bring better understanding between the peoples of your great nation and the people of Thailand; so that we may work in cordiality towards world everlasting peace.

In coming here, we bring the greetings and the wishes of our people to the people of this great country. We want to share with you all the hopes for future progress of the world and future peace of the world.

Thank you.

290 Toasts of the President and the King of Thailand.

June 27, 1967

Your Majesties, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

I'm sure that you have read the story of His Majesty's remarkable address at Williams College. A speech had been prepared for his approval and for his use upon that occasion. But evidently he found it not to his liking. So he spoke extemporaneously—and the judges, I am told, would have given him the annual speaking prize if visitors had been eligible.

When His Majesty finished, someone asked if he had been able to see his wife's

face and to read her reaction to his address.

His Majesty is said to have replied:

"Confidentially, I wasn't looking at my wife. I was watching my Minister of Foreign Affairs."

Secretary Katzenbach, I am carefully observing your reactions.

We feel a very special bond of kinship with Your Majesty, because you were born among us.

I have heard that during your early years, you used to go from Cambridge to an island off the Massachusetts coast known as

Martha's Vineyard.

Some members of my Cabinet—some members of my staff—have been known to disappear into the fogs of the Vineyard for long stretches of time. Some of them even claim that the fog obscures not only land and sea, but the sound of the White House telephone.

We are delighted that you were able to find your way back from that isolated and mysterious place.

We are delighted, as well, that we have this opportunity to repay, in some small measure, the warm hospitality bestowed on us in Bangkok last October.

The world is a good deal smaller than it was when our United States President Jackson sent our first diplomatic mission across the seas to Siam—as it was then called—in 1833.

But the nearness of two countries is not measured by the flight time of jet planes. It is measured more by understanding and by shared purposes. And though we have different customs, different histories, and different religions, what we share, Your Majesty, far surpasses our differences.

Part of our common heritage is a passionate belief in man's right to decide his own destiny—a love of freedom and independence—and a determination to secure their blessings.

When I learned on my first trip to your country that "Thailand"—in your language—means "Land of the Free," I thought of those words in our national anthem: "The Land of the Free, and the Home of the Brave."

The people of the United States—and the people of Thailand—have always understood that those who would remain free must first be brave.

In the past, Your Majesty, brave Thai and brave Americans have stood shoulder to

shoulder in the cause of freedom.

Today, we face together another test of man's will and determination to be free. We shall meet that test, with courage and determination, until the tide of aggression recedes—and our people can live in peace once more.

Your Majesty's people have been brave in time of war. You have helped men forge a shield against the disciples of violence.

You have also been equal to the demanding tasks of peace.

You have asserted your leadership in the works of peaceful construction that always must be carried on behind that shield.

I am confident, Your Majesty, that from our mutual commitment will someday flow peace—and order—and development in prosperity for the people of a free Asia.

Tonight we are called upon to make additional sacrifices. In the days ahead, we are going to have requests made of us that are going to be difficult to honor. But we approach these requests with confidence, knowing that our allies will face them with courage and with fairness.

And those who love peace will be eternally in your debt, Your Majesty, for the contribution that you and your country have made.

Ladies and gentlemen, I ask you to rise and toast Their Majesties, the King and Queen of Thailand.

NOTE: The President proposed the toast at 10:17 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House at a dinner honoring King Bhumibol Adulyadej and Queen Sirikit. As printed this item follows the text released by the White House Press Office.

The King responded as follows:

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen:

This time the machine came to me.

You spoke about looking at my Foreign Minister. Today I won't look at him. I will look at my text.

You mentioned my trip to Martha's Vineyard and wondered how I came back. I had nothing to do with the coming back, because I was too small. It was because my parents were very good and went home—and they took me home, also.

But apart from this, there are other things that are to be said.

First, I must thank you for the kind invitation to visit this great city of Washington and for the warm welcome and hospitality which we have received during this, our second, visit to the United States.

When we came here on our first visit, we came to make friends with the people whom we had admired for their freedom, fairness, and generosity. We were received with the great warmth and cordiality that only Americans can offer.

Your visit to my country in October last, Mr. President, is still a happy memory with us and we are most gratified to be with you tonight, because we know that we are once again among friends.

We are happy to see Mrs. Johnson with us tonight. Your presence here is a good surprise. Although ourselves we are still quite far removed from having the honor and the dignity of being grandparents—not to mention the irresponsible enjoyment that accompanies such a privilege—we do understand and appreciate the thrill and anxiety of a new grandmother—and grandfather, also.

It is a source of gratification for me to hear the kind words that you have spoken and your reiteration of the friendship that the United States Government and people extend to my country and my people.

Allow me to say again that we, on our part, sincerely and wholeheartedly reciprocate the very same sentiments—the firm belief that on your part you earnestly and sincerely desire peace and a better way of life for the people of all nations.

The happy association between the United States and Thailand is to us a matter of historic pride.

You already mentioned the mission of Mr. Edmund Roberts, who was received by my august ancestor, King Rama the Third.

In spite of his pet aversion to receive foreign envoys from abroad, that was due to our past unfortunate experiences, my ancestor was somehow won over by the American honesty of purpose and decided to extend a very warm welcome to the emissary of your early predecessor, President Jackson.

Mr. Edmund Roberts arrived in Bangkok in

February of 1833. Within a period of less than a month, and in spite of linguistic disadvantages—every sentence spoken by either side had to undergo four successive translations, from English to Portuguese, and from Portuguese to Chinese, from Chinese to Thai, and vice versa—in spite of all these difficulties, a treaty of friendship and commerce was agreed upon and signed on the 20th of March, 1833.

This agreement constituted the first treaty ever signed by the United States with any country in Asia. Thus my country came to be the first country in Asia to recognize and to extend the hand of friendship to the newly independent United States of America.

War—the punctuation of human history—brought a new sentence in American-Thai relationships. President Woodrow Wilson, who genuinely understood our difficulties and disadvantages in our relations with foreign countries, agreed at Versailles, after World War I, to revise the U.S.-Thai Treaty of Friendship by abrogating all obnoxious clauses containing the one-sided imposition of extraterritoriality and fiscal restrictions as contained in earlier treaties which had no terminating clause.

Other great nations, at that time, later followed the American example of justice and broadmindedness. Thailand thus gained an improved standing.

World War II brought about another sentence in the history of American-Thai friendship. The United States has shown real concern over the security and development of Thailand—and gave not only good advice, but also several forms of aid and assistance of material nature, both in the military and in the economic sphere.

This last sentence is not completed yet. We can only hope that it may end happily for the sake of beginning another one.

We can only say that at present we are proud in the knowledge that it is being written with our mutual good will and cooperation.

Ladies and gentlemen, may I invite you all now to rise and join me in a toast to the happiness of President Johnson and Mrs. Johnson, and to the prosperity and progress of the people of the United States.

291 Remarks in Philadelphia at the Opportunities Industrialization Center. June 29, 1967

Judge Higginbotham, Reverend Sullivan, Senator Scott, Congressman Barrett, Congressman Nix, Congressman Byrne, Congressman Eilberg, Congressman Green, our own Sargent Shriver, Mr. Jones, Mr. Rosen,

Mr. Toohey, Mr. Potts, Cliff Alexander, our new Chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, ladies and gentlemen:

I am sorry that Mayor Tate and Senator

Clark, both of whom support our program, could not be with us today, but I knew only late last night that I could be here myself.

What I have seen this morning has moved me more than I can tell you.

Mr. Coleman, who honors us with his presence, was asked to come to Washington to head our civil rights conference last year. Later I asked him to come into one of the most important jobs in this Nation.

He said to me, "I will come and serve my country wherever I am needed, but I think I am needed more at home in Philadelphia right now."

I can see that a lot of people are needed at home. I see what a lot of people are doing at home. What Reverend Sullivan has shown me this morning opens my eyes and I hope will open the eyes of all of the Nation to the opportunity that lies here.

Sargent Shriver asked me earlier in the week to go and speak to 10,000 of the young business leaders of this country. We went to Baltimore to meet with the Junior Chamber of Commerce from all over the Nation—from the 50 States.

We talked to them about what was right. We pointed out some of the things that were wrong—our slums and our poverty, our health needs and our educational needs. We then pointed out some of the things that we are doing about them.

Now when you really talk about what is right, you don't appear to be nearly as interesting as you are when you talk about what is wrong. But I have seen so many things that are right here this morning that I wish everyone in America could not only see them, but emulate them—and follow them.

If somebody falls down the step—that will get a lot of attention. But the poor lady that lifts him up goes unnoticed.

So if I had to sum up my feelings in a

single phrase this morning, I would say to all of you: "I believe we are going to make it."

What I have seen here with Reverend Sullivan is not just an institution—it is a unique training program. I have seen men and women whose self-respect is beginning to burn inside them like a flame—like a furnace that will fire them all their lives.

I have heard about this Center for many months. Some of my White House employees have come here to visit it incognito. I don't know whether they were afraid to admit they were from the White House or not. Friends and associates of mine have come back to tell me about it and to bring me the good news—of how a movement born of protest has taken the next logical step—to preparation.

They told me how men, stirred to righteous anger by the conditions of poverty that surrounded them on every side, had first fought to break down the doors of discrimination;

—then found that those they fought for were not prepared to even seize the opportunities that had been opened before them;

—and so they had begun to build—simply, just using whatever tools they owned or could borrow, or they could obtain by gift—a place where the men and women could find themselves.

That is what you have done. That is what this Center is all about. It is a place where people find the power that they have always had—power that was always within them, but that had been obscured because of lack of confidence, because of feelings of insecurity, because of self-doubt, and trapped by the conviction of failure.

Now I have seen this place this morning myself. I have seen the old jail where it started. I have opened that jailhouse door—

it had been opened before I came—the jail that Reverend Sullivan wanted because, as he said:

“It is the most dank, most dismal place in town, a symbol of tragedy. If I could transform that building, I could transform men.”

That building had farther to go than most human beings have to go and it has arrived.

I have seen some of those who are just beginning the transformation of their lives, learning the basic skills of reading and writing. I have seen some of those who are about to become metalworkers, waitresses, beauticians, draftsmen, computer operators, welders, electronics specialists, refrigeration specialists, or textile workers.

And now I see those who are already on their way—providing better lives for their families, contributing to their country’s economy, and holding their heads high in the deep pride of real accomplishment.

I don’t know whether I saw a Supreme Court justice or not this morning. I don’t know whether I saw a member of the President’s Cabinet or not this morning. I don’t know whether I saw a Federal judge or not this morning. But I know I looked into the eyes of men and women this morning and I saw people who are going to keep our flag flying and keep this Nation moving forward in the line of progress for the world.

I saw human beings who had pride in their eyes instead of fear. I saw human beings who carried their shoulders straight and high and their chins up and their chests out—instead of doubt and hate.

The Federal Government did not do this. The Federal Government did not build this Center. Mr. Shriver has testified for years and he has fought day and night to help. But the Government or the Members of Congress who are here who supported him did not do it.

Neither business nor labor, who honor us with their presence, nor philanthropy, nor even the city officials built it. All of us, it is true, are helping it now, and I am proud of the part, the small part, that some of us down in Washington are playing.

But what built this Center is the spirit that is in the breast of every human who is a part of it—the spirit that wants to say “yes” to life itself, that wants to affirm the dignity of man, whatever his origins, whatever his race, whatever his religion.

That same spirit has given power and direction to all that we have tried to do in our years of leadership with the Great Society in this Nation.

That spirit is what created Head Start. That spirit was there when Head Start was born. That spirit inspired the manpower training program. It is that spirit that lies behind the Job Corps.

I have a boy on my farm, where I am going to be tonight, who came from a broken family in California. After 7 months in the Job Corps, he went to work for the President of the United States as a skilled bulldozer operator, running a big Caterpillar tractor. Now he is going into the service in a few months to serve his country—much more competent, much more determined, and loving his country a great deal more, I think, than when he went into the Job Corps.

That spirit is what built the Neighborhood Youth Corps. That same spirit passed the broadest civil rights acts this Nation has ever known. That spirit passed the first medical care bill in the history of this Nation. That spirit passed the first elementary education bill.

That spirit is spending three times as much today on education in the Federal Government as we were spending 3 years ago. You

can look into the twinkle of their eyes and the smile on their faces, and you can see that that education is getting results.

That spirit has spent three times as much in the last 3 years on medical health problems in this country as it did 3 years ago—\$12 billion compared to \$4 billion for health, \$12 billion compared to \$4 billion for education, \$24 billion this year for health and education alone, compared to \$8 billion 3 years ago.

And then they try to tell us about how we have cut out all these programs!

When I came to Washington under Mr. Hoover's administration, the whole budget was just \$5½ billion. Now we are spending five times that much just for health and education. Every dime we spend is getting value received because the best investment you can make in this country is in the mind of the human being and in the bodies of its citizens.

Some of the blood of that same spirit is on that bill this morning. It wrote the Teacher Corps program and that bill that I am going to sign into law right here in your presence. It will bring the best instruction that America can produce to the children who need it most.

We are going to have the best teachers come to where they are needed most under the Teacher Corps—come and work with the children of poverty. It is only a very small program now. It has been difficult enough to even get it passed. But with the help of that same spirit, I promise you—it is going to grow—and how!

Now, all that we have done so far will count for little—except for your spirit and except for your help. If you help, there is not anything that we cannot do—together.

The problems of poverty, the consequences of discrimination, the ignorance and the

helplessness that are passed on from one generation to the other, are almost too great for us to comprehend or master. Almost, I said, almost too great—for they were all created by the failures of men. There is nothing preordained about them.

Being created by men, though, they can be overcome by men. They can be overcome by the restless spirit that speaks to all of us in the darkest hours. That spirit says: "Have faith in yourself. Believe in yourself. Have pride in yourself. Prepare yourself for the work you must do in the days ahead."

I think that you have heard that spirit. I think that you have faith in yourselves. I think you are preparing yourselves.

I know that you have inspired your President. I know you have made me feel, as I said in the beginning, that we—all 200 million of us in this country—are going to make it.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:12 a.m. at the Opportunities Industrialization Center in Philadelphia. In his opening words he referred to A. Leon Higginbotham, Jr., U.S. District Judge for Eastern Pennsylvania, and to the Reverend Leon H. Sullivan, pastor of the Zion Baptist Church of Philadelphia, who established the Opportunities Industrialization Center and who served as the President's guide during his visit to the project. He also referred to Senator Hugh Scott and Representatives William A. Barrett, Robert N. C. Nix, James A. Byrne, Joshua Eilberg, and William J. Green, all of Pennsylvania, R. Sargent Shriver, Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, James Jones, President of the Negro Trade Union Leadership Council of Philadelphia, Abe S. Rosen, City Representative and Director of Commerce of Philadelphia, Edward F. Toohey, President of the Philadelphia Council of the AFL-CIO, Frederic A. Potts, President of the Philadelphia Port Corporation, and Clifford L. Alexander, Jr., Chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. Early in his remarks the President referred to James H. J. Tate, Mayor of Philadelphia, Joseph S. Clark, Senator from Pennsylvania, and William T. Coleman, Jr., member of the Council of the 1966 White House conference on civil rights.

Following his remarks the President signed the bill providing for an enlarged Teacher Corps and extending it for 3 years (see Item 292).

292 Statement by the President Upon Signing Bill Extending and Enlarging the Teacher Corps. *June 29, 1967*

THIS MORNING we celebrate the success of a revolution.

This quiet revolution has gone on this past year in 275 schools throughout the United States. It is based on a simple idea: that the wisdom, the dedication, and the plain goodness of young Americans could be harnessed to help America's underprivileged children.

This idea was so sound that it has withstood the fiercest buffeting and the strongest challenge.

There were times in the past year when the fate of the Teacher Corps looked gloomy indeed. The fact that the Teacher Corps will live is only partly due to the legislators of both parties who reasoned together to enact a meaningful bill. It is only partly due to the tireless energy of Richard Graham and the Teacher Corps staff in Washington.

The lion's share of the credit goes to the 1,200 Teacher Corps members all across America who devoted this year to teaching and to learning how to teach. They won their battle in the classrooms. The idea spread, it grew, and it conquered.

There are those who say that the Teacher Corps is a small program, so far reaching only 275 out of 100,000 schools in America. They are right. The Teacher Corps is a small program—just as the Peace Corps was a

small program to begin with. But that small program has left the mark of America's idealism all over the world.

I am signing the bill this morning, because time is short. Before tomorrow night, when the supplemental appropriations expire, contracts must be let, payrolls met, and commitments made. I am asking Commissioner Howe and Director Graham to work round the clock. And I am calling on young dedicated Americans to come forward and apply for this great adventure. By fall, we hope to double the size of the Corps.

This act I sign—the Education Professions Development Act of 1967—is a basic building block for our schools and for our Nation. For no school—no matter how fine the building or how fancy its equipment—means as much as the men and women who work in it. Not just the teacher, but the principal, the librarian, the school nurse, and the social worker are vital to our children's education. We need to attract our most talented college graduates and train them for the most challenging work they could possibly undertake—to light the spark of learning in a young child.

This act will help us to do that.

NOTE: As enacted, the bill (H.R. 10943) is Public Law 90-35 (81 Stat. 81).

In his statement the President referred to Richard Graham, Director of the Teacher Corps, and Harold Howe II, Commissioner of Education.

293 Joint Statement Following Discussions With the King of Thailand. *June 29, 1967*

THEIR MAJESTIES the King and Queen of Thailand have concluded a three-day official visit to Washington at the invitation of President Johnson. His Majesty discussed

with the President at the White House affairs of mutual concern to Thailand and the United States.

The President welcomed His Majesty

again to the United States and stated the deep appreciation of Mrs. Johnson and himself for the gracious hospitality extended to them by Their Majesties during the President's visit to Thailand in October 1966.

The President expressed admiration for the rapid economic development and improvement in education and social services that have taken place in Thailand under His Majesty's leadership. The President voiced deep respect for His Majesty's concern that the benefits of this progress extend to every part of the Kingdom.

His Majesty and the President recalled the warm traditional friendship of the United States and Thailand, which is solidly based on common ideals and desire for lasting peace and a world order based on justice and respect for the independence and sovereignty of individual nations. The President noted his admiration for the constructive role of Thailand in furthering regional economic and political cooperation in Southeast Asia.

In their review of the situation in Southeast Asia, the President reaffirmed that the United States regards the preservation of the independence and integrity of Thailand as vital to the national interest of the United States and to world peace. His Majesty and the President agreed that the Southeast Asia

Treaty Organization is the foundation of collective security in the area and that both nations are determined to strengthen the role of the organization in protecting the area against aggression and subversion.

The President stated his admiration and appreciation for the generous and courageous assistance of Thailand to the common effort to protect the Republic of Vietnam and the entire Southeast Asia region against Communist aggression and for the resolute measures of the Royal Thai Government against the subversion directed against Thailand itself.

His Majesty stated the appreciation of the Thai people for the efforts of the U.S. and expressed the determination of Thailand not only to maintain its historic independence but to continue to contribute to the maintenance of the freedom and independence of others threatened by Communist aggression.

His Majesty and the President reaffirmed the historical bonds of friendship between the United States and Thailand and, confident that this is the heartfelt desire of the people of the two countries, pledged to continue close and cordial collaboration, directly and through international organizations, to promote mutual security and world peace.

NOTE: The joint statement was released at San Antonio, Texas.

294 Statement by the President Upon Signing Proclamation Reducing the Level of Dairy Imports. *June 30, 1967*

I HAVE today signed a proclamation which will reduce dairy imports to the normal level which prevailed before 1966. On the basis of these new quotas, annual imports will be approximately 1 billion pounds of milk equivalent.

This action has been taken on the recommendation of the Vice President, the

Secretary of State, the Secretary of Agriculture, the Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, and the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, and numerous Members of Congress concerned.

Dairy imports from 1961 through 1965 averaged 850 million pounds of milk equivalent annually. 1965 imports were 900

million pounds. The level established by this action will permit us to meet all existing international commitments and will restore dairy imports to historic and normal levels.

This action is of benefit to all Americans:

- It will help the dairy farmer to obtain a fair return.
- It will save tax dollars of between 100 and 200 million annually from lower Government purchases of dairy products.

—It will provide the consumer with more stable domestic production at no increase in milk prices.

—It will still permit us to honor our trade commitments to other nations.

NOTE: The President referred to Proclamation 3790 "Proclamation Amending Part 3 of the Appendix to the Tariff Schedules of the United States With Respect to the Importation of Agricultural Commodities" (3 Weekly Comp. Pres. Docs., p. 968; 32 F.R. 9803; 3 CFR, 1967 Comp., p. 57).

The statement was released at San Antonio, Texas.

295 Statement by the President Upon Receiving the First Annual Report of the Citizens' Advisory Committee on Recreation and Natural Beauty. *June 30, 1967*

I HAVE received from Mr. Laurance S. Rockefeller, Chairman of the Citizens' Advisory Committee on Recreation and Natural Beauty, the Committee's first annual report, and its recommendations for Federal action to improve the quality of our environment.

The Committee is not only committed to preserving wilderness areas and scenic wonders. It is urgently concerned about the impact of highways upon urban neighborhoods; about the threats posed by overhead utility lines, junked automobiles and other eyesores to the quality of life in America. Most importantly, the Committee has consistently urged both Federal action and efforts by all Americans to ensure a better physical world.

I am directing Secretary Trowbridge, as Chairman of the President's Council on Recreation and Natural Beauty, and Director Schultze of the Budget Bureau to review carefully the Committee report and within 90 days to make recommendations to me on

steps which could be taken to implement it. I hope the Council will devote its full energies to this task.

Nature has been generous to our country. But we have learned through bitter lessons what man can do with Nature's gifts. Now, confronted by the dangers of spreading ugliness, by polluted air and water, we know that only vigorous and concerted action by government, by individuals, and private organizations can cope successfully with the problems of our modern environment.

I welcome the Committee's report.

NOTE: The 28-page "Annual Report to the President and to the President's Council on Recreation and Natural Beauty" was transmitted on June 29.

The Committee and the Council were established by Executive Order 11278 of May 4, 1966 (2 Weekly Comp. Pres. Docs., p. 607; 31 F.R. 6681; 3 CFR, 1966 Comp., p. 107).

The recommendations requested by the President were embodied in a joint letter from Secretary of Commerce Trowbridge and Budget Director Schultze dated October 12.

The statement was released at San Antonio, Texas.

INDEX

[Main references are to items except as otherwise indicated]

- Abel, I. W., 326
 Abraham Lincoln-Benito Juárez scholar-
 ships, 451
 Abram, Morris, 87 n.
 Abrams, Gen. Creighton W., Jr., 166, 554
 [1], 567
 Abu Simbel, American Committee to Pre-
 serve, 198
 Academy of Sciences, National, 101
 Ackley, Gardner. *See* Council of Economic
 Advisers, Chairman
 Adams, Henry, "The Education of Henry
 Adams," 344
 Adams, John, 124, 485 [3]
 Addabbo, Repr. Joseph P., 391
 Addams, Jane, 39
 Addresses or remarks on commemorative or
 special occasions
 Alliance for Progress, 6th anniversary, 357
 Capitol Page School, graduation, 262
 Central Texas College, dedication, 532
 Chamizal boundary settlement, 453
 Christmas message, 573
 Civil disorders, 326
 Columbia State Community College, dedi-
 cation, 117
 Congressional dinner, 216
 Crossland Vocational Center, Camp
 Springs, Md., dedication, 193
 Defense Department cost reduction pro-
 gram ceremony, 324
 Democratic Party
 Conference, 514
 Dinners, 150, 251, 270, 421
 Detroit civil disorders, use of Federal
 troops, 322
 Dirksen, Sen. Everett McK., dinner honor-
 ing, 502
 Education, Office of, centennial, 82
 Encyclopaedia Britannica, 200th anniver-
 sary, 540
 EXPO '67 visit, 237
 Federal Home Loan Bank System, 35th
 anniversary, 420
 Addresses or remarks on commemorative or
 special occasions—Continued
 Foreign policy conference, business execu-
 tives, 519
 Howard University anniversary, 81
 Jackson, Andrew, 200th anniversary of
 birth, 115
 Land banks, 50th anniversary, 156
 Lincoln, Abraham, anniversary of birth,
 49
 McCormack, Repr. John W., dinner hon-
 oring, 206
 Meany, George, dinner honoring, 484
 Michoud Assembly Facility (NASA),
 inspection, 533
 Miller, Tom, bust unveiling, 210
 Minimum wage increase, effective date, 30
 Monetary reserve asset creation, 371
 National Christmas Tree lighting, 544
 National Institutes of Health tour, 319
 Nuclear reactor, 25th anniversary, 515
 Opportunities Industrialization Center,
 Philadelphia, 291
 Presidential prayer breakfast, 32
 Presidential Scholars, reception, 266
 President's Club dinner, 281
 Sandsburg, Carl, memorial service, 387
 Space treaty
 Entry into force, 425
 Signing, 18
 Swearing-in ceremonies. *See* Swearing-in
 ceremonies
 Theodore Roosevelt Memorial, dedication,
 450
 200 millionth American, birth, 498
 United Community Campaigns, 402
 U.S.S. *John F. Kennedy*, christening, 241
 Veterans Day tour of military installa-
 tions, 485
 Vice President, Speaker of the House,
 Chief Justice, dinner honoring, 7
 Vice President's return from Europe, 169
 Westmoreland, Gen. William C., lunch-
 con honoring, 195

Index

[Main references are to items except as otherwise indicated]

- Addresses or remarks to foreign or international groups
 Japanese Cabinet ministers, 381
 Japanese Governors, 234
 Latin American Ambassadors, 151
 Lyndon B. Johnson Australian Science Scholars, 1
 Mexican-American Conference, 452
 Organization of American States, foreign ministers, 395
- Addresses or remarks to national groups
 AFL-CIO national convention, 534
 Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service, committeemen and director, 228
 American Physical Society, 192
 Boys Nation, 323
 Building and Construction Trades Department, AFL-CIO, 261
 Business Council, 524
 Conference on Women in the War on Poverty, 211
 Consumer Assembly '67, 465
 Consumer organizations, representatives, 393
 Cooperative organizations, conference, 415
 Council of International Programs for Youth Leaders and Social Workers, 365
 Democratic Governors, 296
 Educational leaders, 490
 Farm leaders, 63
 Federal Home Loan Bank System officials, 420
 Foreign Policy Conference for Educators, 272
 Fraternal organizations, representatives, 397
 Girls Nation, 332
 Governors' conference, 123-125
 Insurance executives, 380
 International Association of Chiefs of Police, 382
 International Conference on Water for Peace, 230
 International Conference on the World Crisis in Education, 423
- Addresses or remarks to national groups—
 Continued
 International Federation of Commercial, Clerical, and Technical Employees, 442
 Jewish Labor Committee dinner, 484
 Lawyers Conference on Crime Control, 221
 National Conference on Crime Control, 146
 National Council on Crime and Delinquency, 276
 National Grange, convention, 496
 National Legislative Conference, 409
 National Rural Electric Cooperative Association Youth Conference, 267
 New England Governors' conference, 222
 Physical Fitness Leadership Award winners, 160
 President's Committee on Consumer Interests, 430
 President's Committee on Mental Retardation, 373
 Railroad labor dispute board, 386
 Selective Service State directors, 205
 State commerce directors, 148
 Tennessee State Legislature, Vietnam policy, 116
 United States Jaycees, 23, 286
 Veterans Administration directors and managers, 161
 Veterans organizations, leaders, 493
 White House Fellows, 201
- Addresses or remarks at presentation ceremonies
 Boy Scouts of America "Report to the Nation," 41
 Bronze Star, 475
 Canada, gift from U.S., 238
 Certificates of Merit, 324
 Distinguished Service Medal, 235, 308, 567
 "E" Awards, 231
 Employer of the Year Award, 388
 Federal Woman's Award, 93
 Harmon International Aviation Trophies, 431
 Honorary degree, 448

Index

[Main references are to items except as otherwise indicated]

- Addresses or remarks at presentation ceremonies—Continued
 Johnson, Andrew, papers, 538
 Legion of Merit, 475
 Medal of Honor, 9, 102, 166, 202, 361, 407, 446, 494, 567
 National Medal of Science, 37
 Presidential Unit Citations, 106, 384
 Roosevelt, Franklin D., portrait, 28
 Savings bond purchases awards, 315
 Teacher of the Year Award, 182
 Vietnam Civilian Service Awards, 352
 Young American Medals, 275
See also Awards and citations
- Adenauer, Konrad, 191 n., 347 n., 351, 554 [5]
 Death, 181
- Administrative budget, 13 (pp. 41, 43, 45, 46, 59), 358 [12]
- Administrative Office of the United States Courts, 35
- Adult education, 77, 277
- Adulyadej, King Bhumibol (Thailand), 289, 290, 293
- Advisory Board on the Presidential Election Campaign Fund, 236
- Aeronautics and Space Administration, National, 76, 315
- Aeronautics and space message, 24
- AFDC (Aid to Families with Dependent Children), 16 (p. 83), 39
- Afghanistan, 143-145, 449, 452
 King Mohammed Zahir, 143-145
 Prime Minister Mohammad Hashim Maiwandwal, 143-145
 Queen Homaira, 143-145
 U.N. Ambassador Abdul Rahman Pazhwak, 143
- AFL-CIO (American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations), 30, 534
- Africa, 51 n., 52, 100, 356, 426, 488, 495 [5]
 Economic and social development, 44, 272, 403, 442, 444
 U.S. policy, 3 (p. 9), 44
- African Development Bank, 16 (p. 80), 44, 100
- African Unity, Organization of, 51 n., 52
- Afro-Americans, 426
- Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1967, 548
- Agency for International Development, 33, 44, 149, 357 n., 489, 568
 Iran, 509
 Vietnam programs, 73, 116, 235
- Agency for International Development, Administrator (William S. Gaud), 352
- Agnew, Gov. Spiro T., 286
- Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, General, 142, 224, 508
- Agricultural Food Fund, 33
- Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service, 228
- Agriculture, Department of, 13 (pp. 46, 50, 59), 405
 Appropriations, 417 [1]
 Spending cutbacks, 6 [8]
- Agriculture, Secretary of (Orville L. Freeman), 13 (p. 50), 29, 33, 57, 63, 114, 138 n., 144, 199, 228, 258, 294, 358 [9], 375 [20], 405, 415, 418, 541
- Memorandums, 186, 259
- Agriculture and agricultural programs, 16 (p. 79), 63, 442, 496, 508, 525
 Credit, 156, 415
 Exports, 63, 228
 Foreign assistance, 33, 44, 63, 264 [19]
 Income, farm, 3 (p. 7), 13 (p. 50), 16 (p. 73), 63, 156, 228, 270, 305, 329, 358 [9], 496, 525
 Legislation, 44, 63
 Loans, 6 [8], 305
 Migrant workers, 3 (p. 5), 97, 114, 199, 201
 Prices, 63, 156, 305, 329, 358 [9], 496
 Production, 156, 496, 525
 Research, 13 (p. 60)
 Surpluses, 13 (p. 50), 63, 228, 305, 449, 469
See also Food; Farmers
- Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, Food and, 33
- Ahidjo, El Hadj Ahmadou (President of Cameroon), 444
- AID. *See* Agency for International Development
- Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), 16 (p. 83), 39

Index

[Main references are to items except as otherwise indicated]

- Aiken, Sen. George D., 204 [16], 405
 Air Force, Secretary of the (Harold Brown),
 9, 106
 Air Force Reserve, 159
 Air National Guard, 159
 Air pollution, 3 (p. 5), 13 (p. 53), 20, 149,
 186, 216, 222, 295, 329, 503, 534
 Air Quality Act of 1967, 16 (p. 85), 20, 186,
 503
 Air traffic, 149, 392
 Aircraft
 C-5A transport, 13 (p. 48)
 Noise reduction, 139, 328 [15]
 Procurement, Federal, 13 (p. 48)
 Supersonic civil transport, 13 (pp. 48, 52),
 31 n., 197
 XB-70 supersonic, 431 n.
 See also Aviation
 Airports, land use in vicinity, 139, 328 [15]
 Akamine, Drusilla C., 275
 Alaska
 Disaster relief, 369
 Gov. William Egan, 369
 Gov. Walter J. Hickel, 555
 Albert, Repr. Carl, 216
 Albin, Spencer K., 324 n.
 Alcoholism, 15, 35, 71, 285
 Aldrich, Robert A., 373
 Aldrin, Lt. Col. Edwin E., Jr., 431
 Alexander, Clifford L., Jr. (Chairman, Equal
 Employment Opportunity Commis-
 sion), 291, 333, 460 [1]
 Alexander, Myrl E., 317 n.
 Algeria, 245
 "Alice in Wonderland," Lewis Carroll, 431
 Allen, Rear Adm. Edward C., 485 [8]
 Allen, Rev. Frank, 117
 Alliance for Progress, 3 (p. 9), 10, 13 (p. 49),
 16 (p. 80), 44, 110, 152, 171, 175-177,
 272, 357, 394, 395, 436, 451, 495 [5]
 Allred, James V., 211
 Alsop, Joseph, 518 [16]
 American Ballet Theatre, 53
 American Banker, The, 420
 American Bar Association, 114
 Special Committee on Crime Prevention
 and Control, 455
 American Broadcasting Co., 554 [8]
 American Committee to Preserve Abu Sim-
 bel, 198
 American Federation of Labor-Congress of
 Industrial Organizations, 30, 534
 American Integration Fund, Central, 44
 American Legion, 323, 332 n., 375 [19]
 American National Red Cross, 22, 287
 American Physical Society, 192
 American Revolution, 485 [3], 495 [11]
 American Samoa, 218, 559
 Gov. Owen S. Aspinall, 559
 Ames, Ed, 281
 Amistad Dam, 408 [5], 447
 Anchorage, Alaska, 369
 Andelman, Dr. Samuel L., 419 n.
 Andersen Air Force Base, Guam, 134
 Anderson, Sen. Clinton P., 227, 258
 Anderson, Mrs. Eugenie, 526
 Anderson, Marian, 484
 Anderson, Robert B., 85 n.
 Anderson, Judge Robert P., 223 [2]
 Anderson, Stanley J., 406, 466 n.
 Anderson, Repr. and Mrs. William R., 117
 Andrews Air Force Base, Md., 135
 Angeles National Forest, Calif., 418
 Ankrah, Lt. Gen. Joseph A. (Chairman,
 National Liberation Council, Republic
 of Ghana), 426
 Ankrah, Mrs. Joseph A., 426
 Annunzio, Repr. Frank, 391
 Antarctic treaty (1959), 18 n.
 Antarctica, nuclear weapons prohibition, 59
 Antibalistic missiles, 3 (p. 11), 13 (p. 48),
 157, 167, 225 [17], 328 [25]
 Antipoverty programs, 3 (pp. 2-3), 13 (p.
 54), 15, 16 (pp. 76, 82), 23, 87 n., 97,
 114, 211, 221, 222, 251, 267, 270, 276,
 277, 286, 297 [10], 329, 347, 358 [8],
 397, 413, 421, 484, 514, 517, 532, 534,
 554 [15]
 Appalachia, 11, 114, 211, 514, 576
 Appropriations, 13 (p. 54), 211, 286, 312
 [6], 554 [6, 16]
 Message to Congress, 114
 Neighborhood centers, 15, 114, 458, 467
 Rural, 3 (p. 5)
 Urban, 312 [6], 328 [19]
 See also specific programs
 Anzalduas Dam, 408 [6]
 Apollo space program, 24, 48, 533
 Spacecraft fire, 19 n., 104 [18]
 Apostle Islands National Lakeshore, Wis., 20

Index

[Main references are to items except as otherwise indicated]

- Appalachian development, 11, 114, 211, 514, 576
- Appalachian Regional Commission, 11
- Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965, 11, 300, 514
- Appalachian Regional Development Act Amendments of 1967, 11 n., 114 n.
- Apparel industry, 414
- Appel, Dr. James Z., 419 n.
- Appointments and nominations
- Ambassador at Large, 132 [11]
- Codes, Zoning, Taxation and Development Standards, Commission on, Chairman, 4
- Commission on the Federal Budget, 85
- Consumer Advisory Council, Chairman and members, 342
- District of Columbia
- City Council, 406
- Commissioner and Assistant Commissioner, 377
- Economic Opportunity, National Advisory Council on, 87 n.
- Federal Trade Commission, Commissioner, 518 [2]
- Indian Claims Commission, members, 518 [3]
- International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, President, 511
- Justice, Department of
- Assistant Attorney General, Civil Division, 411 [1]
- Assistant Attorney General, Civil Rights Division, 411 [1]
- Deputy Attorney General, 269
- Solicitor General, 411 [2, 8]
- Marine Corps Commandant, 518 [1, 7]
- National Advisory Commission on Health Facilities, Chairman and members, 419
- National Advisory Council on Education Professions Development, members, 396
- President's Committee on Urban Housing, Chairman and members, 252
- Solicitor General, 411 [2, 8]
- Supreme Court, associate justice, 263
- White House staff, Special Assistant for Consumer Affairs, 86
- Appropriations, House Committee on, 195, 362, 358 [12]
- Appropriations, Senate Committee on, 195
- Aqaba, Gulf of, 233, 270
- Arab-Israeli conflict. *See* Middle East conflict
- Archimedes, 376
- Arkansas, 270
- Arlington, Texas, Mayor Thomas Vandergriff, 4 n.
- Arlington National Cemetery, 19 n.
- Armco Steel Corp., 231 n.
- Armed Forces, U.S.
- Asia, 554 [1]
- Comments on, 361, 375 [1], 431, 441, 475, 485 [1-8], 493, 494, 495 [14], 546, 565-567, 573
- Christmas message, 549
- Detroit, Mich., 321, 322, 328 [2], 331
- Europe, Western, 348
- Germany, 204 [2, 3], 348, 519, 554 [5]
- Red Cross services, 22
- Reserves, 309 [1]
- Thailand, 565, 573
- Vietnam. *See* Vietnam, South
- See also* Military, U.S.; Military personnel
- Armed Forces Institute, United States, 199
- Armed Services, House Committee on, 195, 358 [10], 475
- Armed Services, Senate Committee on, 195, 204 fn. (p. 497), 358 [10]
- Arms control and disarmament, 3 (p. 11), 38, 59, 64, 80 [2, 5, 7], 162, 167, 281, 283, 328 [24], 340 n., 491
- See also* Weapons
- Arms Control and Disarmament Act of 1961, 59
- Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, 59
- Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Director (William C. Foster), 64 n.
- Army, Secretary of the (Stanley R. Resor), 102, 166, 331, 384, 407, 494, 558
- Army Command, Continental, 326
- Arnold, Thurman W., 204 [13]
- Arrest warrants, 71
- Art, Metropolitan Museum of, 198
- Arthritis, 77
- Artigas, José, 171
- Arts, National Council on the, 53 n.
- Arts, National Endowment for the, 53

Index

[Main references are to items **except** as otherwise indicated]

- Arts and the Humanities, Federal Council on the, 274
- Arts and the Humanities, National Foundation on the, 77
- ARVN (Army of the Republic of Vietnam). *See* Vietnam, South
- Asgeirsson, Asgeir (President of Iceland), 313
- Asia, South Asia, and Southeast Asia, 3 (p. 10), 248, 249 n., 281, 289, 297 [2], 433, 434, 487, 491
- Assistance, 13 (pp. 46, 48), 44
- Communist aggression, 3 (p. 11), 127 n., 212 n., 246 n., 347, 397, 401, 407, 409, 438 n., 442, 446, 495 [14], 519
- Conference proposal, 312 [8], 328 [18], 375 [14], 518 [19]
- Economic and social development, 3 (p. 13), 44, 272, 381, 401, 435, 442, 519
- Military operations, appropriation, 14
- Security, 293, 435, 486 n., 495 [14], 534
- Trade with U.S., 231
- U.S. forces, 554 [1]
- U.S. policy, 357, 434, 446, 460 [9], 519
- Asian Development Bank, 3 (p. 13), 16 (p. 80), 44, 73, 100, 111, 112 n., 212, 219, 401, 459, 486, 491, 492
- U.S. contribution message, 401
- Asian and Pacific Council, 44, 111, 219
- Aspinall, Gov. and Mrs. Owen S., 559
- Aspinall, Repr. Wayne N., 227
- Assassination of President John F. Kennedy, Commission to Report Upon the, 80 [5]
- Association of Chiefs of Police, International, 382, 385
- Association of Educational Broadcasters, National, 474
- Association of State Colleges and Universities, 490 n.
- Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges, National, 490 n.
- Astor Foundation, 15
- Astronauts
 - Aldrin, Lt. Col. Edwin E., Jr., 431
 - Chaffee, Lt. Comdr. Roger B., 19, 38
 - Grissom, Lt. Col. Virgil I., 19, 38
 - Komarov, Col. Vladimir (Soviet Union), 190
 - Lovell, Capt. James A., Jr., 431
- Astronauts—Continued
 - Rescue, U.N. agreement, 557
 - White, Lt. Col. Edward H., 2d, 19, 38
- Aswan High Dam, Egypt, 198
- Ataturk, Mustafa Kemal, 155, 158
- Atlanta, Ga., housing, 531
- Atlantic Alliance, 162, 272, 391 n., 572
- Atlantic-Pacific Interoceanic Canal Study Commission, 336
- Atomic energy
 - Peaceful uses, 64, 176, 442, 448, 491, 515, 545
 - Research, 76
 - Water desalination, 13 (p. 51), 227
 - Weapons. *See* Nuclear weapons
- Atomic Energy Agency, International, 59, 64, 515
- Atomic Energy Commission, 13 (pp. 50, 51), 76, 329
 - Electron volt accelerators, 515
 - Spending cutbacks, 6 [9], 98
- Atomic Energy Commission, Chairman (Glenn T. Seaborg), 227, 504, 515
- Attlee, Clement, death, 422
- Attorney General, question of appointment, 70 [2]
- Attorney General (Ramsey Clark), 20, 35, 55, 71, 79, 104 [15], 114, 146, 221, 223 [2], 236, 264 [8], 269, 275, 276, 310, 322, 335, 372, 443, 530
- Memorandum, 441
- Swearing in, 105
- Augusta, U.S.S., 485 [5]
- Austin, Texas, 210, 270
 - Mayor Lester Palmer, 210
- Australia, 551, 555
 - Ambassador Keith Waller, 1, 246
 - Governor-General Richard G. Casey, 239, 561
- India food aid, 33
- Lyndon B. Johnson science scholars, 1
- Prime Minister Harold E. Holt, 246, 248, 267, 272, 328 [9], 409, 550, 551, 555, 561, 564, 565, 567, 573
- Prime Minister John McEwen, 561, 562
- Relations with U.S., 555
- Releases, 560, 562-564
- U.S. Ambassador Edward Clark, 248, 551, 562
- Vietnam assistance, 83, 246, 555, 562, 567

Index

[Main references are to items except as otherwise indicated]

- Australia—Continued
 - Visit, 561-564
- Australian Broadcasting Co., 551
- Automobile industry, labor dispute, 375 [11]
- Automobiles, 286
 - Accidents. *See* Safety
 - Air pollution, 20, 503
 - Federal procurement, 6 [7]
 - Junkyards, 295
 - Taxes, 329
- Automotive products agreement with Canada, 137
- Automotive Products Trade Act of 1965, 137
- Aviation, 139, 431
 - Facilities, cost, 13 (p. 44), 16 (p. 86)
 - Traffic control, 392
 - See also* Aircraft
- Aviation Administration, Federal, 392
- Aviation Agency, Federal, 139 n.
- Awards and citations
 - Bronze Star, Maj. Marie L. Rodgers, 475
 - Certificates of Merit, 324 n.
 - Distinguished Service Medal
 - Abrams, Gen. Creighton W., 567
 - Bringle, Vice Adm. William F., 567
 - Cushman, Lt. Gen. Robert E., 567
 - Humphreys, Maj. Gen. James W., Jr., 235
 - McDonald, Adm. David L., 308
 - Momyer, Lt. Gen. William W., 567
 - Palmer, Lt. Gen. Bruce, 567
 - Veth, Rear Adm. Kenneth L., 567
 - Westmoreland, Gen. William C., 567
 - "E" Awards, 231
 - Education, citation for contributions to, 490 n.
 - Employer of the Year Award, 388
 - Federal Home Loan Bank Presidents, citation, 420 n.
 - Federal Woman's Award, 93
 - Franklin D. Roosevelt Birthday Memorial Award, 21
 - Harmon International Aviation Trophies, 431
 - Honorary degrees, President Johnson and President Diaz Ordaz, 448
 - Labor Human Rights Award, George Meany, 484 n.
 - Legion of Merit, Col. Ethel A. Hoeffly, 475
 - Awards and citations—Continued
 - Medal of Freedom
 - Bunker, Ellsworth, 567
 - Komer, Robert W., 567
 - Locke, Eugene M., 567
 - Medal of Honor
 - Connor, S. Sgt. Peter S., 202
 - Dolby, Sgt. David C., 407
 - Fernandez, Sp4c. Daniel, 166
 - Fisher, Maj. Bernard F., 9
 - Howard, Gunnery Sgt. Jimmie E., 361
 - Joel, Sp6c. Lawrence, 102
 - Lee, Maj. Howard V., 446
 - Morris, Staff Sgt. Charles B., 494
 - Military incentive, 208
 - National Medal of Science, 37
 - National Security Medal, Desmond Fitz-Gerald, 383
 - Physical Fitness Leadership Award, 160
 - Presidential Unit Citations, 61, 106, 226, 302, 334, 384, 424, 456, 457
 - President's Award for Distinguished Federal Civilian Service, 317
 - Savings bond purchases, 315
 - Teacher of the Year Award, Roger Tenney, 182
 - Vietnam Civilian Service Awards, 352
 - Young American Medals, 275
 - Ayub Khan, Mohammed (President of Pakistan), 569
 - Babelthuap Island, 133 n.
 - Bail practices, 13 (p. 56), 71, 221
 - Bail Reform Act of 1966, 13 (p. 56), 221
 - Bailey, Mrs. Charles W., 342 n.
 - Bailey, Charles W., 2d, 70 [3], 104 [7]
 - Bailey, John M., 216, 251, 421, 514
 - Baird, Charles F., 361
 - Baird, Maj. Robert, 485 [6]
 - Baja California, Mexico, 303
 - Baker, David L., 4 n.
 - Baker, George, 168 n.
 - Baker, Robert C., 27
 - Balaguer, Joaquin (President of the Dominican Republic), 436
 - Balance of payments, 13 (pp. 49, 51), 16 (pp. 74, 75, 80, 81, 88), 44, 103, 329, 401, 491, 492, 519, 524, 545
 - Balance of Payments, Cabinet Committee on, 231

Index

[Main references are to items except as otherwise indicated]

- Ball, George W., 113
- Ballet Theatre, American, 53
- Ballif, Mrs. Angie E., 419 n.
- Baltimore, Md., Mayor Theodore McKeldin, 87 n., 286
- Baltimore New Car Dealers Association, 286
- Baltimore Sun, 264 [12]
- Banda, H. Kamuzu (President of Malawi), 256
- Bane, Frank, 319
- Bank, African Development, 16 (p. 80), 44, 100
- Bank, Asian Development, 3 (p. 13), 16 (p. 80), 44, 73, 100, 111, 112 n., 212, 219, 401, 459, 486, 491, 492
- Bank, Inter-American Development, 16 (p. 80), 44, 110, 176, 177 n., 394, 401
- Bank Board, Federal Home Loan, 3 (p. 8), 6 [11], 16 (p. 87), 88, 315 n., 420
- Bank for Reconstruction and Development, International, 13 (p. 49), 33, 44, 153, 401, 511, 554 [15]
- Bank System, Federal Home Loan, 420
- Bank of Washington, Export-Import, 13 (p. 49), 16 (p. 81), 176
- Banks and banking, 16 (p. 86-87)
 - Deposits, 200, 393
 - Federal land, 156
 - Insurance on deposits, 57
- Barclay, Rev. and Mrs. John, 210
- Barnes, Ben, 409
- Barnett, Peter, 551
- Barr, Joseph W., 6 ftn. (p. 24), 252 n., 338, 417 [1]
- Barrett, Repr. William A., 291
- Baruch, Bernard, 59
- Bator, Francis M., 371
- Bayh, Sen. Birch, 68
- Beal, Lt. Col. Arthur, 106 n.
- Beautification programs, 3 (pp. 2, 5), 295
 - Highways and countryside, 20, 295
 - Urban, 295
 - Youth activities, 114
- Bechtel, S. B., Jr., 252 n.
- Beckman Instruments, Inc., 231 n.
- Beirne, Joseph A., 500
- Bell, David, 168 n.
- Benedict, Joseph T., 420 n.
- Benito Juárez-Abraham Lincoln scholarships, 451
- Benson, Ezra Taft, 421
- Benton, William, 540
- Berg, Sherwood O., 525
- Berger, Samuel D., 113
- Bergstrom Air Force Base, Austin, Tex., 210
- Berkeley, Marvin H., 184
- Berlin blockade, 397, 409
- Berlin Wall, 554 [4]
- Bernhardt, Sarah, 388
- Bethesda, Md., 319
- Bible, Sen. Alan, 399
- Bible, The Holy, 356
- Biemiller, Andrew, 184
- Bighorn Canyon National Recreation Area, Mont.-Wyo., 20
- Bihar, India, 33
- Bill of Rights, 286
- Bindzi, Benoit, 444
- Bing, Dr. Peter, 500
- Binger, Lawrence, 184
- Bingham, William S., 532
- Biomedical research, 76, 77, 540
- Bird, Rear Adm. Horace V., 126
- Birendra, Crown Prince (Nepal), 459 n., 461 n., 462
- Birth defects, 214 n.
- Bismarck, Otto von, 349
- Bismuth stockpiles, 506
- Bista, Kirti Nidhi, 462
- Bjerknes, Jacob Aall Bonnevie, 37 n.
- Black, Eugene, 3 (p. 13), 44, 73, 401
- Black, Hugo, Jr., 4 n.
- Black power, 328 [10]
- Blaisdell, Neal S., 555
- Blind Youth and Adults, National Center for Deaf, 77, 413
- Blindness, 77, 319, 413
- Blizzards, 31 n.
- Blumenthal, W. Michael, 545
- Boeing Aircraft Co., 197, 388
- Boggs, Repr. Hale, 6 [17], 216, 533
- Boggs, Sen. J. Caleb, 405
- Bogotá, Act of, 110
- Bolívar, Simón, 110, 176
- Bolivia, 453
- Bolton, Repr. Frances P., 475
- Bonds, 315, 460 [12]
 - Savings, 66, 315
- Bonin Islands, 491, 492
- Bonn, West Germany, 190 n., 191, 347

Index

[Main references are to items except as otherwise indicated]

- Booth, John Wilkes, 49
 Borch, Fred, 168 n.
 Border Development and Friendship, United States-Mexico Commission for, 451
 Boston College alumni, 206 n.
 Boston Red Sox, 429
 Boundary and Water Commission, United States and Mexico, International, 47, 303, 408 [2, 8], 451, 454 n.
 Boutin, Bernard L. (Small Business Administrator), 325 n., 412
 Bow, Repr. Frank T., 85 n.
 Bowers, Dr. Raymond, 416 n.
 Bowles, Chester, 33
 Boy Scouts of America "Report to the Nation," 41
 Boyd, Alan S. *See* Transportation, Secretary of
 Boyd, Mrs. Alan S., 5
 Boyd, Forrest, 278 n.
 Boys, National Training School for, 15
 Boys Nation, 323
 Bradley Field, Conn., 222, 223
 Brandeis, Louis D., 3 (p. 6), 35, 105
 Brandt, Willy (Vice Chancellor of West Germany), 347, 348, 349, 351
 Brasco, Repr. Frank J., 391
 Brazil, 17, 44
 President-elect Arthur da Costa e Silva, 17
 Bretton Woods, N. H., monetary conference (1944), 373
 Brewster, Sen. Daniel B., 193, 286
 Bridge of the Americas, 454
 Bridge safety, 558
 Bridwell, Lowell K., 6 ftm. (p. 17)
 Briley, Beverly C., 115 n.
 Brimmer, Andrew F., 81
 Bringle, Vice Adm. William F., 567
 Brinkley, Repr. Jack, 485 [1]
 British Museum, 423
 Broadcasters, National Association of Educational, 474
 Broadcasting, Corporation for Public, 77, 474
 Bronze Star, 475
 Brooke, Sen. Edward W., 81, 326
 Brosio, Manlio (Secretary General, North Atlantic Treaty Organization), 521
 Brown, Elizabeth Ann, 93 n.
 Brown, George, 278, 404
 Brown, Harold (Secretary of the Air Force), 9, 106
 Brown, Winthrop G., 223 [8, 12]
Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kans., 55
 Brownell, Herbert, Jr., 68
 Bruce, Mrs. Mellon, 470
 Bryant, Farris. *See* Emergency Planning, Office of, Director
 Bryant, William Benson, 81
 Buchanan, James, 115
 Buddha, 459
 Budget, 16 (p. 89), 225 [3, 14], 330, 375 [16]
 Administrative, 13 (pp. 41, 43, 45, 46, 59), 358 [12]
 Appropriations, 417, 495 [9]
 Cash budget, 13 (pp. 41, 45, 59)
 Cutbacks, 6 [2, 6, 7, 9, 12] 358, [12], 417 [10, 13], 460 [12], 556
 Deficits, 6 [13], 13 (pp. 41, 43, 45, 56), 312 [4], 329, 330 [1], 343, 358 [12], 362, 374, 420, 495 [9], 503, 518 [9], 524
 District of Columbia, 15, 71
 Fiscal 1967, 3 (p. 8), 6 [3], 23, 27, 120, 140, 211, 217
 Fiscal 1968, 3 (p. 8), 13, 16 (p. 77), 77, 85, 98, 114, 121, 163, 329, 410, 411 [10], 417 [1], 518 [6, 9], 546
 Fiscal 1969, 518 [4, 6], 546
 Messages to Congress, 13, 329
 National income accounts, 13 (pp. 41, 45, 59), 16 (pp. 76, 77), 339 [1]
 News conference, 6
 Budget, Bureau of the, 223 [7], 225 [22], 315 n., 346
 Budget, Bureau of the, Director (Charles L. Schultze), 14 n., 77, 85, 88, 92, 103, 114, 121, 124, 157, 163, 184, 232, 294, 295, 329, 330 [4], 343, 358 [12], 379, 417 [1], 420, 458, 518 [9], 554 [13]

Index

[Main references are to items except as otherwise indicated]

- Budget, Bureau of the, Director—Continued
 - Memorandums, 89, 186
 - News conference, 6
- Budget, Commission on the Federal, 85
- Budget Messages, 13, 329
 - Comments, 121, 330
- Budgeting System, Planning-Programing, 121
- Buenos Aires, inter-American conference, 70 [4]
- Bui Vien, 130
- Building and Construction Trades Department, AFL-CIO, 261
- Bunche, Ralph J., 81
- Bundy, McGeorge, 184, 255, 375 [17]
- Bundy, William P., 219, 352, 562
- Bunker, Ellsworth, 126-128, 130 n., 131, 134, 166, 352, 461, 490, 493, 503, 526, 567
 - News conference remarks, 132 [1, 4, 7, 13], 225 [2], 309 [1], 358 [2], 460 [11], 495 [6, 13, 14]
- Buntin, Mrs. Horatio B., 115
- Bunting, Mrs. Mary, 500
- Burlingame, Anson, 213
- Burma, 409
- Burns, Gov. John A., 555
- Burns, John J., 251
- Busby, Horace, 87 n.
- Business, 121, 524, 554 [13]
 - Community development, 114
 - Cooperation. *See* Government cooperation with business, education, and labor
 - Depreciation allowances, 329
 - Executives, foreign policy conference, 519
 - Inventories, 16 (p. 78)
 - Loans, 427
 - Small, 427, 504
 - Tax increases, reactions, 330 [7]
 - Technical services to, 13 (pp. 51, 57)
- Business Council, 524
- Business and Labor, Department of, proposed, 3 (p. 4), 11, 13 (p. 57), 16 (p. 86), 121, 148
- Byrd, Sen. Robert C., 216, 405
- Byrne, Repr. James A., 291, 330 [1, 4], 495 [9], 518 [5]
- C-5A transport aircraft, 13 (p. 48)
- Cabinet, 221, 315, 417 [10, 14], 460 [1], 500, 518 [16], 556
- Cabinet Committee on Balance of Payments, 231
- Cabinet Committee on Federal Staff Retirement Systems, 25
- Caglayangil, Ihsan Sabri, 162
- Cain, Dr. James C., 500
- Calhoun, John C., 68, 115
- Califano, Joseph A., Jr., 6 [17], 157, 343 n., 379, 380 n., 391
- California, 418, 485 [2-4]
 - Democratic Party, 281
 - Water desalination, 227
- California, Metropolitan Water District of Southern, 284
- California Youth Authority, 35
- Calkins, Robert D., 184
- Cam Lo, South Vietnam, 446
- Cam Ranh Bay, South Vietnam, 14, 25, 134, 446, 568 n., 573
 - Visit, 566, 567
- Cambodia, 480, 132 [3, 4]
- Cameroon, 444
 - Foreign Minister Benoit Binozi, 444
 - President El Hadj Ahmadou Ahidjo, 444
- Camp, William B., 85
- Camp David, Md., 272
- Camp Pendleton, Calif., 485 [3, 4], 493
- Camp Springs, Md., 193
- Campaign Costs, President's Commission on, 236
- Campaigns. *See* Elections
- Canada, 16 (p. 80), 83, 401
 - Ambassador A. Edgar Ritchie, 237
 - Automotive products agreement, 137
 - Foreign Secretary Paul J. J. Martin, 237, 238
 - Governor-General Roland Michener, 577
 - India food aid, 33
 - Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson, 237, 239, 272, 543
 - Trade, 137, 508
 - Visit, 237-239
- Canadian Universal and International Exhibition (EXPO '67), 239, 245
 - Visit, 237, 238
- Canal Study Commission, Atlantic-Pacific Inter-oceanic, 336

Index

[Main references are to items except as otherwise indicated]

- Canberra, Australia, 560-564
 Cancer, 6 [15], 77, 319, 477
 Candidacy for reelection (1968), 104 [13], 225 [19], 411 [9], 495 [8], 518 [17], 554 [9]
 Cantinflas (Mario Moreno Reyes), 449
 Cape Lookout National Seashore, N.C., 20
 Capital Housing Authority, National, 180
 Capital Planning Commission, National, 15, 71
 Capital Transportation Agency, National, 15, 154
 Capitol Page School, graduation, 262
 Car Dealers Association, Baltimore New, 286
 Cardenas, Col. Robert L., 485 [6]
 CARE (Cooperative for American Remittances to Europe), 33, 153
 Carlson, Sen. Frank, 32
 Carnegie Commission, 474
 Caroline Islands, 360
 Carpet tariffs, 428
 Carr, Thomas W., 201
 Carrillo Flores, Antonio, 447, 449, 452, 454 n.
 Carrillo Flores, Mrs. Antonio, 447, 449, 452
 Carroll, Lewis, "Alice in Wonderland," 431
 Carter, Dr. H. E., 37 n.
 Cartmill, George E., Jr., 419 n.
 Casals, Pablo, 484
 Casey, Richard G. (Governor-General of Australia), 239, 561
 Cash budget, 13 (pp. 41, 45, 59)
 Cassidy, Gloria, 275
 Cassidy, Robert C., 458 n.
 Castro, Fidel (Premier of Cuba), 395
 Cattle. *See* Livestock
 Cavanagh, Jerome P., 321, 322, 325, 328 [5, 14]
 Celler, Repr. Emanuel, 68, 251
 Census, Bureau of the, 270, 460 [2], 463, 498
 Center for Advanced Study in the Health Sciences, Fogarty International, 217
 Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, 470
 Center for Deaf-Blind Youth and Adults, National, 77, 413
 Central American Common Market, 44
 Central American Integration Fund, 44
 Central Intelligence Agency, 116, 104 [6], 147
 Central Intelligence Agency, Director (Richard Helms), 147, 255
 Central Radio Propagation Laboratory, 31 n.
 Central Texas College, Killeen, Tex., 532
 Central Treaty Organization, 109
 Cereals Arrangement, International, 33
 Certificates, participation, 13 (p. 44), 329, 330 [1], 420
 Chafee, Gov. John H., 222 n., 223 [2, 3]
 Chaffee, Lt. Comdr. Roger, death, 19, 38
 Chamberlin, Guy W., Jr., 458 n.
 Chamizal boundary settlement, United States-Mexico, 447, 451-454
 Chamizal Convention of 1910, 453
 Chamizal Convention of 1963, 454
 Champassak, Sisouk Na, 439
 Chanceries in District of Columbia, 71
 Chandler, Mrs. Norman, 526
 Chandrasekhar, Subrahmanyam, 37 n.
 Chapman, Lt. Gen. Leonard F., Jr., 518 [1, 7]
 Charleston, W. Va., 514
 Charter, U.N. *See* United Nations
 Chena River, Alaska, 369
 Chesapeake Bay, 101
 Chiang Kai-shek (President of the Republic of China), 212 n., 540
 Chiang Kai-shek, Madame, 212 n.
 Chicago, Ill., 114
 Mayor Richard J. Daley, 216, 223 [10], 515
 Chicago, University of, 391
 Chief Justice of the United States (Earl Warren), 18, 52, 105, 146, 263, 278, 387, 394, 395, 443, 450, 470
 Dinner honoring, 7
 Chiefs of Police, International Association of, 382, 385
 Chiefs of Staff. *See* Joint Chiefs of Staff
 Child Nutrition Act of 1966, 405
 Child Protection Act of 1966, 57, 200
 Children
 AFDC (aid to families with dependent children), 16 (p. 83), 39
 Birth defects, 214 n.
 Day care programs, 15
 Disadvantaged, 16 (p. 82), 39, 53, 55, 77, 114, 292
 Education, 3 (pp. 2, 5), 13 (p. 55), 15, 16 (p. 85), 53, 55, 77, 110, 114, 183, 222, 286, 292, 423, 452, 479, 532, 540

Index

[Main references are to items except as otherwise indicated]

- Children—Continued
 - Foster grandparent programs, 12, 114
 - Handicapped, 13 (pp. 55, 59), 39, 77, 260, 517
 - Health and welfare, 13 (p. 53), 16 (pp. 75, 85), 39, 57, 63, 77, 86, 160, 176, 200, 222, 251, 353, 405
 - Labor, 39
 - Medical care, 13 (p. 60), 39, 114
 - Mentally ill, 285
 - Message to Congress, 39, 40
 - Preschool program. *See* Project Head Start
 - Recreational facilities, 160, 203, 209
 - School lunch and milk programs, 15, 39, 63, 228, 353, 405
 - "Share Your Summer" program, 209
 - Toy safety, 200, 393, 465
- Children, National Advisory Council on the Education of Disadvantaged, 77, 183 n.
- Children's Bureau, 39, 114
- Children's Hospital, District of Columbia, 15
- Chile, 44
- China, Communist, 272, 409, 519, 554 [1]
 - Cultural revolution, 219
 - Foreign policy, 554 [14]
 - Nuclear arsenal, 491
 - Premier Chou En-lai, 225 [8]
 - U.N. membership question, 219
 - U.S. relations, 3 (p. 13), 225 [18], 312 [15], 554 [14]
 - Vietnam conflict role, 34 [2], 358 [7]
- China, Republic of, 44, 272
 - Ambassador Chow Shu-kai, 219
 - Economic and social development, 212, 213, 219
 - Mutual defense treaty, 213, 219
 - President Chiang Kai-shek, 212 n., 540
 - U.N. Ambassador Liu Chieh, 219
 - U.S. Ambassador Walter P. McCaughy, 219
 - U.S. scientific mission, 416
 - Vice President C. K. Yen, 212, 213, 416 n.
 - Vietnam assistance, 219
- Chou En-lai (Premier of Communist China), 225 [8]
- Chow Shu-kai, 219
- Christian, George E., 50 n., 69 n., 70 [4], 79, 132 [1], 204, 254 n., 255 n., 263, 264 ft. n. (p. 612), 269, 297 [9], 312 ft. n. (p. 699), 318 n., 325, 328 [1], 371 n., 375 ft. n. (p. 821), 404, 411 [1, 3, 4], 472 n., 518 [2], 529
- Christian Leadership, Inc., International, 32 n.
- Christmas messages
 - American people, 573
 - Armed Forces, 549
- Christmas Tree, National Community, 544
- Christopher, Warren, 269, 325, 335
- Chung, Il Kwon (Prime Minister of South Korea), 111-113
- Church, Sen. Frank, 262
- Churchill, Sir Winston S., 134, 246, 249, 407, 485 [5]
- Cieplinski, Michel, 397
- Cigarroa, Dr. Leonides G., 419 n.
- Citations. *See* Awards and citations
- Cities. *See* Urban areas
- Citizens' Advisory Committee on Recreation and Natural Beauty, 295
- Citizens for Johnson and Humphrey, 421 n.
- Ciudad Juárez, Mexico, 451, 454
- Civil air agreement, United States-Soviet, 80 [2]
- Civil disorders, 55, 225 [1], 264 [8], 327, 328 [5, 19], 328 [7], 382, 420, 481, 554 [6]
 - Address to the Nation, 326
 - Detroit, Mich., 321, 322, 325, 326, 328 [2], 331, 466
 - Disaster relief, 325, 328 [20]
 - Newark, N.J., 312 [6]
 - Plainfield, N.J., 312 [6]
 - Prevention and control, 575
 - Riot control training, 326
- Civil Disorders, National Advisory Commission on, 326, 327, 328 [1, 10, 23]
- Civil rights, 3 (pp. 2, 5), 81, 105, 115, 124, 146, 216, 267, 333, 382, 421, 443, 452, 463, 481, 484, 534, 554 [6]

Index

[Main references are to items except as otherwise indicated]

- Civil rights—Continued
 - Jury selection, 55
 - Legislation, 55, 81, 114, 251, 258, 291, 484
See also specific acts
 - Medicare, compliance under, 298
 - Negroes, 81
- Civil Rights, Commission on, 55
- Civil Rights Act of 1957, 55, 298
- Civil Rights Act of 1960, 55
- Civil Rights Act of 1964, 12, 55, 77, 216, 333, 548
- Civil rights bill of 1967, 55, 56, 353, 358 [3]
- Civil Service Commission, 95 n., 121, 148, 265, 379, 502
- Civil Service Commission, Chairman (John W. Macy, Jr.), 95, 121, 163, 184, 232, 343, 379, 388, 546
- Civil War, 49, 115, 361, 487, 495 [11]
- Civilian Conservation Corps, 258
- Clark, Edward, 248, 551, 562
- Clark, James Beauchamp (Champ), 495 [14]
- Clark, Dr. James W., 117
- Clark, Sen. Joseph S., 291
- Clark, Gen. Mark W., 104 [12]
- Clark, Mary Ramsey, 79
- Clark, Ramsey. *See* Attorney General
- Clark, Mrs. Ramsey, 105
- Clark, Justice Tom C., 79, 105, 263, 266, 466
- Clayman, Jacob, 465
- Clean Air Act, 503
- Clear Water Restoration Act of 1966, 20
- Clerical, and Technical Employees, International Federation of Commercial, 442
- Cleveland, Harlan, 167
- Clifford, Clark, 328 [9, 12, 16, 18], 352
- Clifford B. Harmon Trust, 431 n.
- Clinical Laboratories Improvement Act of 1967, 57
- Coast and Geodetic Survey, 31 n.
- Coast Guard, 72, 101, 240, 485 [8]
- Codes, Zoning, Taxation and Development Standards, Commission on, 4, 16 (p. 84)
- Cody, Most Rev. John P., 87 n.
- Coffee, 10, 175
- Coffee Agreement, International, 10, 175, 176
- Coffee Diversification and Development Fund, 175
- Cohen, Wilbur J., 413, 539
- Coleman, William T., Jr., 291
- Collective bargaining, 170, 174, 188, 204 [5], 207, 310
- Colleges, 286, 413, 490, 532, 540
 - Housing, 179
 - Sea grant, 101
 - Student aid, 114, 304, 338, 413, 423, 490
 - Work-study programs, 13 (p. 55), 77, 304 n., 378
- See also* Government cooperation with business, education, and labor; *specific schools*
- Colleges and Universities, Association of State, 490 n.
- Colombia, 44, 336
- Colombo plan, 459
- Colorado, oil shale processing, 358 [11]
- Colorado River, 227, 408 [6]
- Columbia, Tenn., 117
- Columbia River Treaty, 237
- Columbia State Community College, Tenn., 117
- Columbus, Christopher, 515, 533
- Combined Federal Campaign, 288
- Comfort, Texas, 493
- Commerce, Department of, 8, 31, 103, 104 [1], 139 n., 225 [9], 268, 412, 428
 - Appropriations, 417 [1]
 - Reorganization, 3 (p. 4), 11, 13 (p. 57), 16 (p. 86), 121, 148
- Commerce, international, 346
- Commerce, Secretary of (John T. Connor), 6 [17, 18], 8, 31, 186
 - See also* Connor, John T.
- Commerce, Secretary of (Alexander B. Trowbridge), 13 (p. 587), 70 fn. (p. 221), 72, 74, 113, 199, 223 [2], 231, 295, 420, 460 [1], 498, 499, 512, 539
 - Memorandums, 89, 412
 - Swearing in, 268
- Commercial, Clerical, and Technical Employees, International Federation of, 442
- Commission on Civil Rights, 55
- Commission on Codes, Zoning, Taxation and Development Standards, 4, 16 (p. 84)

Index

[Main references are to items except as otherwise indicated]

- Commission on the Federal Budget, 85
- Commission on Marine Science, Engineering, and Resources, 101
- Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government (Hoover Commission), 99, 121
- Commission on Postal Organization, 168
- Commission on Product Safety, National, 57, 342, 499
- Commission on Reform of Criminal Laws in the District of Columbia, 71
- Commission to Report Upon the Assassination of President John F. Kennedy, 80 [5]
- Commissioner's Committee on Community Development, 15 n.
- Committee on the National Medal of Science, 37 n.
- Commodity Credit Corporation, 13 (p. 46), 33, 138 n., 305
- Common markets. *See* Central American Common Market; European Economic Community
- Communications, 474
 - "Hotline" (United States-Soviet link), 59, 264 [16], 297 [3]
 - Message to Congress, 346
 - Policy task force, 346
 - Satellites, 176, 346, 389, 423, 425, 474
- Communications Act of 1934, 346
- Communications Satellite Act of 1962, 122, 346
- Communications Satellite Corporation (ComSat), 122, 346
- Communism, 34 [7]
- Communist aggression
 - Asia, 3 (p. 11), 127 n., 212 n., 246 n., 347, 397, 401, 407, 409, 438 n., 442, 446, 495 [14], 519
 - Bolivia, 453
 - Burma, 409
 - China, Republic of, 219
 - Greece, 397, 409
 - Indonesia, 409
 - Korea, 111
 - Laos, 80 [4], 83, 132 [3, 4], 409, 480, 554 [1]
 - Latin America, 395
 - Response, 453
 - Thailand, 293, 409
- Communist aggression—Continued
 - Turkey, 397, 409
 - U.S. response, 126, 158, 397, 491, 519
 - Venezuela, 453
 - Vietnam. *See* Vietnam, North; Vietnam, South
- Community Development, Commissioner's Committee on, 15 n.
- Community programs and development, 13 (pp. 52, 54, 58), 15 n., 16 (p. 75), 39, 114, 199, 372
 - Health services, 285, 353
- Community Relations Service, 13 (p. 57), 55
- Comprehensive Health Planning and Public Health Services Amendments of 1966, 223 [6]
- Compton, Arthur, 391, 515
- Comptroller General (Elmer B. Staats), 16 (p. 87), 236
- Computers, use in schools, 77
- ComSat (Communications Satellite Corporation), 346
- Conciliation Service, Federal Mediation and, 104 [15]
- Conference on Crime Control, National 146, 221
- Conference on Development and Utilization of Natural Resources, United States-Japan, 491
- Conference for Educators, Foreign Policy, 272
- Conference on International Cooperation, White House, 157
- Conference of Mayors, U.S., 337
- Conference on Medical Costs, National, 77
- Conference on Trade and Development, United Nations, 100
- Conference on Water for Peace, International, 230
- Conference on Women in the War on Poverty, 211
- Conference on the World Crisis in Education, International, 423
- Confucius, 434
- Congo, 519
- Congress
 - Comments, 6 [17], 34 [4], 225 [12], 375 [8], 417 [4], 420, 460 [14]
 - Committees. *See other part of title*
 - Dinners for Members, 216

Index

[Main references are to items **except** as otherwise indicated]

- Congress—Continued
 - District of Columbia representation, 71
 - Ethical standards, 297 [8]
 - Legislative record, 575 n.
 - Vietnam conflict views, 132 [10], 358 [2, 10], 518 [12]
- Congress, letters to Members of
 - Bible, Sen. Alan, District of Columbia school board, 399
 - Hill, Sen. Lister, college student loans, 338 n.
 - Jackson, Sen. Henry M., bombing of North Vietnam, 83
 - Mansfield, Sen. Mike
 - Middle East conflict, 257
 - Railroad labor dispute, 310
 - Urban legislation, 353
 - Perkins, Repr. Carl D., college student loans, 338 n.
 - President of the Senate and Speaker of the House of Representatives
 - Alaska, disaster relief, 369
 - Appalachian program, 11
 - District of Columbia government reorganization, 337
 - District of Columbia school board, 350
 - Economic Opportunity, Office of, 203
 - Firearms control bill, 385
 - Military operations in Asia, appropriation, 14
 - Mining, strip and surface, 300
 - Pacific Islands, Trust Territory of the, 360
 - Patent system, 65
 - Railroad labor dispute, 194, 310
 - San Rafael Wilderness, Calif., 29
 - Southern Rhodesia, trade with, 74
 - Summer youth programs, 203
 - Wilderness preservation, 418
- Congress, Library of, 423
- Congress, messages to
 - Asian Development Bank, 401
 - Budget, 13, 329
 - Children and youth, 39
 - Communications policy, 346
 - Consumer protection, 57
 - Crime in America, 35
 - Depreciation allowances, 103
 - District of Columbia budget, 15
 - Economic Report, 16
- Congress, messages to—Continued
 - Economy, 329
 - Education and health, 77
 - Election reform, 236
 - Equal justice, 55
 - Foreign aid, 44
 - Government, American, quality of, 121
 - Government employees pay, 163
 - Health and education, 77
 - India food aid, 33
 - Insurance, 343
 - Investment tax credit, 103
 - Latin American summit meeting, 110
 - Manpower report, 199
 - Narcotics convention, 94
 - Natural resources conservation, 20
 - Older Americans, 12
 - Postal rates, 163
 - Railroad labor dispute, 170, 207
 - Reorganization plans
 - District of Columbia, 247
 - Ships' mortgages, 72
 - Tariff Commission, U.S., 99
 - Rural and urban poverty, 114
 - Selective service, 92
 - Servicemen and veterans, 25
 - Space treaty, 38
 - State of the Union, 3
 - Trade agreements, multinational, 508
 - Urban and rural poverty, 114
- Congress, reports to, list, Appendix C, p. 1225
- Congress, reports to, messages transmitting
 - Aeronautics and space, 24
 - Atlantic-Pacific InterOceanic Canal Study Commission, 336
 - Automotive products agreement with Canada, 137
 - Coffee Agreement, International, 10
 - Commodity Credit Corporation, 305
 - Communications Satellite Corporation, 122
 - Community work and training program, 91
 - Economic Opportunity, Office of, 277
 - Food aid programs, 469
 - Housing and Urban Development, Department of, 179
 - International educational and cultural exchange program, 344
 - International exhibitions, special, 245

Index

[Main references are to items except as otherwise indicated]

- Congress, reports to, messages transmitting—
Continued
Marine resources and engineering, 101
Medical programs, regional, 477
Military incentive awards, 208
National Advisory Council on Extension
and Continuing Education, 185
National Aeronautics and Space Admin-
istration, 220
National Capital Housing Authority, 180
National Capital Transportation Agency,
154
National Endowment for the Arts, 53
National Endowment for the Humanities,
54
National Science Foundation, 165, 314
National Wilderness Preservation System,
96
Peace Corps, 90
Railroad Retirement Board, 244
Saint Lawrence Seaway Development
Corporation, 398
Surgeon General, 260
Trade agreements programs, 445
United Nations, U.S. participation, 100,
488
United States Arms Control and Disarma-
ment Agency, 59
Weather modification, 314
Congress of Industrial Organizations. *See*
American Federation of Labor—Con-
gress of Industrial Organizations
Congressional Medal of Honor, 9, 102, 166,
202, 361, 407, 446, 494
Congressional Record, 332
Connally, Gov. John B., 408 [1, 4, 8], 452
Connecticut, 223 [2, 11], 542
Gov. John N. Dempsey, 222 n., 223 [1, 2,
11]
Remarks, 222, 223
Connor, Cecilia, 202 n.
Connor, Mrs. Harold E., 202 n.
Connor, John T., 268
See also Commerce, Secretary of
Connor, Mrs. John T., 8
Connor, S. Sgt. and Mrs. Peter S., 202
Conservation Corps, Civilian, 258
Conservation and development of natural re-
sources, 13 (p. 51), 20, 96, 295, 495 [5],
532, 534, 553
Message to Congress, 20
Conservation and development of natural
resources—Continued
Urban open land, 16 (p. 85)
Wilderness, 29, 418
Youth activities, 114
See also specific resources
Conservation Fund, Land and Water, 13 (p.
51), 20, 553
Conservation Service, Agricultural Stabiliza-
tion and, 228
Constantine, King (Greece), message, 108
Constitution, U.S., 55, 65, 105, 328 [2], 331,
358 [2, 10], 375 [1], 376, 443, 455, 460
[11], 482, 554 [8]
1st amendment, 286, 352, 495 [13]
14th amendment, 55
25th amendment, ratification ceremony, 68
Construction, 6 [9], 13 (pp. 44, 45), 16 (p.
75), 261
Employment, 199
Highways, 261
Hospitals, 261, 353, 419
Housing, 4, 16 (pp. 75, 78, 85), 70 [6],
88, 103, 114, 180, 353, 369, 411 [11],
417 [5, 6], 420, 430, 531, 554 [6]
Libraries, 507
Military, 417 [14], 440, 460 [5]
Schools, 532, 540
Ships, 13 (p. 48), 410, 528
Subway, 20
Waste disposal facilities, 16 (p. 85)
Consular convention, United States-Soviet,
3 (p. 10), 34 [1], 80 [2], 104 [11], 119,
157, 225 [17], 519
Consumer Advisory Council, 86, 342, 393,
465
Consumer Affairs, Special Assistant for, 200
Consumer Assembly '67, remarks, 465
Consumer Interests, President's Committee
on, 86, 200, 393, 430, 465
Consumer Price Index, 417 [5], 430
Consumers, 16 (p. 78), 393
Credit, 16 (p. 86), 200
Message to Congress, 57, 58
Prices, 3 (p. 7), 13 (p. 40), 16 (pp. 78, 88),
430, 465
Protection, 3 (p. 6), 57, 86, 200, 214, 342,
430, 442, 465, 499, 503, 520, 534, 537
Voluntary organizations, 393
See also Safety
Conte, Repr. Silvio O., 391

Index

[Main references are to items except as otherwise indicated]

- Continental Army Command, 326
 Contracts, Government, 13 (p. 44), 121, 410
 Convention on Narcotic Drugs, Single, 35, 94
 "Conversation With the President" television program, 554
 Conyers, Repr. John, Jr., 358 [8]
 Coolidge, Calvin, 382
 Co-Op Month, 1967, National, 415
 Cooperative for American Remittances to Europe (CARE), 33, 153
 Cooperative organizations, conference, 415
 Copper industry, labor dispute, 375 [12]
 Corita, Sister Mary, 396 n.
 Corman, Repr. James C., 326
 Cormier, Frank, 34 [2]
 Cornette, James P., 490
 Corporation for Public Broadcasting, 77, 474
 Corporations
 Income, 13 (p. 42)
 Profits, 3 (p. 7), 13 (p. 40), 16 (p. 73), 329
 Taxes, 6 [13], 13 (p. 41), 16 (p. 77), 329, 330 [1, 6, 7], 417 [1]
 Corps of Engineers, 6 [5, 10, 13], 120, 240, 408 [2, 4]
 Correctional institutions, 71, 146
 Corrections, District of Columbia Department of, 71
 Cost of living, 16 (p. 79), 63, 170, 417 [5, 6]
 Cost Reduction, President's Advisory Council on, 121, 232
 Cost reduction programs, 13 (pp. 40, 41, 42, 44), 232, 556
 Defense, Department of, 13 (pp. 44, 48), 121, 232, 324, 329, 410
 District of Columbia, 15
 Government-wide planning, 121
 National Aeronautics and Space Administration, 121
 News conference remarks, 6 [9], 411 [10], 417 [1, 2, 3, 10, 12]
 Veterans Administration, 161
 Costa e Silva, Arthur da (President-elect of Brazil), 17
 Costa e Silva, Madame, 17
 Costa Rica, 44, 336
 Cotton, 223 [3], 375 [20], 508
 Cotton, Sen. Norris, 474
 Council on the Arts and the Humanities, Federal, 274
 Council of Chief State School Officers, 182 n.
 Council on Cost Reduction, President's Advisory, 121, 232
 Council on Crime and Delinquency, National, 276
 Council of Economic Advisers, 6 [17, 18], 16 n., 17 n., 70 [6], 103, 312 [4], 420, 554 [13]
 Council of Economic Advisers, Chairman (Gardner Ackley), 16 (p. 87), 20, 77, 88, 294, 330 [4, 8], 371, 375 [4], 460 [1, 6], 518 [19]
 Memorandums, 89, 186
 Council on Economic Opportunity, National Advisory, 87 n., 114
 Council on the Education of Disadvantaged Children, National Advisory, 77
 Council on Education Professions Development, National Advisory, 396
 Council on Extension and Continuing Education, National Advisory, 185
 Council on Foreign Relations, 306 n.
 Council on Human Relations, District of Columbia, 15
 Council for Human Rights, National Trade Union, 484 n.
 Council of International Programs for Youth Leaders and Social Workers, 365
 Council for Marine Resources and Engineering Development, National, 20, 101, 240
 Council on Physical Fitness, President's, 160
 Council on Recreation and Natural Beauty, President's, 295
 Council for Science and Technology, Federal, 478
 Courts, 35, 146, 382, 560
 Appeals, 55
 District of Columbia, 15, 71, 350
 Juvenile, 15, 39, 71
 Courts, Administrative Office of the United States, 35
 Creative federalism, 13 (p. 57), 296
 Credit, 415
 Availability, 3 (p. 7), 13 (pp. 41, 43), 16 (pp. 75, 81, 88), 312 [4], 329, 417 [1, 5, 6], 420, 430

Index

[Main references are to items except as otherwise indicated]

- Credit—Continued
 - Consumer, 16 (p. 86), 200
 - Farm, 156, 415
 - Housing, 420
 - Low-income families, 415
 - Truth in lending, 16 (p. 86), 57, 342, 393, 430, 460 [5], 465, 499, 503, 520, 534, 539
- Credit Corporation, Commodity, 13 (p. 46), 33, 138 n.
- Credit unions, 537
- Crew, Albert C., 420 n.
- Crime, 146, 279 *ftn.* (p. 673), 382, 427
 - Commissions. *See* President's Commission on Crime in the District of Columbia; President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice
 - District of Columbia, 15, 27, 71, 337, 466, 575
 - Investigations, 468
 - Legislation, 13 (p. 56), 146, 221, 276, 297 [7], 358 [3], 382, 385, 455, 468, 575
 - Message to Congress, 35, 36
 - Organized, 35, 382, 468
 - Prevention and control, 3 (p. 6), 13 (p. 56), 15, 23, 35, 60, 105, 146, 216, 297 [7], 382, 421, 468, 482, 530, 575
 - Research, 35, 382
 - Statistics, 35, 60, 71, 146, 276, 530
 - Urban, 353, 455
 - Youth, 35, 382
- Crime Control, Lawyers Conference on, 221
- Crime Control, National Conference on, 146
- Crime and Delinquency, National Council on, 276
- Crime in the District of Columbia, President's Commission on, 15, 27, 71
- Criminal Justice Assistance, Office of Law Enforcement and, 35
- Criminal Laws in the District of Columbia, Commission on Reform of, 71
- Criminal Statistics, District of Columbia Bureau of, 71
- Crippled children's programs, 39
- Criswell, John B., 421
- Cross, Col. James U., 536
- Crossland Vocational Center, Camp Springs, Md., 193
- Crumm, Maj. Gen. William J., 134
- Cuba, 409
 - Missile crisis (1962), 554 [4]
 - Premier Fidel Castro, 395
- Cultural exchanges, 53, 80 [2], 272, 344
- Cultural Organization, United Nations Educational, Scientific and, 198 n.
- Cummings, James H., 116
- Cunningham, Walter, 533
- Curry, Bryce, 420 n.
- Curry, Nathaniel T., 275
- Curtis, Gov. Kenneth M., 222 n., 223 [3, 6], 225 [21]
- Cushman, Lt. Gen. Robert E., 567
- Customs, Bureau of, 13 (p. 57)
- Customs duties, 13 (p. 44), 329
- Cyprus conflict, 100, 162, 518 *ftn.* (p. 1093), 519, 521, 545
- Czechoslovakia, 34 [5], 347 n.
- Daane, J. Dewey, 371
- Daddario, Repr. Emilio Q., 391
- Dairy imports, 294
- D'Alesandro, Thomas, Jr., 286
- Daley, Richard J., 216, 223 [10], 515
- Dalton, John M., 544
- Danang, South Vietnam, 70 [8], 330 [1]
- Daniels, Repr. Dominick V., 413
- Dante Alighieri, 389
- Darien Gap, inter-American highway, 173
- Davies, Don, 396 n.
- Davis, Rev. George R., 87 n.
- Davis, Ilus W., 382
- Davis, Jefferson, 538
- Davis, Lewis, 4 n.
- Day care programs, 15
- Deaf-Blind Youth and Adults, National Center for, 77, 413
- Deaf persons, 77, 413
- Deakin, James, 312 [16]
- Dean, Sir Patrick, 18 n., 425
- DeAngelis, Charles E., 419 n.
- Debt, national, 13 (pp. 44-46, 56), 264 [6], 329
- Defense, Department of, 159, 193, 375 [6], 408 [1], 412, 432 n., 440
 - Appropriations, 6 [20], 13 (p. 45), 44, 118, 329, 410, 518 [4], 556
 - Cost reduction program, 13 (pp. 44, 48), 121, 232, 324, 329, 410
 - Project 100,000, 92

Index

[Main references are to items except as otherwise indicated]

- Defense, Department of—Continued
 - Project Transition, veterans, 345
 - Spending. *See* Defense spending
- Defense, national. *See* National security
- Defense, Secretary of (Robert S. McNamara), 25, 80 *ftn.* (p. 261), 92, 103, 116, 121, 134, 159, 163, 167, 189, 195, 205, 208, 232, 241, 248 *n.*, 254 *n.*, 255, 279, 286, 309, 310, 321, 322, 324, 326, 329, 331, 345, 352, 360, 372, 379, 384, 410, 420, 434, 485 [1-3, 5, 6], 492, 493, 529
- Memorandums, 89, 412, 441, 504
- News conference remarks, 6 [16-18], 70 [1, 3, 7], 104 [2, 12, 14], 132 [8], 204 [1, 2, 5], 225 [2], 312 [3], 358 [10], 375 [1, 2, 5, 6, 12, 19], 408 [1], 417 [14], 518 [4, 16]
- Resignation, 518 [5, 13], 554 [15]
- World Bank, nomination as President, 511, 518 [5], 554 [15]
- Defense Contract Audit Agency, 315 *n.*
- Defense Establishment, 511
- Defense Planning Committee of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, 204 *ftn.* (p. 497)
- Defense spending, 13 (pp. 41, 43, 46), 16 (pp. 76-77), 193, 225 [3], 329, 330 [1], 417 [1], 524
 - Economic impact, 16 (p. 81)
 - News conference remarks, 6 [12, 13]
- Defense Supply Agency, 315 *n.*
- Deferments, selective service, 92
- De Gaulle, Charles (President of France), 554 [5, 10]
- DeGrove, John, 4 *n.*
- de la Garza, Repr. Eligio, 408 [1, 5, 8]
- Delaware, Gov. Charles L. Terry, 121 *n.*
- Delinquency, National Council on Crime and, 276
- Dellinger, David, 554 [8]
- Demilitarized Zone, Vietnam, 225 [20]
- Deming, Frederick L., 371
- Democratic Governors conference, 296, 297
- Democratic National Committee, 34 [8], 150, 225 [19], 421
- Democratic Party, 216, 281, 296, 514
 - Conferences, 514
 - Dinners, 150, 251, 270, 421
 - Finances, 281
 - Platform, 34, [4], 281, 296, 460 [14]
- Democratic Party—Continued
 - Record in office, 150, 251, 296, 421, 514, 534
- Demonstration cities. *See* Model cities program
- Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966, 121
- Dempsey, Jack, 315
- Dempsey, Gov. John N., 222 *n.*, 223 [1, 2, 11]
- Denmark, Prime Minister Jens Otto Krag, 278
- Dennis, Dr. James L., 419 *n.*
- Dent, Dr. Albert, 500
- Dental care, 13 (p. 53), 16 (p. 85), 114
- Denton, Texas, 408 [1]
- Department of Defense Appropriation Act, 1968, 410
- Department of the Interior and Related Agencies Appropriation Act, 1968, 417 [1]
- Department of Transportation Act of 1966, 149
- Departments of Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare Appropriation Act, 1968, 217 *n.*, 479
- Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, the Judiciary, and Related Agencies Appropriation Act, 1968, 482
- Deposit Insurance Corporation, Federal, 16 (p. 87)
- Depreciation allowances, 6 [13, 17], 104 [1], 329
 - Message to Congress, 103
- Depressions, 156, 286
- Deschutes National Forest, Oreg., 418
- Desegregation. *See* Integration
- De Seynes, Philippe, 230
- Des Moines, Iowa, 358 [9]
- Detachment ALFA, Mine Squadron Eleven, USN, 424
- De Tocqueville, Alexis, 349 *n.*, 415
- Detroit, Mich., 114, 535
 - Civil disorders, 328 [2], 466
 - Armed Forces use, 321, 322, 328 [2], 331
 - Disaster relief, 325, 328 [20]
 - Remarks, 322, 326, 331
- Mayor Jerome P. Cavanagh, 321, 322, 325, 328 [5, 14]

Index

[Main references are to items except as otherwise indicated]

- Developing nations, 495 [5]
 - Agricultural programs, 33
 - Assistance, 13 (p. 49), 16 (p. 80), 157, 175, 271, 346, 423, 442, 491, 519, 545
 - Economic and social development, 13 (p. 49), 16 (p. 80), 390, 442, 545
 - Food needs, 13 (p. 49), 33, 272, 448, 476
 - Health, 13 (p. 49)
 - Investments, 469
 - Population, 272
 - United Nations aid, 488
- Development, International Bank for Reconstruction and, 13 (p. 49), 33, 44, 153, 401
- Development, National Advisory Council on Education Professions, 396
- Development, Organization for Economic Cooperation and, 33, 44
- Development, United Nations Conference on Trade and, 100
- Development Association, International, 13 (p. 49) 16 (p. 80)
- Development and Resources Corporation, 73
- Development Standards, Commission on Codes, Zoning, Taxation and, 4, 16 (p. 84)
- De Vries, Lucien (Governor of Surinam), 178
- Diaz Ordaz, Gustavo (President of Mexico), 47, 70 [4], 408 [1, 7], 453, 454 n.
 - Visit, 447, 448, 449, 451, 452
- Diaz Ordaz, Mrs. Gustavo, 447, 449, 449 n., 451, 452, 453
- Dickinson, John, 68
- DiLuzio, Frank C., 227
- Diori Hamani (President of Niger), 400, 403
- Diori Hamani, Madame, 400, 403
- Dirksen, Sen. Everett McK., 6 [17], 7, 236, 278, 495 [14], 546
 - Dinner honoring, 502
- Disabled. *See* Handicapped persons
- Disadvantaged Children, National Advisory Council on the Education of, 77, 183 n.
- Disarmament. *See* Arms control and disarmament
- Disarmament Agency, United States Arms Control and, 59
- Disarmament Committee, Eighteen-Nation, 64, 80 [2], 204 [4], 340, 365, 367
- Disaster relief, Detroit civil disorders, 325, 328 [20]
- Disaster Relief Act, 325 n.
- Disaster Warning System, National, 31 n.
- Disasters, natural
 - Earthquake, Alaska, 369
 - Floods, 300
 - Alaska, 369
 - Mexico, 408, 447, 449, 451
 - Texas, 408
 - Hurricanes
 - Mexico, 408
 - Texas, 408
 - Prediction and control, 31 n., 120, 303, 329, 408 [5]
 - Relief, 133 n., 138, 369, 408, 449, 451
 - Tornadoes, Midwest, 187
- Disease prevention, 6 [15], 13 (pp. 53, 59), 77, 110, 271, 286, 477, 479, 520, 532, 554 [12]
 - See also specific diseases*
- Disosway, Gen. Gabriel P., 485 [7]
- Dissent, right of, 495 [13], 502, 554 [8]
- Distinguished Federal Civilian Service, President's Award for, 317
- Distinguished Service Medal, 308, 567
- District of Columbia, 307, 377, 406
 - Budget, 15, 71, 247
 - Chanceries, 71
 - Commissioner Walter N. Tobriner, 372 n.
 - Commissioner Walter E. Washington, 406, 411 [1], 466, 544, 575
 - Congressional representation, 71
 - Council, swearing in, 406, 466
 - Courts, 15, 71, 350
 - Crime, 15, 27, 71, 337, 466, 575
 - Education, 15, 350, 399
 - Government
 - Reorganization, 71, 225 [22], 247, 307, 337, 339, 341
 - Safety award, 265
 - Health and welfare, 15, 71, 574
 - Home rule, 13 (p. 56), 15, 71, 247
 - Housing, 15 n., 180, 372
 - Medicaid participation, 574
 - Messages to Congress, 15, 71, 247
 - Police, 15, 27, 71, 441, 466
 - Recreation, 15
 - Transportation, 15, 71, 154

Index

[Main references are to items except as otherwise indicated]

- District of Columbia—Continued
 - Vietnam peace demonstrations, 441
- District of Columbia, President's Commission on Crime in the, 15, 27, 71
- District of Columbia Bureau of Criminal Statistics, 71
- District of Columbia Council on Human Relations, 15
- District of Columbia Department of Corrections, 71
- District of Columbia General Hospital, 15
- District of Columbia Judicial Council, 71
- District of Columbia Public Library, 15
- District Youth Services Office, 71
- Dixon, James, 193
- Doar, John, 328 [19]
- Dobrynin, Anatoly F., 18 n., 279, 282, 425
- Docking, Gov. Robert B., 485 [6]
- Dolby, Mr. and Mrs. Charles L., 407 n.
- Dolby, Daniel, 407 n.
- Dolby, Sgt. David C., 407
- Dole, Repr. Robert, 33
- Dollar stability, 411 [11], 417 [5], 524
- Dominican Republic, 44, 100, 261, 436
 - President Joaquin Balaguer, 436
- Dominican Republic-Puerto Rican Economic Commission, Joint, 436
- Domino theory, 519
- Donahue, Thomas R., 97
- Donovan, William J., 502
- Doran, Adron, 396 n.
- Dorn, Repr. W. J. Bryan, 374
- Doughboy Station, Fort Benning, Ga., 485 [1]
- Douglas, John W., 411 [2]
- Douglas, Paul H., 4, 16 (p. 84)
- Douglas, Justice William O., 256
- Downing, Repr. Thomas N., 485 [8]
- Downs, Anthony, 4 n.
- Doyle, Jack, 324 n.
- Draft. *See* Selective Service System
- Drapeau, Jean, 237
- Draco Oil Tools, Inc., 231 n.
- Driver, William J. (Administrator of Veterans Affairs), 25, 161, 374, 493
- Drug Administration, Food and, 35, 57, 77
- Drugs, 3 (p. 7), 12
 - Addiction, 35, 285, 382
- Drugs—Continued
 - Consumer protection, 214
 - Control, 35, 71, 94
 - Inventories, 121
 - Reaction monitoring, worldwide, 214, 215
- Drugs, Information and Education Center on Narcotic and Dangerous (HEW), 35
- Dubinsky, David, 30, 484
- "Duck stamps," 547
- Dugan, Frank J., 170 fn. (p. 439), 207, 310
- Dulles, Allen, 502 n.
- Dulles, John Foster, 495 [14]
- Duncan, John B., 81, 466
- Dunlop, John T., 174, 188, 204 [5], 207, 310
- Dupuy, Pierre, 237, 238
- Durfee, Judge James R., 5
- "E" Awards, 231
- Early Bird satellite, 346
- Earthquake Information Center, National, 31 n.
- East-West relations, 162
- Ebert, Dr. Robert H., 500
- Eckler, A. Ross, 498
- Eckstein, Otto, 87 n.
- Economic Advisers. *See* Council of Economic Advisers
- Economic Affairs, Joint United States-Japan Committee on Trade and, 381, 491
- Economic assistance, 44, 423, 442, 469, 489
 - China, Republic of, 219
 - Developing nations, 13 (p. 49), 491
 - Iran, 509
 - Message to Congress, 44
 - Middle East, 264 [10]
- Economic Commission, Joint Dominican Republic-Puerto Rican, 436
- Economic Cooperation and Development, Organization for, 33, 44
- Economic Development Act of 1965, 223 [4]
- Economic growth. *See* Economy, national
- Economic Opportunity, National Advisory Council on, 87 n., 114
- Economic Opportunity, Office of, 13 (p. 54), 27, 77, 114, 193, 199, 203, 412
- Appropriations, 55
- Report to Congress, 277

Index

[Main references are to items except as otherwise indicated]

- Economic Opportunity, Office of, Director (R. Sargent Shriver, Jr.), 12, 39, 77, 87 n., 114, 199, 211, 258, 259, 286, 291
Memorandums, 259, 412
- Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, 15, 87, 91, 114, 199, 353, 378
- Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1967, 114, 119 n., 358 [3]
- Economic Opportunity Council, 114
- Economic Report to Congress, 16
Comments, 6, 121
- Economy, national, 3 (p. 2), 48 n., 55, 114, 199, 286, 420, 427, 495, 498, 525, 556
Growth, 3 (p. 7), 13 (pp. 39, 43, 51), 16 (pp. 72, 76, 77), 224, 244, 270, 329, 376, 460 [1, 12], 465, 512, 524, 554 [13]
- Impact of
 - Credit restrictions, 13 (p. 43)
 - Defense spending, 16 (p. 81)
 - Foreign assistance, 16 (p. 81)
 - Imports, 99
 - Railroad labor dispute, 170, 188, 194, 207, 310
 - Vietnam conflict, 6 [12], 13 (p. 40), 16 (pp. 74, 75, 77, 87), 89, 430, 524
- Inflation. *See* Inflation
- Messages to Congress, 16, 329
- News conference remarks, 6, 70 [6], 312 [4], 375 [11], 417 [5], 554 [13]
- Stabilization, 430
- Statistics, 13 (p. 57), 121
- See also* Fiscal and monetary policy
- Economy measures. *See* Cost reduction programs
- Edison, Thomas, 388
- Education, 13 (p. 55), 81, 82, 117, 185, 266, 267, 270, 286, 413, 421, 423, 448, 490, 492, 493, 495 [5], 498, 532, 540, 554 [12]
- Adult, 77, 277
- Appropriations and expenditures, 13 (pp. 46, 55), 82, 201, 211, 223 [6], 258, 261, 266, 286, 291, 329, 423, 448, 452, 490
- Children and youth, 3 (pp. 2, 5), 13 (p. 55), 15, 16 (p. 85), 53, 55, 77, 110, 114, 183, 222, 277, 286, 292, 423, 452, 479, 532, 540
- Education—Continued
 - Cooperation. *See* Government cooperation with business, education, and labor
 - District of Columbia, 15, 350, 399
 - Equal opportunity, 16 (p. 76), 554 [6]
 - Exchanges, international. *See* Exchange programs
 - Federal aid, 13 (p. 55), 16 (pp. 75, 82), 35, 67, 77, 114, 164, 193, 223 [6], 304, 378, 396 n., 490, 495 [5], 532, 534, 540
 - Foreign assistance, 44
 - Government employees, 121, 184
 - Health, 217
 - Legislation, 13 (p. 55), 77, 82, 204 [15], 216, 270, 286, 291, 358 [3], 413, 423, 452, 484, 490
 - Medical personnel, 15
 - Message to Congress, 77, 78
 - Military, 25
 - Negroes, 55
 - Physical, 160
 - Research, 540
 - Rural, 479
 - School dropouts, 55, 193, 199, 413, 532, 540
 - Science, 165, 217, 230
 - Television, 3 (p. 6), 13 (p. 55), 77, 176, 346, 474, 477, 492, 559
 - Urban, 479
 - Veterans, 25, 345, 374
- Education, International Conference on the World Crisis in, 423
- Education, National Advisory Council on Extension and Continuing, 185
- Education, Office of, 77, 82, 164, 193, 304 n.
- Education of Disadvantaged Children, National Advisory Council on the, 77, 183 n.
- "Education of Henry Adams, The," Henry Adams, 344
- Education and Labor, House Committee on, 338 n.
- Education Professions Development, National Advisory Council on, 396
- Education Professions Development Act, 77, 292
- Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, United Nations, 198 n.

Index

[Main references are to items except as otherwise indicated]

- Educational Broadcasters, National Association of, 474
Educational Opportunity Grants program, 304 n.
Educators, Foreign Policy Conference for, 272
Edwards, Corwin D., 342 n.
Egan, Gov. William, 369
Egypt. *See* United Arab Republic
Ehrenkrantz, Ezra, 4 n.
Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee, 64, 80 [2], 204 [4], 367
 U.S. Representative, 64 n., 340, 365, 367
Eilberg, Repr. Joshua, 291
Eilers, Col. A. J., 210
Einstein, Albert, 266
Eisenhower, President Dwight D., 3 (p. 9), 16 (p. 88), 38, 44, 83, 99, 110, 143, 158 n., 233, 236, 248 n., 251, 281, 358 [10], 409, 425, 495 [14], 502, 510 n., 515, 518 [3, 14]
Eisenhower, Milton, 474
Eisenhower Lock, St. Lawrence Seaway, 398
El Paso, Texas, 451, 452, 460 [2]
El Salvador, 44
El Toro Marine Base, Santa Ana, Calif., 485 [2], 493
Elco Corp., 231 n.
Election Campaign Fund, Advisory Board on the Presidential, 236
Election reform bills, 236
Elections
 1855, 538
 1964, 281, 554 [1, 11]
 1968, 225 [19], 297 [13], 375 [15], 460 [10], 495 [8], 518 [11, 16], 554 [9]
 Candidates. *See specific candidates*
 Primaries, 495 [10]
 Financing of campaigns, 204 [8], 236
 Message to Congress, 236
 Presidential, 236
 Procedural reform, 3 (p. 6)
Electric Cooperative Association, National Rural, 267
Electric power, 286, 342, 515
 Blackouts, 57, 253
 Rural, 13 (p. 50), 267, 270
Electrification Administration, Rural, 13 (pp. 46, 51)
Electron volt accelerator, 515
Electronic eavesdropping, 3 (p. 6), 35
Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, 13 (p. 55), 16 (p. 85), 39, 77, 120, 193, 199, 353, 532
Elementary and Secondary Education Amendments of 1967, 204 fn. (p. 502)
Eliot, George, 306
Elizabeth II, Queen (United Kingdom), 540 n.
Ellender, Sen. Allen J., 405, 533
Ellington, Gov. Buford, 87 n., 115-117
Ellington, Mrs. Buford, 115
Ellis, Clyde T., 267
Emergency Planning, Office of, 508
Emergency Planning, Office of, Director (Farris Bryant), 92, 121, 123, 187, 222, 223 [2, 7], 296, 325 n., 328 [20], 408 [1], 558
 Memorandum, 186
Emerson, Ralph Waldo, 158, 323, 344, 347 n., 364, 514
Emphysema, 20
Employer of the Year award, 388
Employment, 16 (p. 79), 81, 97, 276
 Community action programs, 114
 Construction industry, 199
 Equal opportunity, 12, 16 (p. 76), 55, 95, 354, 548
 Federal. *See* Government employees
 Full employment, 16 (p. 82)
 Handicapped persons, 199, 388, 413
 Increase, 3 (p. 2), 13 (p. 39), 16 (pp. 72, 73, 88), 63, 97, 121, 199, 270, 354, 393, 534, 554 [13]
 Military personnel, 199
 Older persons, 12, 114, 199, 548
 Public assistance recipients, 16 (p. 83), 114
 Rural, 114
 Skilled workers, 16 (p. 74)
 Statistics, 57
 State, 199
 Students, 378
 Teachers, 292, 396
 Veterans, 345, 374, 432, 493

Index

[Main references are to items except as otherwise indicated]

- Employment—Continued
 - Women, 93, 95
 - Work-study programs, 13 (p. 55), 39, 77, 378
 - Work-training programs, 13 (p. 54), 55, 114, 199
 - Youth, 39, 114, 199, 203, 277
- Employment Act of 1946, 16 (p. 89)
- Employment of the Handicapped, President's Committee on, 388
- Employment Opportunity Commission, Equal, 55
- Employment Service, United States, 13 (p. 54)
- Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., 540
- Endowment for the Arts, National, 53
- Endowment for the Humanities, National, 54, 77
- Energy resources policy, 20
- Engel, Annette, 396 n.
- Engineering Development, National Council for Marine Resources and, 20, 101, 240
- Engineers, Corps of, 6 [5, 10, 13], 120, 240, 408 [2, 4]
- Enterprise*, U.S.S., 484, 485 [5], 493, 494, 495 [3]
- Environmental Research, Institutes for, 31 n.
- Environmental Satellite Center, National, 31 n.
- Environmental Science Services Administration, 31
- Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 55, 258
- Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Chairman (Clifford L. Alexander, Jr.), 291, 333, 460 [1]
- Equal justice, message to Congress, 55, 56
- Equal opportunity, 261, 270, 297 fn. (p. 673), 450, 481
 - Education, 16 (p. 76), 554 [6]
 - Employment, 12, 16 (p. 76), 55, 95, 354
 - Mexican-Americans, 452
 - Negroes, 55, 463
 - Voting rights, 55
 - Women, 475
- Equal Pay Act of 1963, 548
- Erhard, Ludwig, 306, 554 [5]
- Eriksson, Leif, 313 n.
- Ethiopia, 51, 52, 245
- EURATOM (European Community of Atomic Energy), 64
- Europe, Cooperative for American Remittances to, 153
- Europe, Eastern
 - INTELSAT participation, 346
 - Relations with U.S., 3 (p. 10), 34 [5], 225 [18], 346
 - Relations with the West, 272
 - Trade exhibitions, 245
 - Trade with U.S., 3 (p. 10), 16 (p. 80), 80 [2], 157, 225 [18], 231
- Europe, Western, 306 n., 508
 - Defense, 347, 351
 - Economic and political integration, 306 n., 351
 - Post-war recovery, 519
 - Relations with U.S., 390, 554 [5]
 - U.S. forces, 348
- European Community of Atomic Energy (EURATOM), 64
- European Economic Community, 246 n., 250, 442, 508, 545
- Excavation technology, 20
- Exchange Commission, Securities and, 57, 103, 104 [1]
- Exchange programs
 - Cultural, 272, 344
 - Educational, 77, 344
 - Report, 344
 - Students, 143 n., 344
 - Teachers, 344
- Excise taxes, 6 [17], 16 (p. 76), 329, 420
- Executive branch, 11, 99
 - Appropriations, 140, 417, 518 [9], 556
 - Congressional relations, 417 [4]
 - Message to Congress, 121
- Executive Branch of the Government, Commission on Organization of the, 99, 121
- Executive Institute, Federal, 184 n.
- Executive orders
 - Commission on Postal Organization, 168
 - Department of Transportation Act, effective date, 149
 - Federal Council for Science and Technology, enlargement, 478

Index

[Main references are to items except as otherwise indicated]

- Executive orders—Continued
 List, Appendix B., p. 1221
 National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, 327
 President's Advisory Council on Cost Reduction, 232
- Exhibitions, special international, 245
- Expenditures. *See* Spending, Government
- EXPO '67 (Canadian Universal and International Exhibition), 237, 238, 239, 245
- Export Expansion Council, National, 231
- Export-Import Bank of Washington, 13 (p. 49), 16 (p. 81), 176
- Exports, 13 (pp. 49, 51), 228, 231, 329, 451, 476, 508, 524
 Agricultural, 63
 Increase, 231
 Surplus, 3 (p. 8), 16 (pp. 75, 81)
- Eyring, Henry, 37 n.
- Fabric safety, 57, 200, 342, 393, 465, 499, 520, 534, 539
- Fahy, Charles, 174, 188, 204 [5], 207, 301
- Fair Deal, 251, 281
- Fair Labor Standards Act, 114
- FAIR (fair and impartial random) selective service, 92, 205
- Fairhall, Allen, 562
- Falcon Dam, 408 [5]
- Fallon, Repr. George H., 286
- Families with dependent children, aid (AFDC), 16 (p. 83)
- Family planning, 469
- Family relocation aid, 353
- Fanfani, Amintore, 278, 389, 390, 391, 572
- Far East. *See* Asia, South Asia, and Southeast Asia
- Farah, Empress (Iran), 364
- Farm Credit Administration, 315 n.
- Farm Credit Administration, Governor (R. B. Tootell), 156
- Farm programs. *See* Agriculture and agricultural programs
- Farmers, 228, 525
 Leaders, remarks, 63
 Social security, 12
- Farmers Home Administration, 120
- Faulkner, William, 442
- Fauntroy, Rev. Walter E., 406, 466
- Federal aid, 3 (p. 4), 121, 123, 124, 203, 222, 223 [6, 13]
 Appalachia, 11, 514, 576
 Child welfare, 39
 Colleges, 413, 423, 490
 Disaster relief, 408 [1]
 Education, 13 (p. 55), 16 (pp. 75, 82), 35, 67, 70 [6], 71, 77, 114, 164, 193, 223 [6], 304, 378, 396 n., 490, 495 [5], 532, 534, 540
 Family relocation, 353
 Health, 223 [6], 477
 Highways, 6 [3, 10], 114, 120
 Hospitals, 13 (p. 53), 419
 Libraries, 507
 Multi-county planning, 114
 Occupational training, 91
 Police, 482, 530
 Processing time, 458
 Rural development, 114
 States, 458, 576
 Students, 148, 378, 413, 423
 Transportation, 542
 Urban, 16 (p. 85), 114, 179, 328 [14, 17, 26], 353, 358 [8], 380, 458, 467
- Federal Aviation Administration, 392
- Federal Aviation Agency, 139 n., 265
- Federal Aviation Agency, Administrator (William F. McKee), 265, 392
- Federal Budget, Commission on the, 85
- Federal Bureau of Investigation, 105, 146, 326
- Federal Bureau of Investigation, Director (J. Edgar Hoover), 34 [1], 105, 146, 204 [14], 275, 326, 385, 530
- Federal Campaign, Combined, 288
- Federal Children's Bureau, 39
- Federal Civilian Service, President's Award for Distinguished, 317
- Federal Communications Commission, 77, 346
- Federal Corrupt Practices Act, 236
- Federal Council on the Arts and the Humanities, 274
- Federal Council for Science and Technology, 478
- Federal Credit Union Act, amendment, 537
- Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, 16 (p. 87)

Index

[Main references are to items except as otherwise indicated]

- Federal employees. *See* Government employees
- Federal Executive Institute, 184 n.
- Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act, 57
- Federal Home Loan Bank Board, 3 (p. 8), 6 [11], 16 (p. 87), 88, 315 n., 420
- Federal Home Loan Bank Board, Chairman (John E. Horne), 420
- Federal Home Loan Bank System, 420
- Federal Housing Administration, 88
- Federal Judicial Center, 35, 560
- Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, 104 [15]
- Federal National Mortgage Association, 88, 114, 179
- Federal Power Commission, 57, 253
- Federal Power Commission, Chairman (Lee C. White), 288
- Memorandum, 186
- Federal Prison Industries, 71
- Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act, 236
- Federal Reserve System, 3 (p. 8), 6 [18], 16 (pp. 75, 81), 70 [6], 312 [4], 329, 420
- Federal Reserve System, Board of Governors, 16 (p. 87), 88-89, 103, 104 [1, 9], 330 [1], 371, 411 [11]
- Federal Reserve System, Board of Governors, Chairman (William McC. Martin, Jr.), 6 [18], 104 [9], 329, 371, 420
- Federal Staff Retirement Systems, Cabinet Committee on, 25
- Federal-State-local governmental responsibilities, 121
- Antipoverty programs, 297 [10]
- Civil rights enforcement, 55
- Community development, 372
- Creative federalism, 13 (p. 57), 296
- Crime control, 3 (p. 6), 35, 222
- Economic, 576
- Education, 77, 117
- Health programs, 77
- Law enforcement, 297 [7], 382
- Manpower development, 16 (p. 83), 199
- Older persons, 296
- Pollution control, 20
- Rural development, 114
- Veterans' employment, 345
- Federal-State-local relations, 3 (p. 4), 11, 13 (pp. 57-58), 121, 123-125, 148, 223 [1, 7, 8, 12], 234, 297 [5], 458
- Federal system of government, 13 (p. 58)
- Federal Trade Commission, 518 [2]
- Federal Water Pollution Control Administration, 13 (pp. 51, 57)
- Federal Woman's Award, 93
- Federal Woman's Award Study Group, 95
- Federation of Commercial, Clerical, and Technical Employees, International, 442
- Feed grains, 13 (p. 50)
- Fellowship Advisory Board, Urban Studies, 359
- Fellowships and scholarships, 1, 13 (p. 55), 148, 217, 359, 451, 490
- Fermi, Enrico, 391
- Fermi, Mrs. Enrico, 515
- Fernandez, Sp4c. Daniel, 166
- Fernandez, Mr. and Mrs. Jose I., 166
- Fiber, National Advisory Commission on Food and, 525
- Fiber production, 305
- Fields, Maj. Gen. Lewis J., 485 [3]
- Finance, Senate Committee on, 137 n.
- Fire safety bill, 57, 342
- Firearms control, 3 (p. 7), 35, 71, 326, 353, 382, 385, 468, 482, 560, 575
- 1st Cavalry Division (Airmobile), 384, 407
- 1st Squadron, 4th Cavalry, 1st Infantry Division, 226
- Fiscal and monetary policy, 63, 88, 121, 371, 420, 497, 524, 556
- International reserves, 519, 545
- Messages to Congress, 13, 16
- Fish Protein Concentrate Act, 101 fn. (p. 298)
- Fish protein concentrates, 33, 101, 176
- Fisher, Maj. and Mrs. Bernard F., 9
- Fishing agreement, United States-Mexico, 451
- Fisk, Dr. James B., 416 n.
- FitzGerald, Desmond, 383
- FitzGerald, Mrs. Desmond, 383
- Fitzhugh, Gilbert W., 380
- Flammable Fabrics Act amendment, 57, 342, 393, 465, 534, 539
- Fleming, Robert H., 518 [7]

Index

[Main references are to items except as otherwise indicated]

- Fletcher, Thomas W., 377, 406, 411 [1], 466
- Fletcher, Mrs. Thomas W., 406
- Floods, 300
- Alaska, 369
- Control, 31 n., 120, 303, 329, 408 [5]
- Mexico-United States Cooperation, 303, 408, 447, 449, 451
- Fogarty, John A., 420 n.
- Fogarty, Repr. John E., 3 (p. 2), 39
- Death, 2
- Fogarty International Center for Advanced Study in the Health Sciences, 217
- Follow Through (Project Head Start), 13 (p. 54), 16 (p. 85), 39, 55, 77, 114
- Fong, Sen. Hiram L., 555
- Food
- Developing nations, 13 (p. 49), 33, 272
- India, 44, 63
- Marine resources, 20, 101, 491
- Overseas distribution, 3 (p. 11), 33, 44, 63, 153, 156, 157, 228, 264 [19], 271, 287, 423, 469, 476, 496, 525
- Prices, 3 (p. 8), 63, 228
- Production, 13 (p. 49), 63, 271, 305, 448, 476, 496, 554 [12]
- Protein fortification, 33, 101, 176
- Research, 449 n.
- School programs, 39, 63, 228, 353
- Stamps, 63, 353, 405
- Surpluses, 469
- World needs, 448, 449, 469, 476
- Food and Agriculture Act of 1965, 156, 228
- Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, 33
- Food and Drug Administration, 35, 57, 77, 214 n., 215
- Food and Fiber, National Advisory Commission on, 525
- Food for freedom, 33, 63, 264 [19]
- Food Fund, Agricultural, 33
- Food Panel, World, report foreword, 271
- Food for peace. *See* Food for freedom
- Food for Peace Act of 1966, 157
- Food Stamp Act of 1964, amendment, 405
- Football, 480
- Ford, Repr. Gerald R., 7, 236, 495 [9], 502
- Ford Foundation, 375 [17], 449 n.
- Foreign Affairs, House Committee on, 195, 358 [10], 375 [16]
- Foreign assistance, 44, 157, 401, 423, 469, 489, 524
- Afghanistan, 143 n., 144 n.
- Appropriations, 375 [16], 417 [1], 489, 495 [12]
- Asia, 13 (pp. 46, 48), 44
- China, Republic of, 219
- Developing nations, 16 (p. 80), 271, 442, 491, 519
- Economic impact in U.S., 16 (p. 81)
- Greece, 44, 107, 108, 158
- India, 3 (p. 10), 44, 153
- Iran, 509
- Korea, 44, 113, 563
- Latin America, 44, 152, 173, 175, 176, 357
- Message to Congress, 44, 45
- Middle East, 264 [10]
- Pakistan, 3 (p. 10), 44
- Self-help, 44
- Turkey, 44, 158, 162
- Vietnam, 13 (p. 49), 44
- Foreign Assistance Act of 1967, 44 n., 489
- Foreign leaders. *See* Joint statements with foreign leaders; Visitors, foreign leaders
- Foreign policy, U.S., 3 (p. 9), 46, 169, 261, 425, 442, 464, 484, 495 [14], 519
- Africa, 3 (p. 9)
- Asia, 357, 434, 446, 460 [9], 519
- China, Communist, 312 [15], 554 [14]
- Conference for business executives, 519
- Congo, 519
- Europe, 3 (p. 10)
- Israel, 554 [3]
- Middle East 3 (p. 9), 233, 251, 264 [1, 10, 12], 270, 272, 278, 279, 281, 488
- Soviet Union, 282
- Vietnam. *See* Vietnam, North; Vietnam, South
- Foreign Policy Conference for Educators, 272
- Foreign Relations, Council on, 306 n.
- Foreign Relations, Senate Committee on, 34 [7], 195, 204 fn. (p. 497), 358 [10], 375 [16], 495 [14]
- Foreign Service, 464, 495 [14]
- Foreign Service Day, 464
- Forests, national, 418
- Formosa (Taiwan). *See* China, Republic of
- Forrest, Iren, 87 n.
- Forrestal, James V., 241

Index

[Main references are to items except as otherwise indicated]

- Forrestal, James V.*, U.S.S., 330 [1]
 Fort Benning, Ga., 485 [1], 493
 Fort DeRussy, Hawaii, 440
 Fort Des Moines, Iowa, 475
 Fortas, Justice Abe, 264 [9], 335, 406, 512
 Fossil fuels, 186
 Foster, William C. (Director, Arms Control and Disarmament Agency), 64 n., 340, 365, 367
 Foster grandparent programs, 12, 39, 114
 Foundation for Science and Technology, Inter-American, 176
 Foundations, taxes, 16 (p. 86)
 Four freedoms, 105, 112 n.
 Fowler, Judge Conrad M., 419 n.
 Fowler, Henry H. *See* Treasury, Secretary of the
 France
 President Charles de Gaulle, 554 [5, 10]
 Prices, 430
 Relations with U.S., 63, 554 [10]
 Franklin, Benjamin, 204 [13]
 Franklin, John Hope, 81
 Franklin D. Roosevelt Birthday Memorial Award, 21
 Fraternal organizations, remarks, 397
 Free enterprise system, 57, 268
 Freedmen's Hospital, District of Columbia, 15
 Freeman, Mrs. Frankie Muse, 81
 Freedom Share savings note, 66
 Freeman, Gaylord A., 252 n., 500
 Freeman, Orville L. *See* Agriculture, Secretary of
 French, Daniel Chester, 49
 Friedel, Repr. Samuel N., 286
 Friedkin, Joseph F., 408 [5]
 Friendship, United States-Mexico Commission for Border Development and, 451
 Fucino, Italy, 389
 Fuels
 Additives, air pollution control, 20
 Fossil, 186
 Nuclear, 515
 Fulbright, Sen. J. William, 112, 278, 554 [1]
 Fulton, Repr. and Mrs. Richard H., 115
 Furness, Betty, 86, 200, 342, 393, 465, 499, 539, 541
 Furr, Roy, 448 n.
 Gallery of Art, National, 470
 Gallipolis, Ohio, 558
 Gallup, George H., 466, 495 [2]
 Gallup poll, 297 [13], 328 [3, 11]
 Garcia, Dr. Hector P., 87 n., 452
 Garfield, James A., 68
 Garmatz, Repr. Edward A., 286
 Garner, John Nance, death, 471
 Garrison, James, 80 [6]
 Gary, Ind., 20
 Gas pipeline safety, 57, 200, 342, 393, 430, 465, 499, 520, 534, 539
 GATT. *See* General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
 Gaud, William S. (Administrator, Agency for International Development), 352
 Gaza Strip, 233
 Gemini space program, 24, 431 n.
 General Accounting Office, 236
 General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, 142, 224, 508
 See also Kennedy Round trade negotiations
 General Assembly. *See* United Nations
 General Electric Co., 197
 General Services Administration, 315 n., 412
 Spending cutbacks, 6 [7]
 General Services Administrator (Lawson B. Knott, Jr.), 16 (p. 87), 121, 232, 372, 412, 504
 Genesis, Book of, 515
 Geneva, Switzerland, 340
 Geneva accords
 Laos (1962), 439, 564
 Vietnam and prisoners of war, 34 [2], 80 [4], 83, 116, 118, 144, 145, 312 fn. (p. 702), 366, 462, 564
 Gentry, Louise, 342 n.
 Geodetic Survey, Coast and, 31 n.
 Geodetic Survey, Inter-American, 336
 Georgia, Gov. Lester G. Maddox, 297 [2], 485 [1]
 Geothermal steam, 20
 German measles, 319
 Germany, West, 545
 Ambassador Heinrich Knappstein, 349
 Chancellor Kurt Georg Kiesinger, 181, 191, 204 [2-4], 264 [18], 312 [2], 347-349, 351, 371, 373, 554 [5]

Index

[Main references are to items except as otherwise indicated]

- Germany, West—Continued
 Defense, 272, 306 n.
 Erhard, Ludwig (former Chancellor), 306
 Foreign relations, 347 n.
 President Heinrich Luebke, 181
 Prices, 430
 Relations with U.S., 191, 306 n., 347-349, 351
 Reunification, 351
 U.S. forces, 204 [2, 3] 348, 519, 554 [5]
 Vice Chancellor Willy Brandt, 347-349, 351
 Visit, 191
Gestido, Oscar D. (President of Uruguay), 171, 175 n., 176
 Death, 523
Ghana, Republic of, Chairman, National Liberation Council, Lt. Gen. Joseph A. Ankrah, 426
GI bill of rights. *See* Veterans' Readjustment Benefits Act of 1966
Giap, General. *See* Vo Nguyen Giap
Gibbon, Edward, 256
Gill, Lt. Gov. Thomas P., 555
Ginsburg, David, 168 n., 170 fn. (p. 439), 204 [5], 207, 310, 328 [1]
Girls Nation, 332
Glass, sheet, tariffs, 16 (p. 79), 428
Glassboro, N.J., 279-283, 554 [2]
GNP. *See* Gross national product
Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von, 349
Gold, 371, 497, 524
Gold Coast, 426
Goldberg, Arthur J. *See* United Nations
Goldberg, Mrs. Arthur J., 461
Gonzalez, Repr. Henry B., 151, 449
Good Neighborhood Bridge, 454
Gordon, Kermit, 500
Gordon, Lincoln, 1
Gore, Sen. Albert, 117
Gore, Mrs. Albert, 115, 117
Gorrell, Frank C., 116
Gorton, John G., 562
Government, Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the, 121
Government cooperation with business, education, and labor, 16 (pp. 81, 89), 114, 119, 286
 Economic, 524
 Government cooperation with business, education, and labor—Continued
 Employment, 199
 Marine resources development, 101
 Pollution control, 20, 240
 Supersonic civil transport, 197
 Wage-price policy, 16 (pp. 78, 79)
Government employees
 Career development, 13 (p. 58), 121
 Combined Federal Campaign, 288
 Comments, 121, 317
 Education, 121, 184
 Employee-management cooperation, 379
 Executive assignment system, 121
 Hazardous duty benefits, 568
 Insurance, 343
 Medical care, 25
 Occupational training, 184
 Pay, 6 [13], 13 (pp. 43, 46, 47), 16 (p. 78), 121, 140, 163, 329, 330, 343, 417, 420, 546
 Retirement, 12
 Safety, 265
 Savings bond purchases, 315
 Travel allowances, 25
 Vietnam services, 25
 Women, 93, 95
 Youth, 41, 121, 148
Government management, 13 (p. 57)
Government Operations Committee, House, 337
Government, American, quality of, message, 121
Governors, 312 [5]
 Appalachia, 11
 Conferences. *See* Governors' conferences
 Democratic, 296, 297
 Midwestern, 375 [10]
 New England, 222, 223, 542
 News conference with, 223
 Presidential relations, 123
 Republicans, 297 [6]
 Westmoreland, Gen. William C., luncheon honoring, 189, 195
Governors Association, Republican, 297 [6]
Governors conferences
 Japanese, 234
 National, 234

Index

[Main references are to items except as otherwise indicated]

- Governors conferences—Continued
 - New England, 222, 223, 225 [21]
 - News conference with, 223
 - Remarks, 123–125
- Graf, Leroy, 538
- Graham, Richard, 292
- Graham, Thomas, 409
- Graham, Rev. William F. (Billy), 267
- Grain, feed, 13 (p. 50), 508
- Grains Arrangement, International, 476, 508
- Grandson, the President's. *See* Nugent, Patrick Lyndon
- Grant, Richard H., 342 n.
- Grant, Ulysses S., 57, 130, 256
- Grant-in-aid processing time, task force, 458
- Grants, 121, 123, 124
 - Research, 6 [6]
 - Student, 164
- "Grapes of Wrath," John Steinbeck, 114
- Gray, Susan W., 396 n.
- Great Lakes, pollution, 101
- Great Society, 258, 291, 514, 532, 554 [15]
- Greece
 - Assistance, 44, 107, 108, 158
 - Communist aggression, 397, 409
 - Cyprus dispute with Turkey, 100, 162, 518 fn. (p. 1093), 519, 521, 545
 - King Constantine, 108
- Greeley, Horace, 251
- Green, William, 484
- Green, Repr. William J., 291
- Green Thumb, Operation, 114
- Greene, Gen. Wallace M., Jr. (Commandant of the Marine Corps), 361, 375 [6, 19], 446
- Grissom, Lt. Col. Virgil I., death, 19, 38
- Griswold, Erwin N. (Solicitor General), 275 n., 411 [2, 8], 443
- Griswold, Mrs. Erwin N., 443
- Gromyko, Andrei A., 279–281, 283
- Gronouski, John A., 225 [18]
- Gross national product (GNP), 3 (p. 7), 13 (pp. 40, 41), 16 (pp. 73, 76–78), 55, 63, 225 [9], 312 [4], 328 [23], 329, 375 [16], 420, 484, 493, 495 [9], 532
- Guadalupe Mountains National Park, Texas, 20
- Guam, 218
 - Gov. Manuel F. L. Guerrero, 126, 134
- Guam—Continued
 - Releases, 129, 131
 - Vietnam conference, 126–128, 130–132 [1], 134–135
- Guam International Airport, 126
- Guaranteed loan program. *See* Students
- Guatemala, 44
- Guerrero, Lorenzo (President of Nicaragua), 173
- Guerrero, Gov. Manuel F. L., 126, 134
- Guerrero, Mexico, 447 n.
- Guy, Gov. William L., 419 n.
- Hagan, Richard C., 230
- Haggerty, C. J., 261
- Hague, Capt. Dennis, 9
- Haines, Gen. Ralph E., Jr., 384, 407
- Haiphong, North Vietnam, 70 [10], 308, 375 [1, 3]
- Halsted, Mrs. James, 28
- Hammerstein, Mrs. Oscar, 248 n.
- Hand, Learned, 110
- Handicapped, President's Committee on Employment of the, 388
- Handicapped persons, 388
 - Blind, 77, 413
 - Children, 13 (pp. 55, 59), 39, 77, 260, 517
 - Deaf, 77, 413
 - Employment, 199, 388, 413
 - Medical care, 3 (p. 6), 114
 - Mentally, 199, 285, 517
 - Military personnel, 25
 - Occupational training, 413
 - Rehabilitation, physical, 413
 - Widows, 12
- Hanna, Repr. Richard T., 227, 485 [2, 3]
- Hanoi, North Vietnam, 375 [1]
- Hanoi, Radio, 136 n.
- Hansberger, R. V., 252 n.
- Harlan, Justice John M., 268
- Harlem, New York City, 55
- Harley, William, 474
- Harlingen, Texas, 408
- Harmon, Col. Clifford B., 431
- Harmon International Aviation Trophies, 431
- Harmon Trust, Clifford B., 431 n.
- Harriman, W. Averell, 21, 116, 251
- Harrington Lake, 239
- Harris, Sen. Fred R., 326

Index

[Main references are to items except as otherwise indicated]

- Harris, Patricia Roberts, 81
Harris (Louis) survey, 297 [13], 502
Hart, Parker T., 158 n.
Hartke, Sen. Vance, 554 [1]
Haskew, Dr. Lawrence D., 396 n.
Haskins, Ralph W., 538 n.
Hasluck, Paul M. C., 562
Hassan II, King (Morocco), 43, 46
Hastie, Judge William H., 201
Hastings, George E., 408 [1]
Hatch Political Activity Act, 236
Hawaii
 Gov. John A. Burns, 555
 Visit, 555
Haworth, Leland J. (Director, National Science Foundation), 20
Hayden, Sen. Carl, 85 n., 413, 536
Hayes, Col. Anna Mae, 475
Haywood, Mrs. Margaret A., 406, 466 n.
Head Start. *See* Project Head Start
Health, Education, and Welfare, Department of, 6 [14], 13 (pp. 57, 59), 27, 186, 199, 215, 217 n., 223 [6], 265, 412, 432 n.
 Appropriations, 13 (p. 46), 77, 411 [10], 417 [1], 479
 Disease prevention centers, 6 [15]
 Drug inventories, 121
 Spending cutbacks, 6 [6]
Health, Education, and Welfare, Secretary of (John W. Gardner), 12, 20, 35, 39, 71, 77, 82, 114, 115, 117, 121, 147, 148, 184, 199, 214 n., 223 [2, 6], 225 [21], 258, 266, 298, 304 n., 338, 373, 413, 423, 460 [1], 474, 490, 493, 503, 517, 520, 539
 Letter, 215
 Memorandums, 186, 259, 412, 458
Health, National Institutes of, 12, 217, 319, 540
Health, Partnership for, 77
Health Agencies, National, 288
Health Facilities, National Advisory Commission on, 77, 419
Health and health programs, 13 (pp. 46, 58, 59), 267, 271, 286, 329, 412, 419, 500, 532, 540, 554 [6, 12]
 Children, 13 (p. 53), 16 (pp. 75, 85), 39, 77, 86, 160, 176, 222, 251, 353, 405
 Community services, 353
 District of Columbia, 15
Health and health programs—Continued
 Education, 217
 Expenditures, 201, 211, 217, 258, 260, 261, 286, 291, 329, 423
 Federal aid, 477
 Federal-State-local governmental responsibilities, 77
 Foreign assistance, 44
 Legislation, 270, 413, 500, 520
 Manpower development and training, 16 (p. 85), 77
 Maternal, 353, 479
 Mental, 285, 353, 373
 Message to Congress, 77, 78
 Migrant workers, 114
 Neighborhood centers, 13 (p. 53), 16 (p. 76), 77, 114, 452
 Older persons, 12, 13 (p. 53)
 Personnel training, 285
 Research, 12, 16 (p. 85), 77, 260, 319
 State, 13 (p. 53), 223 [6]
 Veterans, civilian employment, 432
Health Manpower, National Advisory Commission on, 77, 500
Health Organization, World, 214 n., 215
Health Sciences, Fogarty International Center for Advanced Study in the, 217
Health Service, Public, 13 (p. 57), 193
Health Services Research and Development, National Center for, 77
Hearnes, Gov. Warren E., 297 [1]
Heart disease, 6 [15], 77, 477
Heart Disease, Cancer and Stroke Amendments of 1965, 477
Hébert, Repr. F. Edward, 533
Hechinger, John W., 406 n., 466
Hechler, Repr. Ken, 552 n.
Helicopters, 13 (p. 48)
Helms, Richard (Director, Central Intelligence Agency), 147, 255
Hermitage, home of Andrew Jackson, 115, 116
Heroin, 35
Herrick, Maj. Gen. Curtis J., 49
Hershey, Lt. Gen. Lewis B. (Director, Selective Service System), 92, 104 [12], 205
Herter, Christian A., 142, 508
Herter, Mrs. Christian A., 545
Hess, Arthur E., 317 n.

Index

[Main references are to items except as otherwise indicated]

- Hickel, Gov. Walter J., 555
Hickenlooper, Sen. Bourke B., 204 *ftn.* (p. 500)
Higginbotham, Judge A. Leon, Jr., 291, 333
Higher Education Act of 1965, 13 (p. 55), 39, 77, 164, 185, 199, 338, 540
Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963, 77
Highway Safety Act of 1966, 57, 200, 342, 393, 465, 534
Highways
 Beautification, 20, 295
 Construction, 261, 369
 Federal aid, 6 [3, 10], 70 [6], 114, 120
 Safety, 13 (p. 52), 20, 86, 200, 534
 User charges, 16 [p. 86]
Hill, Sen. Lister, 338 *n.*, 413, 517
Hill, Murray, 416 *n.*
Hill-Burton Act (Hospital Survey and Construction Act), 12, 77, 353, 419
Hillman, Sidney, 484
Hines, Brig. Gen. Frank T., 161
Hirohito, Emperor (Japan), 381, 487
Historic landmarks preservation, 553
Historical Commission, Tennessee, 538 *n.*
Historical Publications Commission, National, 538 *n.*
History and Technology, Museum of, 540 *n.*
Hitler, Adolph, 495 [14]
Ho Chi Minh (President of North Vietnam), 80 [4], 195, 225 [5], 281, 312 [14, 16], 358 [5], 395, 409, 495 [3, 6], 534
 Letter, 135, 136
Hobby, Mrs. Oveta Culp, 475, 532
Hodges, Luther H., 268
Hoefly, Col. Ethel A., 475
Hoff, Gov. Philip H., 223 [1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 13], 544
Hoffer, Eric, 397, 490, 493
Holden, Donald, 241
Holifield, Repr. Chet, 227
Holland, food aid for India, 33
Holland, Jerome H., 184
Holland, Ransome G., 324 *n.*
Holland, Sen. Spessard L., 541
Hollybush meetings, 279-283, 286
Holmes, Adm. Ephraim P., 485 [7]
Holt, Andrew D., 538
Holt, Harold E. (Prime Minister of Australia), 246, 248, 267, 272, 329 [9], 409, 550, 551, 555, 561, 564, 565, 567, 573
 Death, 550, 551, 555, 561
 Visit, 248
Holt, Mrs. Harold E., 246, 248, 551, 561
Holyoake, Keith J. (Prime Minister of New Zealand), 409
Homaira, Queen (Afghanistan), 143-145
Home Administration, Farmers, 120
Home Health Aides (OEO), 39
Home Loan Bank Board, Federal, 3 (p. 8), 6 [11], 16 (p. 87), 88, 315 *n.*, 420
Home rule. *See* District of Columbia
Homestead Act, 397
Honduras, 44
Honolulu, Hawaii
 Mayor Neal S. Blaisdell, 555
 Releases, 557
 Visit, 555
Honolulu conference, 130, 131, 132 [1]
Honorary degree, remarks, 448
Hoover, Herbert, 70 *ftn.* (p. 224), 258, 291, 490
Hoover, J. Edgar (Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation), 34 [1], 105, 146, 204 [14], 275, 326, 385, 530
Hoover Commission (Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government), 99, 121
Horn, Rev. John F., 115
Horne, John E. (Chairman, Federal Home Loan Bank Board), 420
Horner, Garnett D., 375 [4]
Hornig, Donald F. *See* Science and Technology, Office of, Director
Horsky, Charles A., 411 [1], 466
Hosmer, Repr. Craig, 227
Hospital Survey and Construction Act (Hill-Burton Act), 12, 77, 353, 419
Hospitals and medical care facilities, 77, 298, 477
 Construction, 261, 353, 419
 District of Columbia, 15
 Federal aid, 13 (p. 53), 77, 419
 Integration, 55, 77
 Mentally ill, 285
 Older persons, 12

Index

[Main references are to items except as otherwise indicated]

- Hospitals and medical care facilities—Con.
 Safety, 534
 Veterans, 13 (p. 55), 25
See also Medical care; Medicare
- “Hotline” (U.S.-Soviet communications link), 59, 264 [16], 297 [3]
- Houphouet-Boigny, Felix (President of the Ivory Coast), 356
- Houphouet-Boigny, Madame Felix, 356
- House committees. *See other part of title*
- Household product safety, 200, 534, 539
- Housing, 276, 330 [1], 420, 498, 512
 College, 179
 Construction, 4, 16 (pp. 75, 78, 85), 70 [6], 88, 103, 114, 180, 353, 369, 411 [11], 417 [5, 6], 420, 430, 531, 554 [6]
 Cooperatives, 88
 District of Columbia, 180
 Home ownership, 114
 Legislation, 358 [3], 554 [6]
 Low income, 4, 13 (p. 60), 88, 114, 120, 179, 355, 467
 Military, 70 [6]
 Mortgages, 6 [4, 10, 11], 88, 103, 114, 120, 179, 329, 420
 Nondiscrimination (open housing), 3 (p. 5), 55
 Older persons, 12, 179
 Private enterprise role, 355, 380, 412
 Public, 114, 355 n., 380, 412
 Rent supplements, 13 (p. 52), 15, 16 (pp. 75, 85), 23, 88, 114, 179, 223 [13], 225, [13], 261, 312 [6], 353, 358 [3, 8], 359, 370, 380, 460 [3, 10], 467, 534, 554 [6, 16]
 Standards, 4
 Turnkey project, 355 n., 372, 412, 460 [10], 467
 Urban, 16 (p. 85), 23, 114, 252, 355, 380, 412, 460 [10]
- Housing, President's Committee on Urban, 252, 355, 358 [8], 412
- Housing Act of 1954, 114
- Housing Administration, Federal, 88
- Housing Authority, National Capital, 180
- Housing and Urban Development, Department of, 4, 13 (pp. 57, 59), 15, 16 (p. 84), 121, 139, 179, 193, 223 [10], 315 n., 358 [8], 359, 369, 412, 478, 542
- Housing and Urban Development, Department of—Con.
 Appropriations, 13 (pp. 46, 53), 114, 417 [1], 467
 Assistant Secretary for research, technology, engineering, 114
- Housing and Urban Development, Secretary of (Robert C. Weaver), 4, 12, 39, 55, 88, 114, 179, 186, 252, 258, 267 n., 356, 358 [8], 359, 372, 380, 460 [1], 467, 542
 Memorandum, 259, 355, 412, 458
- Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965, 179
- Houssay, Bernardo, 473
- Houston, Sam, 115
- Houston, Texas, Mayor Louie Welch, 87 n.
- Howard, Frank, 388
- Howard, Gunnery Sgt. Jimmie E., 361
- Howard, Mrs. Jimmie E., 361 n.
- Howard University, 80 [1], 81
- Howe, Harold, II, 82, 292, 338, 396 n., 493
- Hrezo, John V., 193
- Hughes, Gov. Harold E., 297 [1], 409
- Hughes, Gov. Richard J., 70 [6], 112, 280–282
- Hughes, Mrs. Richard J., 282
- Hughes, Judge Sarah T., 475
- Human Relations, District of Columbia Council on, 15
- Human Rights, Universal Declaration of (U.N.), 488
- Human Rights Award, Labor, 484 n.
- Humanities, Federal Council on the Arts and the, 274
- Humanities, National Endowment for the, 54, 77
- Humanities, National Foundation on the Arts and the, 77
- Humphrey, Hubert H. *See* Vice President
- Humphrey, Mrs. Hubert H., 169, 211, 216, 373, 421, 449, 480, 487, 517
- Humphreys, Maj. Gen. James W., Jr., 132 [1], 235
- Hungary, 245
- Hurricanes, 31 n., 408
- Hutchinson, Everett, 485 [8]
- HWOOR (heavy-water-moderated, organic-cooled reactor), 98
- Hypertension, 319

Index

[Main references are to items except as otherwise indicated]

- Ia Drang Valley, South Vietnam, 384
- Iceland, 313
 - Ambassador Petur Thorsteinsson, 313
 - Foreign Minister Emil Jonsson, 313
 - President Asgeir Asgerisson, 313
 - U.S. Ambassador Karl F. Rolvaag, 313
- ICY (International Cooperation Year), 157
- Iglehart, Lewis, 538
- Ignatius, Paul R. (Secretary of the Navy), 446
- Illinois, Gov. Otto Kerner, 187, 326, 327, 328 [1]
- Illiteracy, 77, 423
 - U.S., 540, 554 [12]
 - World, 442, 448, 554 [12]
- Immigration to U.S., 397, 534
- Imperial Beach, Calif., 303
- Imports, 16 (pp. 75, 79-80), 223 [3], 294, 329, 375 [20], 414, 428, 476, 508
 - Economic impact, 99
 - See also specific commodities*
- Income, 13 (pp. 41-42), 16 (p. 74), 420
 - Corporate, 13 (p. 42)
 - Farm, 3 (p. 7), 13 (p. 50), 16 (p. 73), 63, 156, 228, 270, 305, 329, 358 [9], 496, 525
 - Guaranteed, 16 (p. 82)
 - Increase, 3 (p. 7), 13 (p. 40), 16 (pp. 72-73, 88-89), 57, 199, 329, 376, 393
 - National, 13 (p. 41)
 - Negroes, 55
 - Personal, 354, 376
 - Rural, 13 (p. 50)
- Income accounts budget, national, 13 (pp. 41, 43, 59), 16 (pp. 76-77), 330 [1]
- Income taxes, 16 (p. 76), 328 [23]
 - Surcharge, 3 (p. 8), 6 [3, 17], 16 (p. 77), 104 [3], 204 [6], 225 [9], 312 [4], 328, [8, 21], 329, 330 [1, 5, 6-8], 362, 375 [8], 411 [11], 417 [1, 5-8, 10, 12], 420, 421, 427, 430, 460 [4, 12], 465, 495 [9], 518 [4, 6, 9], 554 [13], 556
- Independence Day, 301
- Independent Offices and Department of Housing and Urban Development Appropriation Act, 1968, 114 n., 370 n., 467
- India, 16 (p. 80), 83, 449, 452
 - Assistance, 3 (p. 10), 44, 153
 - Economic and social development, 44, 153
 - Food aid, 33, 44, 63, 153, 156, 228, 264 [19], 375 [21-23]
 - Food resources, 153, 157, 375 [21], 469
 - Kashmir dispute, 100
 - Rainmaking projects, 230
 - U.S. Ambassador Chester Bowles, 33
 - Wheat shipments to, 375 [21, 22, 23]
- India Food Consortium, 375 [21]
- Indian Claims Commission, 518 [3]
- Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore, Oreg., 20
- Indians, American, 3 (p. 5), 114
 - Assistance, 97, 138
- Indonesia, 44, 246 n., 401
 - Communist aggression, 409
 - Economic and social development, 272
- Industrial Conference Board, National, 57
- Industrial Development Organization, U.N., 100, 488
- Industry, 121, 442
 - Machinery orders, 103
 - Plant and equipment modernization, 6 [9], 70 [6], 412
 - Pollution control, 16 (p. 85), 20, 186
 - Production, 13 (p. 40)
 - Slum renewal efforts, 252
 - See also specific industries*
- Industry-Government Special Task Force on Travel, 16 ftn. (p. 81)
- Infant mortality, 13 (p. 59), 39, 77, 114, 286, 319, 532, 540, 554 [6, 12]
- Inflation, 3 (p. 8), 13 (pp. 40-41, 51), 16 (p. 88), 63, 70 [6], 329, 343, 420, 430, 460 [6]
 - Economy, national, 465
 - Increase, 417 [5, 6]
 - Prevention and control, 103, 120, 312 [4], 329, 411 [11], 430, 460 [4, 6], 490, 495, 556
- Information Center, National Earthquake, 31 n.
- Information and Education Center on Narcotic and Dangerous Drugs (HEW), 35
- Ink, Dwight A., 458 n.
- Inouye, Mrs. Daniel K., 555

Index

[Main references are to items except as otherwise indicated]

- Institute of Urban Development, 114
- Institutes for Environmental Research, 31 n.
- Institutes of Health, National, 12, 217, 319, 500, 540
- Insurance
 - Bank deposits, 57, 200, 303
 - Congressmen, 343
 - Executives, urban programs role, 380, 460 [10], 467
 - Government employees, 343
 - Military, 25
 - Mortgage, 88
 - Retirement, 244
 - Savings, 86
 - Unemployment, 12, 16 (p. 84), 114, 199, 548
- Insurance Corporation, Federal Deposit, 16 (p. 87)
- Integration
 - Hospitals, 55, 77
 - Housing, 3 (p. 5), 55
 - Public accommodations, 55
 - Schools, 55, 77, 225 [12]
- Integration Fund, Central American, 44
- INTELSAT (International Telecommunications Satellite Consortium), 122, 346
- Inter-Agency Committee on Mexican American Affairs, 258, 259
- Inter-American Development Bank, 16 (p. 80), 44, 110, 176, 177 n., 394, 401
- Inter-American Foundation for Science and Technology, 176
- Inter-American Geodetic Survey, 336
- Interest equalization tax, 16 (p. 81)
- Interest rates, 3 (p. 7), 13 (pp. 39, 41), 16 (pp. 75, 88), 57, 103, 104 [1, 9], 415, 460 [12]
 - Housing mortgages, 103
 - Increase, 16 (p. 75), 329, 411 [11], 417 [1, 5], 420, 427, 556
 - Truth in lending, 16 (p. 86), 57, 342, 393, 430, 460 [5], 465, 499, 503, 520, 534, 539
- Intergovernmental manpower bill, 121, 148
- Intergovernmental Marine Consultative Organization, 240
- Interior, Department of the, 6 [5, 10, 13], 13 (pp. 51, 57), 20, 186, 369
- Interior, Secretary of the (Stewart L. Udall), 15 n., 20, 227, 230, 300, 358 [11], 360, 387, 417 [1], 450, 460 [1], 544, 547
 - Memorandums, 186, 240
- Internal Revenue Service, 13 (p. 60)
- International Association of Chiefs of Police, 382, 385
- International Atomic Energy Agency, 59, 64, 515
- International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 13 (p. 49), 33, 44, 153, 401, 511, 554 [15]
 - President, nomination of Secretary McNamara, 511, 554 [15]
- International Boundary and Water Commission, United States and Mexico, 47, 303, 408 [2, 8], 451, 454 n.
- International Center for Advanced Study in the Health Sciences, Fogarty, 77, 217
- International Cereals Arrangement, 33
- International Christian Leadership, Inc., 32 n.
- International Coffee Agreement, 10, 175-176
- International Committee of the Red Cross, 287, 312 fn. (p. 702)
- International Conference on Water for Peace, 230
- International Conference on the World Crisis in Education, 423
- International Control Commission, 83
- International cooperation, 13 (p. 39), 157, 444, 488, 545
 - Communications satellite system, 346
 - Drug control, 35
 - Economic, 442
 - Exchanges. *See* Exchange programs
 - Fairs and exhibitions, 245
 - Flood control, 303, 408, 447, 449, 451
 - Food aid, 33, 157
 - Japan-U.S., scientific, 491
 - Monetary, 16 (p. 82), 524
 - Space research and exploration, 38, 57, 425
 - Water resources development, 47, 230, 366
 - Weather prediction and control, 157
- International Cooperation, White House Conference on, 157
- International Cooperation Year (1965), 100, 157

Index

[Main references are to items except as otherwise indicated]

- International Development, Agency for. *See*
Agency for International Development
- International Development Association, 13
(p. 49), 16 (p. 80)
- International Education Act of 1966, 77, 344
- International exhibitions, special, 245
- International Federation of Commercial,
Clerical, and Technical Employees, 442
- International Grains Arrangement, 476, 508
- International Health Research Act of 1960,
215
- International Monetary Fund, 16 (p. 82),
351, 371, 390, 497, 519, 524, 545
- International Narcotics Control Board, 35
- International Optical Co., Dallas, Tex., 388
- International Programs for Youth Leaders
and Social Workers, Council of, 365
- International Service Agencies, 288
- International Telecommunications Satellite
Consortium (INTELSAT), 122, 346
- International Wheat Agreement, 476
- Interoceanic Canal Study Commission, At-
lantic-Pacific, 336
- Interstate land sales full disclosure bill, 57
- Inventions, 65
- Inventories, business, 16 (p. 78)
- Investment Company Act of 1940, 57
- Investments, 16 (p. 74), 70 [6], 460 [12]
Abroad, 16 (p. 81), 524
Developing nations, 469
Foreign in U.S., 16 (p. 81)
Tax credit plan, 204 [6], 329
Tax incentives, 6 [2, 9, 13, 17], 16 (p. 76),
103, 104 [1]
Message to Congress, 103
- Investor protection, 57
- Iowa, Gov. Harold E. Hughes, 297 [1], 409
- Iran, 449, 452
AID programs, 509
Assistance, 44, 509
Economic and social development, 363,
364, 366, 509
Empress Farah, 364
Relations with U.S., 366, 509
Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, 363, 364,
366, 509
Water resources study, U.S. cooperation,
366
- Iraq, 245
- Isaiah, 281
- Isgar, Mrs. Yeadis M., 324 n.
- Israel, 233, 257, 264 [1, 12, 13], 312 [18],
488, 554 [3]
Conflict with Egypt. *See* Middle East
conflict
- Italy
Economic and social development, 389
Foreign Minister Amintore Fanfani, 278,
389-391, 572
India food aid, 33
President Giuseppe Saragat, 389-391, 515,
572
Prices, 430
Prime Minister Aldo Moro, 204 [4], 278,
572
Relations with U.S., 389-391
Visit, 570-572
- Ivory Coast
Economic and social development, 356
President Felix Houphouet-Boigny, 356
- Jackson, Andrew, 115-117, 121, 125, 216,
290, 495 [11]
- Jackson, Sen. Henry M., 227
Letter, bombing of North Vietnam, 83
- Jackson, Robert H., 443
- Jackson Hole, Wyo., 297 [6]
- Jamaica, U.S. Ambassador Walter N.
Tobriner, 466
- James, Col. Daniel, Jr., 536
- James, Hatcher M., Jr., 352 n.
- James V. Forrestal*, U.S.S., 330 [1]
- Japan, 16 (p. 80), 272
Asian Bank aid, 401
Balance of payments, 491, 492
Cabinet ministers, remarks, 381
Emperor Hirohito, 381, 487
Governors, remarks, 234
Prices, 430
Prime Minister Eisaku Sato, 437, 486, 487,
491, 492, 493 n.
Rail rapid transit, 234
Relations with U.S., 381, 437, 486, 491
Scientific cooperation with U.S., 491
Trade, 508
- Japan Committee on Trade and Economic
Affairs, Joint United States, 491
- Japan Conference on Development and
Utilization of Natural Resources,
United States, 491

Index

[Main references are to items except as otherwise indicated]

- Japan-U.S. Joint Committee on Trade and Economic Affairs, 381, 491
- Jarring, Gunnar, 554 [2]
- Javits, Sen. Jacob K., 484
- Jaworski, Leon, 455
- Jaycees, United States, 23, 160, 286, 291
- Jefferson, Thomas, 3 (p. 11), 17, 115, 193, 201, 216, 301, 423, 444, 485 [1]
- Jenkins, Herbert, 326
- Jensen, James H., 490
- Jerusalem, 272, 297 [3], 312 [18]
- Jester, Beauford H., 210
- Jewish Labor Committee, 484
- Job Corps, 13 (p. 54), 16 (p. 75), 39, 81, 114, 199, 211, 277, 291
- Joel, Sp6c. Lawrence, 102
- John E. Fogarty International Center for Advanced Study in the Health Sciences, 217
- John F. Kennedy*, U.S.S., 241
- John Fitzgerald Kennedy National Historic Site, Mass., 242
- Johnson, Andrew, 81, 82, 376, 538
- Johnson, Catherine, 332 n.
- Johnson, Daniel, 237
- Johnson, Emil, 313
- Johnson, Gen. Harold K., 166, 331, 358 [1, 6], 375 [7, 19], 485 [1], 494
- Johnson, Repr. Harold T., 227
- Johnson, Jeh, 4 n.
- Johnson, John A., 324 n.
- Johnson, Luci Baines. *See* Nugent, Mrs. Patrick J.
- Johnson, Lynda Bird. *See* Robb, Mrs. Charles S.
- Johnson, Lyndon B.
 Candidacy for reelection (1968), 104 [13], 225 [19], 411 [9], 495 [8], 518 [17], 554 [9]
 Grandson. *See* Nugent, Patrick Lyndon
 Protester, role as, 264 [17]
 Public opinion polls, 225 [7], 297 [4, 13]
 Public support, 358 [4], 495 [2], 554 [11]
 Reminiscences. *See* Reminiscences, the President's
 Retirement question, 328 [6]
 World Food Panel report, foreword, 271
- Johnson, Mrs. Lyndon B., 2, 7 n., 8, 17 n., 19 n., 21, 28, 52, 63, 109, 111, 112, 124, 155, 158 n., 162, 206, 210-213, 246, 248 n., 249 n., 264 [17], 267, 289, 290 n., 293, 313 n., 347, 349, 356 n., 363-365, 389, 400, 403 n., 409 n., 426 n., 447, 449 n., 451, 453, 461 n., 462, 480, 486, 487 n., 493, 529, 540, 550, 551, 559
- Johnson, Sam Ealy, Jr., 529, 532, 539
- Johnson, Samuel, 475
- Johnson, Tom, 2 n.
- Johnson Australian Science Scholars, Lyndon B., 1
- Johnson City, Tex., 267, 411
- Joint Chiefs of Staff, 104 [2], 116, 189, 195, 204 [1], 309 [1], 329, 375 [1, 6, 19], 495 [1, 14], 518 [7]
- Joint Chiefs of Staff, Chairman (Gen. Earle G. Wheeler), 134, 204 [1], 255, 278, 309, 324, 358 [6], 493, 518 [4]
- Joint Dominican Republic-Puerto Rican Economic Commission, 436
- Joint funding simplification bill, 121 n.
- Joint Salary Commission, 163
- Joint statements with foreign leaders
 Afghanistan, Prime Minister Maiwandwal, 145
 Australia, Prime Minister McEwen, 562
 China, Republic of, Vice President Yen, 219
 Dominican Republic, President Balaguer, 436
 Germany, Chancellor Kiesinger, 351
 Iran, Shah Pahlavi, 366
 Italy, President Saragat, 390
 Japan, Prime Minister Sato, 491
 Guam conference. *See* Guam
 Korea
 Prime Minister Chung, 113
 President Park, 563
 Mexico, President Diaz Ordaz, 451
 Nepal, King Mahendra, 462
 Pakistan, President Ayub, 569
 Singapore, Prime Minister Lee, 435
 Thailand, King Bhumibol Adulyadej, 293
 Turkey, President Sunay, 162
 Vietnam, President Thieu, 564

Index

[Main references are to items except as otherwise indicated]

- Joint U.S.-Japan Committee on Trade and Economic Affairs, 381, 491
- Jones, Boisfeuillet, 419
- Jones, James, 291
- Jones, Repr. Robert E., 408 [1, 5]
- Jordan, 257
- Conflict with Israel. *See* Middle East conflict
- Jossem, E. Leonard, 396 n.
- Juárez, Benito P., 395, 449 n, 451, 453
- Juárez, Mexico, 453
- Judge Advocate General's Corps, 527
- Judicial Center, Federal, 35, 560
- Judiciary Committee, House, 276
- "Julius Caesar," William Shakespeare, 248 n.
- "Jungle, The," Upton Sinclair, 541
- Jury selection, nondiscrimination, 55
- Justice, Department of, 13 (p. 57), 35, 55, 65, 71, 105, 264 [7], 269, 328 [19], 335, 411 [1], 443, 530
- Appropriations, 417 [1], 482
- Justice, equal, message to Congress, 55-56
- Justice, President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of, 3 (p. 6), 13 (p. 56), 35, 39, 60, 146, 221, 276, 382, 385
- Juvenile delinquency, 3 (p. 7), 15, 27, 35, 39, 71, 276, 353, 560
- Juvenile delinquency prevention bill, 39, 276
- Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act of 1961, 39
- Kaiser, Edgar F., 252, 355 n., 358 [8], 412
- Kaiser, Henry J., death, 368
- Kampelman, Max, 406
- Kansas, 485 [6]
- Gov. Robert B. Docking, 485 [6]
- Kansas City, Mo., 382
- Mayor Ilus W. Davis, 382
- Kappel, Frederick R., 163, 168, 312 [1, 3]
- Karachi, Pakistan, release, 569
- Karlsefni, Thorfinnur, 313 n.
- Kashmir dispute, India-Pakistan, 100
- Katzenbach, Nicholas deB., 68, 94 n., 104 [6], 113, 146, 147, 272, 290, 309 [1], 403, 426 n., 444, 461
- Kazan, Repr. Abraham, Jr., 408 [1], 409
- Kazan-Komarek, Vladimir, 34 ftn. (p. 133)
- Keenan, Joseph D., 30, 252 n.
- Kellam, Jesse, 87 n.
- Keller, Charles, Jr., 252 n.
- Kelley, Clarence M., 382
- Kelly, Repr. Edna F., 251, 503
- Kennedy, Caroline, 241
- Kennedy, Commission to Report Upon the Assassination of President John F., 80 [5]
- Kennedy, David M., 85
- Kennedy, Sen. Edward M., 241
- Kennedy, John F., 3 (p. 9), 12, 38, 44, 80 [4], 83, 99, 110, 121, 144, 150, 163, 207, 216, 233, 236, 241, 242, 248 n., 251, 270, 281, 346, 357, 361, 384, 409, 421, 442, 443, 444 n., 454 n., 460 [14], 495 [14], 501, 514, 517, 554 [4]
- Kennedy, Mrs. John F., 241
- Kennedy, John F., Jr., 241
- Kennedy, John F.*, U.S.S., 241
- Kennedy, John Fitzgerald, National Historic Site, 242
- Kennedy, Mrs. Joseph P., 241, 373, 517
- Kennedy, Sen. Robert F., 104 [2], 241, 251, 554 [9]
- Kennedy Round trade negotiations, 16 (p. 79), 33, 142, 169 n., 175, 223 [3], 224, 225 [17], 231, 250, 272, 371, 390, 442, 445, 476, 491, 492, 495 [5], 508, 519, 554 [5]
- Proclamation, 545
- See also* General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
- Kent, Sherman, 317 n.
- Kerner, Gov. Otto, 187, 326, 327, 328 [1]
- Key West, Fla., 284
- Kheel, Theodore W., 312 [1, 3]
- Khoman, Thanat, 290
- Khorat, Thailand, 565, 573
- Khrushchev, Nikita S., 80 [2], 83, 554 [4]
- Kiesinger, Kurt Georg (Chancellor of West Germany), 181, 204 [2, 4], 264 [18], 371, 373, 554 [5]
- Exchange of remarks, 191
- Visit, 312 [2], 347-349, 351
- Kiesinger, Mrs. Kurt Georg, 191, 347-349
- Kiewit, Peter, 252 n.
- Killeen, Tex., 532
- Killian, James R., Jr., 473
- Kilpatrick, Carroll, 460 [11]
- Kim, Eva Soonhe, 352 n.
- Kim, Hyun Chul, 113

Index

[Main references are to items except as otherwise indicated]

- Kim, Sung Eun, 113
Kimberly, John R., 231
Kincaid, Capt. James W., 485 [8]
King, Gov. John W., 222 n., 223 [3, 5, 8]
King, Dr. Martin Luther, 204 [7]
Kinnard, Lt. Gen. Harry W. O., 384
Kirkpatrick, Evron, 184
Kirwan, Repr. Michael J., 216
Kitty Hawk, N.C., 431
Kleebe, John M., 420 n.
Knappstein, Mr. and Mrs. Heinrich, 349
Knipling, Edward Fred, 37 n.
Knott, Lawson B., Jr. (Administrator of General Services), 16 (p. 87), 121, 232, 372, 412, 504
Know-Nothings, 538
Knutsen, Fred A., 156
Kobach, Col. Ethel R., 475
Kodiak, Alaska, 369
Komarov, Col. Vladimir, death, 190
Komer, Robert W., 104 [14], 116, 126, 131, 132 [5], 134, 225 [2], 309 [1], 503, 526, 567
 Press briefing on Vietnam, 73
Kontum, South Vietnam, 309 [3]
Korea, North, 113, 563
Korea, South, 272, 401
 Assistance, 44, 113, 563
 Communist aggression, 111
 Economic and social development, 44, 111-113
 Japanese relations, 112 n.
 Mutual defense treaty, 113
 President Chung Hee Park, 111 n., 112 n., 113, 409, 563
 Prime Minister Il Kwon Chung, 111-113
 U.S. Ambassador Winthrop G. Brown, 223 [8, 12]
 U.S. Ambassador William J. Porter, 317
 Vietnam assistance, 83, 112 n., 113, 195, 246
Korean conflict (1950-1953), 13 (p. 40), 16 (p. 78), 100, 358 [10], 361, 397, 409, 430, 495 [2, 9]
Kornberg, Arthur, 540, 544 n.
Koror Island, 133 n.
Kossuth, Louis, 397
Kosygin, Aleksei N. (Premier of the Soviet Union), 80 [27], 104 [8], 157, 246 [16], 281, 286, 312 [13], 346, 554 [2]
 Visit, 279, 280, 282, 283
Krag, James Otto (Prime Minister of Denmark), 278
Krim, Arthur B., 281, 421
Kuchel, Sen. Thomas H., 227, 303
Kuykendall, Jerome K., 518 [3]
Ky, Premier, *See* Nguyen Cao Ky
Kyle, Maj. Gen. Wood, 485 [3]
Labeling and packaging, 57, 86, 200, 393, 465, 534
Labor, 13 (p. 57), 121, 354
 Child, 39
 Cooperation. *See* Government cooperation with business, education, and labor
 Manpower. *See* Manpower resources
 Shortages, 345
 Tax increases, reaction, 330 [7]
 Workweek, 270
Labor, Department of, 97, 193, 199, 217 n., 345, 412, 428, 432 n., 460 [1], 484
 Appropriations, 417 [1], 479
 Reorganization, 3 (p. 4), 11, 13 (p. 57), 16 (p. 86), 121, 148
Labor, Department of Business and, proposed, 3 (p. 4), 11, 13 (p. 57), 16 (p. 86), 121, 148
Labor, Secretary of (W. Willard Wirtz), 12, 13 (p. 57), 30, 39, 57, 77, 95, 97, 114, 170, 199, 258, 310, 311, 345, 345 n., 379, 388, 415, 420, 484, 529, 548
 Memorandums, 89, 259, 412, 458
 News conference remarks, 6 [17, 18], 104 [15], 204 [5], 264 [8], 312 [3]
Labor Board, War, 310
Labor Day, 1968, 354, 376
Labor disputes
 Automobile industry, 375 [11]
 Copper industry, 375 [12]
 Railroad. *See* Railroad labor dispute
 Shipbuilding industry, 104 [15]
Labor Human Rights Award, 484 n.
Labor-Management Policy, President's Advisory Committee on, 121

Index

[Main references are to items except as otherwise indicated]

- Labor-management relations, 13 (p. 57), 114, 121
- Labor-Management Relations Act (Taft-Hartley Act), 170, 375 [12]
- Labor movement, 484
- Labor organizations, 121, 524
 - AFL-CIO, 30, 534
 - International Federation of Commercial, Clerical, and Technical Employees, 442
- Labor and Public Welfare, Senate Committee on, 188, 207, 338 n.
- Labor Statistics, Bureau of, 460 [2], 463
- Laboratories
 - Licensing, 57, 77
 - Manned orbiting, 24
- La Follette, Bronson C., 342 n.
- Lai Chia-chiu, 219
- Laird, Repr. Melvin R., 70 [3]
- Laise, Carol (Mrs. Ellsworth Bunker), 460 [11], 461
- Lalla Aicha, Princess (Morocco), 43 n.
- Lamar, Mirabeau Buonaparte, 193 n.
- Lamb, Charles, 279
- Lamb, Gerald A., 342 n.
- Land
 - Airport vicinity, use, 139, 328 [15]
 - Federal, 13 (p. 51), 114, 372, 380, 412, 531
 - Model communities, 531
 - Sales frauds, 57, 342, 465, 499
 - Waterfowl refuges, 547
- Land banks, Federal, 156
- Land-Grant Colleges, National Association of State Universities and, 490 n.
- Land and Water Conservation Fund, Act of 1965, 13 (p. 51), 20, 553
- Lane, Dr. Walter, 87 n.
- Langley Air Force Base, Va., 485 [7]
- Lanier, William L., 342 n.
- Laos, 309 [9, 10], 480
 - Crown Prince Vong Savang, 480
 - Economic and social development, 44
 - Geneva accords, 564
 - King Savang Vatthana, 438 n.
 - Minister of Foreign Affairs Sisouk Na Champassak, 439
 - North Vietnamese infiltration, 80 [4], 83, 132 [3, 4] 409, 480, 554 [1]
 - Prime Minister Souvanna Phouma, 438, 439, 448, 480
- Laos—Continued
 - Princess Moune Souvanna Phouma, 439
- Larsen, Lt. Gen. Stanley R., 358 [6]
- Latin America
 - Alliance for Progress. *See* Alliance for Progress
 - Ambassadors, remarks, 151
 - Assistance, 44, 110, 152, 173, 175-176, 357
 - Common market, 110, 173, 175-178, 357, 442, 451
 - Communist aggression, 395
 - Cultural exchanges, 53
 - Economic and social development, 3 (p. 9), 110, 152, 173, 176, 177, 272, 357, 394, 451, 473
 - Nuclear free zone, 64
 - Science and technology, multinational program, 473
 - Summit meeting, *See* Punta del Este meeting of American chiefs of state
 - Trade, 110, 173, 175-178
- Launch vehicles, 13 (p. 48), 19 n., 24, 76, 483, 533
- Law, administration of, 121, 323
- Law enforcement, 13 (p. 44), 146, 297 [7], 382, 443, 455, 575
 - Assistance, 35
 - Citations, 71
 - District of Columbia, 27, 71, 466
 - Legislation, 468
 - Personnel and facilities, 71, 441, 482
 - Privacy, right of, 105
 - Research, 35
 - Warrants, arrest, 71
- See also* Police
- Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, President's Commission on, 3 (p. 6), 13 (p. 56), 35, 39, 60, 146, 221, 276, 382, 385
- Law Enforcement Assistance Act of 1965, 3 (p. 6), 13 (p. 56), 27, 35, 71, 146, 482
- Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice Assistance, Office of, 35
- Lawrence, Leonard G., 382
- Lawyers Association, National Trial, 114
- Lawyers Conference on Crime Control, 221
- Lazarus, Ralph, 168 n.
- League of Nations, 52
- Lee, Maj. Howard V., 446

Index

[Main references are to items except as otherwise indicated]

- Lee, Mrs. Howard V., 446 n.
Lee, Hu Rak, 113
Lee, Capt. Kent L., 485 [5]
Lee, Ray, 210
Lee Kuan Yew (Prime Minister of Singapore), 409, 433-435
Lee Kuan Yew, Mrs., 433, 434
Legal aid programs, 114, 221, 277
Legion of Merit, 475
Legislation, remarks or statements upon approval
 Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1967, 548
 Air Quality Act of 1967, 503
 Appropriations, continuing, 417, 556
 Armed Forces, equal opportunity for women, 475
 College work-study programs, 378
 Criminal investigations, 468
 Defense, Department of, supplemental appropriations, 118
 Department of Defense Appropriation Act, 1968, 410
 Departments of Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare Appropriation Act, 1968, 479
 Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, the Judiciary, and Related Agencies Appropriation Act, 1968, 482
 District of Columbia
 Crime bill, 575
 Medicaid, 574
 Federal Credit Union Act, amendment, 537
 Federal Judicial Center, 560
 Flammable Fabrics Act, amendment, 539
 Food Stamp Act of 1964, amendment, 405
 Foreign Assistance Act of 1967, 489
 Government employees
 Hazardous duty benefits, 568
 Pay raises, 546
 Independent Offices and Department of Housing and Urban Development Appropriation Act, 1968, 467
 India food relief, 153
 Inter-American Development Bank, contribution, 394
 John Fitzgerald Kennedy National Historic Site, Mass., 242
 Legislation, remarks or statements upon approval—Continued
 Library Services and Construction Act, amendments, 507
 Mental Health Amendments of 1967, 285
 Mental Retardation Amendments of 1967, 517
 Migratory waterfowl refuges, 547
 Military Construction Authorization Act, 1968, 440
 Military personnel pay raises, 546
 National Aeronautics and Space Administration Authorization Act, 1968, 362
 National Commission on Product Safety, 499
 National Park Foundation, establishment, 553
 Navy Judge Advocate General's Corps, establishment, 527
 Older Americans Act Amendments of 1967, 299
 Pacific Islands, Trust Territory of the, appropriations, 218
 Partnership for Health Amendments of 1967, 520
 Patrick V. McNamara Federal Office Building, Detroit, 535
 Postal Revenue and Federal Salary Act of 1967, 546
 Proclamations. *See* Proclamations
 Public Broadcasting Act of 1967, 474
 Railroad labor dispute settlement provisions, 311
 Railroad "no strike" period extension, 174
 Small Business Act Amendments of 1967, 427
 Stockpiles disposals, 506
 Supplemental Defense Appropriation Act, 1967, 159
 Teacher Corps extension, 292
 25th amendment to the Constitution, Presidential inability, 68
 Urban study fellowships, 359
 Veterans' Pension and Readjustment Assistance Act of 1967, 374
 Vocational Rehabilitation Act Amendments of 1967, 413
 Water desalination, California, 227
 Water desalination research, 284
 Wholesome Meat Act, 541

Index

[Main references are to items except as otherwise indicated]

- Legislative Conference, National, 409
- Legislative program, the President's, 204
 - [15], 225 [12-14], 253, 328 [7], 353,
 - 358 [3, 8, 12], 393, 417 [1, 13], 420, 430,
 - 460 [5, 14], 465, 467, 468, 482, 499, 500,
 - 554 [6, 16], 575 n.
- Lehman, Herbert H., 540
- Leibman, Morris I., 87
- Lend-lease, 313 n.
- Lenin, Nikolai, 395
- Lenz, Winthrop C., 85 n.
- Leonard, W. W., 1 n.
- Lerner, Marjorie, 396 n.
- Less developed countries. *See* Developing nations
- Leto, Carlo J., 324 n.
- Lewis, Lt. Fred M., 324 n.
- Lewis, John L., 484
- Li Kwoh-ting, 219
- Liberation Front, National, 80 [4], 132 [7], 312 ftn. (p. 702), 554 [1], 564
- Liberty*, U.S.S., 264 [4]
- Libraries, 507
- Library of Congress, 423
- Library Services Act, 507
- Library Services and Construction Act, amendments, 507
- Life expectancy, 55, 77, 114, 286
- Lilienthal, David E., 73, 104 [14], 116, 117, 131, 364, 364 n.
- Lincoln, Abraham, 3 (pp. 2, 7), 32, 35, 49, 55, 81, 144, 161, 229, 251, 323, 346, 382, 387, 407, 449 n., 451, 453, 481, 487, 495 [11]
- Lincoln Memorial, 49, 387, 441
- Lindsay, John V., 251, 326, 327, 460 [10]
- Linen, James A., 510 n.
- Linnehan, John, 223 [4]
- Lipmann, Fritz Albert, 37 n.
- Lisagor, Peter, 330 [1]
- Literacy Corps, Iran, 363
- Liu Chieh, 219
- Livestock
 - Emergency feed, 138
 - Screwworm eradication, 319, 448
- Loan Bank Board, Federal Home, 3 (p. 8), 6 [11], 16 (p. 87), 88, 315 n., 420
- Loan Bank System, Federal Home, 420
- Loans, 13 (pp. 41, 59), 420
 - Agricultural, 6 [8], 305
- Loans—Continued
 - College, 338
 - Consumer credit, 200
 - Mortgage, 88, 420
 - Rural, 114
 - Savings and loan associations, 3 (p. 8)
 - Small business, 427, 504
 - Student, 77, 304, 338, 490
 - Truth in lending, 16 (p. 86), 57, 342, 393, 430, 460 [5], 465, 499, 503, 520, 534, 539
 - Waste disposal facilities, 114
- Lobbying, 236
- Loc, Prime Minister. *See* Nguyen Van Loc
- Local government, 121, 123
 - See also* Federal-State-local governmental responsibilities; Federal-State-local relations
- Locke, Eugene M., 116, 126-128, 131, 134, 225 [2], 309 [1], 567
- Lodge, Henry Cabot, 3 (p. 12), 104 [5, 14, 17], 70 [1], 116, 126-128, 130 n., 131, 132, [1, 4, 11, 13], 134, 201, 225 [2, 11], 309 [1], 352, 375 ftn. (p. 820)
- London Times, 371
- Long, Repr. Clarence D., 286
- Long, Sen. Russell B., 6 [17], 204 [8], 216, 533
- Long Island Sound bridge, 223 [11]
- Longworth, Mrs. Alice Roosevelt, 450
- Look magazine, 182 n.
- Lopez Mateos, Adolfo, 408 [7], 454
- Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory, 76
- Los Angeles, Calif., 281, 418
 - Mayor Samuel W. Yorty, 227
 - Watts area, 55
- Los Angeles Times, 281
- Los Padres National Forest, Calif., 20, 29, 96
- Louchheim, Mrs. Katie, 93
- Louisiana, 270
 - Gov. John J. McKeithen, 297 [2], 533
 - Remarks, 533
- Lovell, Capt. James A., Jr., 431
- Low income housing, 4, 13 (p. 60), 88, 114, 120, 179, 355, 467
- Loyal Legion of the United States, Military Order of the, 49 n.
- Lubbock, Texas, 448
- Lucas, C. Payne, 317 n.

Index

[Main references are to items except as otherwise indicated]

- Lucas, Capt. Jon, 9
 Luce, Henry, death, 75
 Luebke, Heinrich (President of West Germany), 181
 Lumley, Kathryn, 396 n.
 Lunch programs, school, 15, 39, 63, 228, 353, 405
 Luther, Martin, 18
 Lyndon B. Johnson Australian Science Scholars, 1
 Lyons, John, 4 n.
- Macdonald, Repr. Torbert H., 474
 Machen, Repr. Hervey G., 193, 286
 Machinery, 16 (p. 79), 103, 104 [1]
 MacLeish, Archibald, 387
 Macy, John W., Jr. (Chairman, Civil Service Commission), 95, 121, 163, 184, 232, 343, 379, 388, 546
 Maddox, Gov. Lester G., 297 [2]
 Madison, James, 115, 495 [11]
 Magnuson, Sen. Warren G., 231, 370, 474, 539
 Mahendra, King (Nepal), 459, 461, 462
 Mahon, Repr. George H., 85 n., 105 n., 156, 358 [12], 420, 448
 Mail services, 13 (pp. 43, 46, 52), 163, 168, 546
 Maine, 223 [3, 5]
 Gov. Kenneth M. Curtis, 222 n., 223 [3, 6], 225 [21]
 Maiwandwal, Mohammad Hashim (Prime Minister of Afghanistan), 143-145
 Malaria, 110
 Malawi, President H. Kamuzu Banda, 256
 Malaysia, 401
 British troop withdrawals, 312 [17]
 Prime Minister Abdul Rahman, 409
 Management, Government, 13 (p. 57)
 Mangla Dam, Pakistan, 569
 Manila Conference, 112 n., 127 n., 130-131, 132 [1], 246
 Manpower Administration, 412
 Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962, 13 (p. 54), 16 (p. 75), 39, 55, 199, 353
 Manpower resources
 Development, 12, 13 (p. 57), 16 (p. 83), 77, 121, 199, 412, 458
 Machinists, 104 [1]
- Manpower resources—Continued
 Military, 3 (p. 6)
 Report of the President, 199
 Shortages, 16 (p. 79), 103, 104 [1]
 Mansera, Frank (Pancho), 452
 Mansfield, Sen. Mike, 6 [17], 7, 34 [4], 169, 204 [2], 216, 236, 264 [1], 278, 358 [3], 375 [18], 460 [5, 9], 467, 502
 Letters
 Middle East conflict, 257
 Railroad labor dispute, 310
 Urban legislation, 353
 Mansfield, Mrs. Mike, 216
 Marburger, Carl, 396 n.
 Marcos, Ferdinand E. (President of the Philippines), 328 [12], 409
 Marden, Orison, 221
 Mares, Leonard V., 324 n.
 Margain, Hugo B., 408 [7]
 Margolies, Daniel, 416 n.
 Mariana Islands, 360
 Marine Consultative Organization, Intergovernmental, 240
 Marine Corps, 485 [2, 3], 493, 518 [1, 7], 527
 Marine Corps, Commandant of the (Gen. Wallace M. Greene, Jr.), 361, 375 [6, 19], 446
 Marine resources, 20, 101, 176
 Food, 20, 101, 491
 Pollution, 240
 Report to Congress, 101
 Sea grant colleges and programs, 101
 Marine Resources and Engineering Development, National Council on, 20, 101, 240
 Marine Resources and Engineering Development Act of 1966, 101
 Marine Science, Engineering, and Resources, Commission on, 101
 Marks, Leonard H. (Director, United States Information Agency), 238, 352
 Marland, Sidney, Jr., 87 n.
 Mars exploration, 13 (p. 50)
 Marshall, Burke, 92, 104 [12], 205
 Marshall, Thurgood. *See* Solicitor General
 Marshall Islands, 360
 Marshall Plan, 169 n., 306 n., 313 n., 347 n.
 Martha's Vineyard, Mass., 290
 Martin, Eddie, 281
 Martin, J. M., 420 n.

Index

[Main references are to items except as otherwise indicated]

- Martin, Paul J. J., 237, 238
 Martin, William McC., Jr. (Chairman, Board of Governors, Federal Reserve System), 6 [18], 104 [9], 329, 371, 420
 Maryland, 15
 Gov. Spiro T. Agnew, 286
 Rail rapid transit systems, 154
 Remarks, 135, 193, 319
 Massachusetts, 223 [2]
 Gov. John A. Volpe, 222 n., 223 [3, 4]
 Massey, Vincent, death, 577
 Maternal care, 39, 353, 479
 Mathe, Brig. Gen. Robert E., 466
 Mather, Lt. Gen. G. R., 532
 Maurer, Ion Gheorghe (Prime Minister of Romania), 312 [15]
 Mayors, United States Conference of, 337
 Mays Manufacturing Co., Inc., 231 n.
 McAllister, Walter W., 151 n.
 McBride, James W., 420 n.
 McCarthy, Sen. Eugene J., 182, 495 [10], 518 [11]
 Presidential candidacy (1968), 554 [9]
 McClendon, Mrs. Sarah, 358 [9, 10], 375 [20]
 McCloy, John J., 502 n., 545
 McConaughy, Walter P., 219
 McCone, John A., 252 n.
 McConnell, Gen. John P., 9, 106, 485 [6]
 McConnell, John W., 170 fn. (p. 439), 207, 310
 McConnell Air Force Base, Kans., 485 [6]
 McCormack, John W. *See* Speaker of the House of Representatives
 McCormack, Mrs. John W., 7 n. 206, 216
 McCracken, Paul W., 85 n.
 McCrocklin, James H., 184, 490 n.
 McCulloch, Repr. William M., 326
 McDonald, Adm. David L., 308
 McEwen, John (Prime Minister of Australia), 561, 562
 McEwen, Robert J., 342 n.
 McGannon, Donald, 87 n.
 McGee, Sen. Gale W., 33
 McGinnis, Edward F., 502
 McKee, Gen. William F. (Administrator, Federal Aviation Administration), 265, 392
 McKeithen, Gov. John J., 297 [2], 533
 McKeldin, Theodore R., 87 n., 286
 McMahon, William, 562
 McNamara, Patrick V., 535
 McNamara, Robert S. *See* Defense Secretary of
 McNamara, Mrs. Robert S., 87 n.
 McNaughton, John T., death, 316
 McNaughton, Mrs. John T., 316
 McPherson, Harry C., Jr., 460 [1]
 Means, Marianne, 104 [13]
 Meany, George, 30, 168 n., 252 n., 261, 312 [1, 3], 534
 Dinner honoring, 484
 Measles, 286, 319
 Meat inspection, 57, 465, 499, 503, 520, 522, 534, 539, 541
 Meat Inspection Act, 7, 522, 541
 Medals, presentation or acceptance. *See* Awards and citations
 Mediation Board, National, 207, 310
 Mediation and Conciliation Service, Federal, 104 [15]
 Medicaid, 13 (pp. 46, 53), 16 (pp. 76, 85), 39, 77, 419, 554 [6], 574
 Medical care, 13 (p. 53), 39, 77, 276, 291, 532
 Children, 13 (p. 60), 39, 114
 Costs, 77
 Federal-State programs, 13 (p. 53)
 Government employees, 25
 Handicapped persons, 3 (p. 6), 114
 Maternal care, 39, 353, 479
 Military personnel, 25, 92
 Older persons, 3 (p. 2), 12, 15, 81, 114, 286, 298, 574
 Regional programs, report, 477
 Veterans, 13 (p. 55), 25
 Medical Costs, National Conference on, 77
 Medical device safety bill, 57
 Medical personnel
 Education and training, 15, 77
 Military service, 92
 Medical research, 13 (p. 53), 77, 161, 319, 477, 500
 Medicare, 3 (pp. 2, 6), 12, 13 (pp. 43-44, 53), 16 (pp. 76, 85), 77, 216, 251, 296, 299, 329, 419, 484, 532, 534, 539, 540, 554 [6]
 Anniversary, 298
 Benefits extension, 12, 16 (p. 78)
 Nondiscrimination, 298

Index

[Main references are to items except as otherwise indicated]

- Medicare Alert program, 12
- Meir, Golda, 484
- Mekong Coordinating Committee, 401
- Mekong River, 16 (p. 80), 73, 401, 480
- Mellon, Andrew, 470
- Memorandums to Federal agencies or officials
 - Air pollution, 186
 - Aircraft noise and land use in vicinity of airports, 139
 - Combined Federal Campaign, 288
 - Drug reaction monitoring, worldwide, 215
 - Government employees, employee-management cooperation, 379
 - Grant-in-aid processing time, 458
 - Housing, private enterprise role, 355
 - Mexican American Affairs, Inter-Agency Committee on, 259
 - Oil pollution of coastal waters, 240
 - Red Cross, American National, 22
 - Small business aid, 504
 - Unemployment, 412
 - Vietnam conflict
 - Economic planning for end, 89
 - Peace demonstrations, 441
- Memorial Day
 - Messages, exchange with Chairman Thieu of South Vietnam, 243
 - Prayer for Peace proclamation, 229
- Mental health, 39, 71, 77, 199, 285, 353, 373, 382, 517, 534
- Mental Health Amendments of 1967, 114 n., 285
- Mental Retardation, President's Committee on, 373, 517
- Mental Retardation Amendments of 1967, 517
- Mental Retardation Facilities and Community Mental Health Centers Construction Act, 77, 517 n.
- Menzies, Sir Robert G., 551
- Merchant, Livingston T., 511
- Merchant Marine Council, 240
- Meridian, Miss., 443
- Merrill, Robert, 388
- Meson Physics Laboratory, 76
- Messages to Congress. *See* Congress, messages to
- Messages to foreign leaders
 - Canada, Governor-General Michener, 577
 - Greece, King Constantine, 108
 - Soviet Union, Chairman of the Presidium Podgorny, 472
 - Turkey, President Sunay, 109
 - Vatican City, Pope Paul VI, 42
 - Vietnam, North, President Ho Chi Minh, 136
 - Vietnam, South, Chairman Thieu, 243
- Messel, Harry, 1
- Metals, 16 (p. 79)
- Meteorological Organization, World, 157
- Metropolitan Area Transit Authority, Washington, 154
- Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., 160 n.
- Metropolitan Museum of Art, 198
- Metropolitan Water District of Southern California, 13 (p. 51), 284
- Mexican American Affairs, Inter-Agency Committee on, 258, 259
- Mexican-American Conference, 452
- Mexican-Americans, 199, 258, 259, 397, 452, 460 [2]
- Mexican War, 495 [11]
- Mexico
 - Ambassador Hugo B. Margain, 408 [7]
 - Chamizal boundary, 447, 451-454
 - Fishing agreement with U.S., 451
 - Floods, 408, 447, 449, 451
 - Foreign Secretary Antonio Carrillo Flores, 447, 449, 452, 454 n.
 - Hurricanes, 408
 - President Gustavo Diaz Ordaz, 47, 70 [4], 408 [1, 7], 447-449, 451-453, 454 n.
 - Relations with U.S., 447, 449, 451, 453, 454
 - Rio Grande salinity control with U.S., 47
 - Tijuana River flood control with U.S., 303
 - Visit, 453
 - Water desalination, U.S. cooperation, 448
 - Wheat research, 448, 449, 452, 453
- Mexico-United States Commission for Border Development and Friendship, 451

Index

[Main references are to items except as otherwise indicated]

- Mexico and United States International Boundary and Water Commission, 303, 408 [2, 8], 451
- Mexico-United States Joint Trade Committee, 451
- Micah, 261
- Michener, Roland (Governor-General of Canada), 577
- Michigan
 - Gov. George Romney, 70 [11], 321, 322, 325, 328 [2], 331
 - National Guard, 321, 322
- Michigan, University of, 306
- Michoud Assembly Facility (NASA), 533
- Micronesia, 360
- Middle East, 44, 239, 246 n., 249 n., 270, 272, 286, 363, 442
 - Arms control, 272, 281, 312 [12]
 - Assistance, 264 [10]
 - Maritime rights, 272, 281
 - Refugee problem, 264 [15], 272, 281
 - Regional cooperation, 264 [11], 272
 - Relations with U.S., 233, 264 [20], 272, 375 [20]
 - Territorial rights, 272, 281
 - U.S. policy, 3 (p. 9), 233, 264 [1, 12], 270, 272
- Middle East conflict, 239, 261, 270, 272, 280, 283, 297 [2, 3, 9], 347, 364, 366, 375 [17], 390, 404, 438 n., 462, 484, 488, 519, 554 [2]
- "Hotline" role, 264 [16], 297 [3]
- Jerusalem, 272, 297 [3]
- Liberty, U.S.S., attack by Israel, 264 [4]
- Mansfield, Sen. Mike, letter, 257
- National Security Council committee, 255, 375 ftn. (p. 821)
- Oil supply impact, 358 [11]
- Statements, 233, 254, 272, 287
- Soviet policy, 264 [3], 279
- United Nations resolution, 297 [3]
- United Nations role, 233, 239, 254, 255, 257, 272, 287, 488, 519, 554 [2]
- U.S. participation, Arab charges, 264 [13]
- U.S. policy, 251, 264 [1], 270, 278, 279, 281, 297 [3], 488, 554 [3]
- Victims, relief, 287, 510
- Midwestern Governors conference, 375 [10]
- Migrant workers, 3 (p. 5), 97, 114, 199, 201
- Migratory waterfowl refugees, 547
- Military, U.S.
 - Appropriations, 518 [4]
 - Assistance, 13 (pp. 45, 46, 48), 44
 - Construction, 417 [14], 440, 460 [5]
 - Installations, 440, 485
 - Personnel
 - Christmas message, 549
 - Draft and enlistment. *See* Selective Service System
 - Education, 25
 - Employment, 199
 - Handicapped, 25
 - Housing, 70 [6]
 - Incentive awards, 208
 - Insurance, 25
 - Medical care, 25, 92
 - Message to Congress, 25, 26
 - Negroes, 55, 104 [12]
 - Pay, 13 (pp. 43, 46-47), 16 (p. 78), 25, 92, 140, 163, 329, 330 [1], 343, 546
 - Retirement, 92
 - Savings bond purchases, 66, 315
 - Tours of duty, 309 [4]
 - Women, 92, 475, 527
 - See also* Armed Forces, U.S.
 - Research, 13 (p. 48)
 - Strength, 3 (p. 6)
 - Veterans Day tour, 485
- Military Academy, United States, 19 n., 495 [14]
- Military Construction Authorization Act, 1968, 440
- Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, 49 n.
- Military Selective Service Act of 1967, 92 n., 297 ftn. (p. 676)
- Milk
 - Prices, 294
 - School programs, 228
- Miller, Repr. Clarence E., 552 n.
- Miller, J. Irwin, 168 n., 252 n., 500
- Miller, Sen. Jack, 33
- Miller, Tom, 210
- Miller, William E., 421
- Mills, Repr. Wilbur D., 6 [1, 9, 14, 17, 19], 264 [6], 330 [1, 4], 411 [10], 414, 420, 495 [9], 518 [5]
- Milnor, John Willard, 37 n.
- Miner, Thomas H., 231
- Mineral deposits offshore, 101

Index

[Main references are to items except as otherwise indicated]

- Minimum wage, 3 (p. 2), 16 (p. 76), 30, 97, 216, 251, 267, 534
- Mining, strip and surface, 300
- Minneapolis Tribune, 358 [7]
- Minow, Newton N., 216
- Missiles, antiballistic, 3 (p. 11), 13 (p. 48), 157, 167, 225 [17], 328 [25]
- Mission SAFETY-70, 265
- Mississippi River, 480
- Missouri
 - Gov. Warren E. Hearnes, 297 [1]
 - Remarks, 296, 297, 382
- Missouri River, 401
- Model cities program, 3 (p. 5), 12, 13 (pp. 46, 52, 58), 16 (p. 84), 23, 114, 124, 179, 216, 223 [13], 225 [13], 252, 261, 276, 286, 312 [6], 353, 358 [8], 359, 370, 458, 460 [3, 10], 467, 484, 534, 554 [6, 16]
- Mohammed Ben Abdallah, Sultan Sidi, 43 n.
- MOLNIYA Soviet telecommunications satellite system, 346
- Molybdenum stockpiles, 506
- Momyer, Lt. Gen. William W., 567
- Mondale, Sen. Walter F., 541
- Monetary Fund, International, 16 (p. 82), 351, 371, 390, 497, 519, 524, 545
- Monetary policy. *See* Fiscal and monetary policy
- Monetary reserve asset creation, 371
- Monnet, Jean, 545
- Monroney, Sen. A. S. Mike, 546
- Montoya, Sen. Joseph M., 258, 541
- Montreal, Canada, 237
 - Mayor Jean Drapeau, 237
- Moon exploration, 13 (pp. 49-50), 24, 38, 48 n., 104 [18], 533
- Moore, T. Sgt. Francis D., 324 n.
- Moorer, Adm. Thomas H., 485 [2, 3, 5]
- Mora, José A. (Secretary General, Organization of American States), 357, 395
- Moreno, Edward, 396 n.
- Moreno Reyes, Mario (Cantinflas), 449
- Morgan, Graham J., 252 n.
- Morgan, Repr. Thomas E., 278
- Moro, Aldo (Prime Minister of Italy), 204 [4], 572
 - Visit, 278
- Morocco, 46
 - King Hassan II, 43, 46
 - Prince Moulay Abdallah, 43 n.
 - Princess Lalla Aicha, 43 n.
- Morrill Act, 397, 474
- Morris, Staff Sgt. and Mrs. Charles B., 494
- Morris, Douglas, 494
- Morris, William H., 382
- Morrisett, Lloyd, 396 n.
- Morse, Samuel, 474
- Morse, Sen. Wayne, 204 [5], 312 [1], 358 [10], 386, 466
- Mortality rate, 540
- Mortgage Association, Federal National, 88, 114, 179
- Mortgages, 13 (p. 44), 114, 120, 179, 329, 420, 528
 - Housing, 6 [4, 10-11], 103
 - Insurance, 88
 - Ship, 72
- Morton, Dr. Luis M., Jr., 532
- Morton, Sen. Thruston, 328 [17]
- Moseman, Dr. Albert H., 416 n.
- Moss, Sen. Frank E., 33
- Moulay Abdallah, Prince, 43 n.
- Moulton, Dr. Barbara, 93 n.
- Mount Hood National Forest, Oreg., 418
- Mount Jefferson Wilderness, Oreg., 418
- Mountbatten, Earl Louis, 502 n.
- Murphy, Sen. George, 335
- Murphy, W. Beverly, 168 n.
- Murray, Dr. Grover, 448 n.
- Murray, Very Rev. Msgr. Harrold A., 419 n.
- Murray, Philip, 484
- Museum of Art, Metropolitan, 198
- Museum of History and Technology, 540 n.
- Museums in America, 274
- Muskie, Sen. Edmund S., 216, 503
- Mutual defense treaties, 113, 219
- Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange
 - Act of 1961, 245, 344
- Mutual funds, investor protection, 57, 342
- Myers, Lt. Col. Dafford W., 9
- Myers, William I., 156
- Na Champassak, Sisouk, 439
- Nabrit, James M., Jr., 81
- Nam Ngum Dam, Laos, 401

Index

[Main references are to items except as otherwise indicated]

- Narcotic addict rehabilitation bill, 35
Narcotic and Dangerous Drugs, Information and Education Center on (HEW), 35
Narcotic Drugs, Single Convention on, 35, 94
Narcotics. *See* Drugs
Narcotics, Bureau of, 35
Narcotics Control Board, International, 35
Nasher, Raymond D., 157, 252 n.
Nashville, Tenn., 116
Nashville-Davidson County, Tenn., Mayor Beverley C. Briley, 115 n.
National Academy of Sciences, 101
National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, 326, 327, 328 [1, 10, 23]
National Advisory Commission on Food and Fiber, 525
National Advisory Commission on Health Facilities, 77, 419
National Advisory Commission on Health Manpower, 77, 500
National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty, 114
National Advisory Commission on Selective Service, 3 (p. 6), 92, 104 [12], 205 n.
National Advisory Committee on Self-Help, 44
National Advisory Council on Economic Opportunity, 87 n., 114
National Advisory Council on the Education of Disadvantaged Children, 77, 183 n.
National Advisory Council on Education Professions Development, 396
National Advisory Council on Extension and Continuing Education, 185
National Aeronautics and Space Act of 1958, 533
National Aeronautics and Space Administration, 13 (p. 50), 76, 104 [18], 139 n., 220
 Appropriations, 362, 417 [1]
 Cost reduction program, 121
 Michoud Assembly Facility, 533
National Aeronautics and Space Administration Authorization Act, 1968, 362
National Aeronautics and Space Administrator (James E. Webb), 77, 425, 533
Memorandum, 504
National Aeronautics and Space Council, 315
National Association of Educational Broadcasters, 474
National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges, 490 n.
National Bar Association, 114
National Broadcasting Company, 518 [14]
National Bureau of Standards, 31 n.
National Capital Housing Authority, 180
National Capital Planning Commission, 15, 71
National Capital Region. *See* District of Columbia
National Capital Transportation Agency, 15, 154
National Center for Deaf-Blind Youth and Adults, 77, 413
National Center for Health Services Research and Development, 77
National Commission on Product Safety, 57, 342, 499
National Community Christmas Tree, 544
National Conference on Crime Control, 146
National Conference on Medical Costs, 77
National Co-op Month, 1967, 415
National Council on the Arts, 53 n.
National Council on Crime and Delinquency, 276
National Council for Marine Resources and Engineering Development, 20, 101, 240
National defense. *See* National security
National Defense Education Act of 1958, 77
National defense student loan program, 304 n.
National Disaster Warning System, 31 n.
National Earthquake Information Center, 31 n.
National Endowment for the Arts, 53
National Endowment for the Humanities, 54, 77
National Environmental Satellite Center, 31 n.
National Export Expansion Council, 231
National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities, 77
National Gallery of Art, 470
National Grange, 496

Index

[Main references are to items except as otherwise indicated]

- National Guard, 92, 321, 322, 327 n.
- Riot control training, 326
- National Health Agencies, 288
- National Historical Publications Commission, 538 n.
- National Housing Act, 88
- National income accounts budget, 13 (pp. 41, 43, 59), 16 (pp. 76-77), 330 [1]
- National Industrial Conference Board, 57
- National Institutes of Health, 12, 217, 319, 500, 540
- National Legislative Conference, 409
- National Liberation Front (Vietnam), 80 [4], 132 [7], 312 fn. (p. 702), 554 [1], 564
- See also* Vietcong
- National Medal of Science, 37
- National Medal of Science, President's Committee on the, 37 n.
- National Mediation Board, 207, 310
- National Mediation Board, Chairman (Francis A. O'Neill, Jr.), 170, 310
- National Mortgage Association, Federal, 179
- National Newspaper Publishers Association, 297 [14]
- National Park Foundation, 553
- National Park Service, 553
- National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, 267
- National Science Foundation, 1, 77, 165, 193, 314, 540
- National Science Foundation, Director (Leland J. Haworth), 20
- National security, 3 (p. 6), 13 (pp. 39, 46, 48), 16 (p. 88), 48 n., 92, 107, 108, 205, 329, 343, 384, 409, 417 [1, 12], 420, 460 [9], 485 [7], 495 [14], 515, 518 [4, 6], 519, 533
- National Security Act of 1947, 375 [1, 6]
- National Security Council, 83, 255, 375 fn. (p. 821)
- National Security Medal, 383
- National Teacher Corps. *See* Teacher Corps
- National Trade Union Council for Human Rights, 484 n.
- National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Act of 1966, 86, 342, 393, 465, 534
- National Trial Lawyers Association, 114
- National Training School for Boys, 15, 372
- National Vocational Student Loan Insurance Act of 1965, 77
- National Water Commission, proposed, 13 (p. 51)
- National Wilderness Preservation System, 20, 29
- National Youth Administration, 211, 258
- National Zoological Park, 265
- Nationalism, 442, 444
- NATO. *See* North Atlantic Treaty Organization
- Natural Beauty, Citizens' Advisory Committee on Recreation and, 295
- Natural Beauty, President's Council on Recreation and, 295
- Natural gas pipeline safety bill, 57
- Natural Resources, United States-Japan Conference on Development and Utilization of, 491
- Natural resources conservation. *See* Conservation and development of natural resources
- Naval Academy, U.S., 440
- Navigation, air, 13 (p. 44)
- Navy, 308, 410, 424, 440, 485 [5], 527
- Navy, Department of the, 265, 440
- Navy, Secretary of the (Paul R. Ignatius), 446
- Navy, Secretary of the (Paul H. Nitze), 202, 241, 265, 308
- Near East Emergency Donations (NEED), 510
- Negroes, 326, 397, 460 [2], 554 [6]
 - Armed Forces, 55, 104 [12]
 - Civil rights, 55, 81, 463
 - Employment, 16 (p. 73), 55, 199
 - Lincoln, Abraham, role in liberation, 49
 - National Guard membership, 327 n.
 - Social and economic conditions, 55, 463
- Neighborhood centers
 - Antipoverty, 15, 114, 458, 467
 - Health, 13 (p. 53), 16 (p. 76), 77, 114, 452
- Neighborhood facilities program, 12
- Neighborhood Youth Corps, 3 (p. 3), 13 (p. 54), 16 (p. 75), 39, 55, 77, 81, 97, 114, 199, 211, 277, 291, 408 [4]
- Nelson, Dr. Russell A., 500

Index

[Main references are to items except as otherwise indicated]

- Nemerovski, Howard N., 419 n.
- Nepal
 Crown Prince Birendra, 459 n., 461 n., 462
 Economic and social development, 459, 461, 462
 Foreign Minister Kirti Nidhi Bista, 462
 Government, 461 n.
 King Mahendra, 459, 461, 462
 Queen Ratna, 461 n., 462
 U.S. Ambassador Carol Laise, 460 [11], 461
- Netherlands, food aid for India, 33
- Neuberger, Maurine B., 342 n.
- Nevius, John A., 406, 466 n.
- New Deal, 156, 176, 251, 281, 460 [14], 514
- New England
 Governors, 542
 Oceanography, 223 [5]
 Transportation, 223 [2]
- New England Governors' conference, 222, 223, 225 [21]
- New England Regional Commission, 223 [4]
- New Hampshire, 233 [5]
 Gov. John W. King, 223 [3, 5, 8]
- New Haven Railroad, 223 [2], 542
- New Jersey
 Civil disorders, 312 [6]
 Firearms control, 385
 Gov. Richard J. Hughes, 70 [6], 112, 280-282
 Remarks, 279, 280, 282, 283
- New Mexico, 258, 270
- New Orleans, La., 533
 Mayor Victor H. Schiro, 533
- New York, 223 [2, 11], 542
 Gov. Nelson Rockefeller, 70 [6], 223 [11]
- New York Central Railroad, 223 [2], 542
- New York City
 Mayor John V. Lindsay, 251, 326, 327, 460 [10]
 Urban problems, 20, 55, 71, 542
- New York Times, 312 [10]
- New Zealand
 Prime Minister Keith J. Holyoake, 409
 Vietnam assistance, 83, 246
- Newark, N.J., 312 [6]
- Newport News, Va., 241 n.
- News conferences
 January 17, 6
 February 2, 34
 February 27, 70
- News conferences—Continued
 March 2, 80
 March 9, 104
 March 21, 132
 May 3, 204
 May 18, 225
 June 13, 264
 July 1, 297
 July 13, 309
 July 18, 312
 July 31, 328
 August 3, 330
 August 18, 358
 September 1, 375
 September 28, 408
 September 30, 411
 October 5, 417
 November 1, 460
 November 17, 495
 December 4, 518
- Newsom, Herschel, 496
- Newspaper Publishers Association, National, 297 [14]
- Newton, Isaac, 37
- Newton, Quigg, 500
- Nguyen Cao Ky (Vice President of South Vietnam), 73, 132 [1, 3, 4, 7, 10, 13], 134, 135, 297 [15], 352, 358 [5], 567
 Guam conference, 127, 129, 131
- Nguyen Duy Trinh, 34 [6]
- Nguyen Van Loc (Prime Minister of South Vietnam), 564
- Nguyen Van Thieu (President of South Vietnam), 297 [15], 352, 358 [5], 460 [11], 554 [1]
 Guam conference, 127, 130-131
 Joint statement, 564
 Memorial Day messages exchange, 243
- Nicaragua, 44, 336
 President Lorenzo Guerrero, 173
- Nicholson, James M., 518 [2]
- Niger, 400, 403
 Peace Corps projects, 400 n.
 President Diori Hamani, 400, 403
- Nike X missile, 13 (p. 48)
- Nikezic, Marko, 375 [17]
- Nitze, Paul H. (Secretary of the Navy), 202, 241, 265, 308
- Nix, Repr. Robert N. C., 291
- NLF. *See* National Liberation Front

Index

[Main references are to items except as otherwise indicated]

- Nominations. *See* Appointments and nominations
- Nordberg Manufacturing Co., Inc., 231 n.
- Normandy, France, 361
- North Atlantic Treaty Organization, 109,
155 n., 158 n., 162, 169 n., 204 [2], 264
[20], 272, 306 n., 313 n., 347 n., 351,
390, 485 [5], 495 [14], 545, 554 [5]
- Nuclear Planning Working Group, 167
- Secretary General (Manlio Brasio), 521
- U.S. participation, 3 (p. 10), 44, 348
- North Atlantic Treaty Organization, De-
fense Planning Committee of the, 204
ftn. (p. 497)
- North Cascades National Park, Wash.,
13 (p. 51), 20
- North Dakota, Gov. William L. Guy, 419 n.
- Norwich, Conn., 223 [10]
- Norwood, William R. (High Commissioner,
Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands),
133
- Nuclear energy, peaceful uses, 336, 367
- Nuclear Planning Working Group
(NATO), 167
- Nuclear power projects, 515
- Nuclear reactors, 98, 515
- Nuclear research, 515
- Nuclear rocket propulsion, 13 (p. 50), 76
- Nuclear weapons, 167, 192, 515
- Antarctica, 59
- Control, 38, 59, 80 [2]
- Latin America free zone, 64
- Nonproliferation treaty, 64, 80 [2], 157,
162, 169 n., 192, 204 [4], 225 [17],
272, 280, 328 [24], 340 n., 348, 365,
367, 371, 373, 390, 492, 495 [5], 515,
519, 545
- Peaceful uses, 64
- Space, 18, 38, 59, 64, 80 [2], 425, 488
- Test ban treaty (1963), 18 n., 59
- Nugent, Patrick J., 225 [16], 529
- Nugent, Mrs. Patrick J. (Luci Baines John-
son), 210, 225 [16], 273, 278 n., 332,
420, 493, 517, 529, 538, 540
- Nugent, Patrick Lyndon, 225 [16], 270, 273,
278, 281, 498 n., 529
- Nurses, 15, 77
- Nursing homes, 12, 13 (p. 53), 298, 419
- NYA (National Youth Administration),
211, 258
- Oakes, E. M., 420 n.
- O'Brien, Lawrence F. *See* Postmaster Gen-
eral
- Occupational safety, 77
- Occupational training, 3 (p. 2), 13 (p. 54),
16 (pp. 79, 83), 55, 114, 193, 199, 261,
286, 291, 412, 479, 512
- Federal aid, 13 (p. 54), 16 (p. 82), 67, 91
- Government employees, 184
- Handicapped persons, 413
- Health personnel, 16 (p. 85), 77, 285
- Migrant workers, 114
- Police, 3 (p. 6)
- Prisoners, 71
- Schools, 193
- Task force, 199
- Teachers, 13 (p. 55), 77
- Women, 93
- Work-experience program, 55, 199
- Work-study programs, 13 (p. 55), 39
- Work-training programs, 13 (p. 54), 114
- Youth, 114, 193, 484
- Oceanic resources. *See* Marine resources
- Oceanographer*, 20
- Oceanography, 20, 101, 223 [5]
- Ochel, Ernest A., 388
- O'Connell, Gen. John P., 433
- O'Connor, Basil, 21
- Odegaard, Charles E., 500
- OECD (Organization for Economic Coop-
eration and Development), 306 n.
- Offshore mineral deposits, 101
- Ohio, Gov. James A. Rhodes, 552 n., 558
- Ohio River Bridge, 558
- Ohmart, Gochler E., 420 n.
- Oil
- Coastal waters pollution, 240
- Middle East conflict, supply impact, 358
[11]
- Shale processing, 358 [11]
- Oil, United States National Committee for
the Prevention of Pollution of the Seas
by, 240
- Oil Pollution Industry Advisory Board, 240
- Oklahoma, 270
- Old, Dr. Bruce S., 416 n.
- Old-age assistance bill. *See* Social Security
Amendments of 1965

Index

[Main references are to items except as otherwise indicated]

- Older Americans Act of 1965, 12, 299
- Older Americans Act Amendments of 1967, 12 n., 296, 297 [9], 299
- Older persons, 261, 296, 297 [9], 299, 534
 - District of Columbia, 574
 - Employment, 12, 114, 199
 - Federal programs, 12
 - Health and welfare, 12, 13 (p. 53), 179
 - Medical care, 3 (p. 2), 12, 15, 81, 114, 286, 298, 574
 - Message to Congress, 12
 - See also* Medicare
- Olds, Col. Robin, 536
- Ollendorff, Henry B., 365
- Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act, proposed. *See* Safe streets and crime control bill
- O'Neil, Joseph R., Jr., 352 n.
- O'Neill, Francis A., Jr. (Chairman, National Mediation Board), 170, 310
- O'Neill, Richard W., 4 n.
- Open housing (nondiscrimination), 3 (p. 51), 55
- Operation Green Thumb, 114
- Oppenheimer, Dr. J. Robert, death, 62
- Opportunities Industrialization Center, Philadelphia, Pa., 291
- Orbiter spacecraft, 13 (p. 50)
- Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, Military, 49 n.
- Oregon, 418
- Organization of African Unity, 51 n., 52
- Organization of American States, 100, 152, 395
- Organization of American States, Secretary General (José A. Mora), 357, 395
- Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, 33, 44, 306 n.
- Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, Commission on, 99, 121
- Organized crime, 35, 382, 468
- Orphans, benefits for, 114
- Osler, Sir William, 201
- Ottawa, Canada, 239 n.
- Outer Space, United Nations Committee on the Peaceful Uses of, 18 n., 557
- Outer space treaty. *See* Space treaty
- Pace, Frank, Jr., 510 n.
- Pacific Council, Asian and, 44, 111, 219
- Pacific Islands, Trust Territory of the, 133, 218, 360
- Pacific Pumps, Inc., 231 n.
- Packaging and labeling, 57, 86, 200, 393, 465, 534
- Pago Pago, American Samoa, 559
- Pahlavi, Mohammad Reza (Shah of Iran), 363, 364, 366, 509
- Paine, Thomas, 549
- Pak Chung Hee. *See* Park, Chung Hee
- Pakistan, 297 [3], 449, 452, 569
 - Assistance, 3 (p. 10), 44
 - Food needs, 469
 - Kashmir dispute, 100
 - President Mohammed Ayub Khan, 569
 - U.S. Ambassador Eugene Locke, 116
 - Visit, 569
- Palmer, Lt. Gen. Bruce, 567
- Palmer, Mr. and Mrs. Lester, 210
- Pan American Day and Week proclamation, 152
- Pan American Development Foundation, 357 n.
- Panama, 44, 336
- Paramaribo, Surinam, 178
- Park, Chung Hee (President of South Korea), 111 n., 112 n., 113, 409, 563
- Park, Mrs. Chung Hee, 111 n.
- Park, Chung Hun, 113
- Park Foundation, National, 553
- Park Service, National, 553
- Parking facilities, 114
- Parks
 - National, 13 (pp. 44, 51), 20, 90, 96, 418, 534
 - See also specific parks*
- Participation certificates, 13 (p. 44), 329, 330, 420
- Partnership for Health Amendments of 1967, 12, 57, 77, 318 n., 520, 539
- Paso del Norte Bridge, 454
- Pastore, Sen. John O., 225 [1], 391, 474
- Patent reform bill, 65
- Patent system, 16 (p. 87), 65
- Patman, Repr. Wright, 465, 537
- Patrick V. McNamara Office Building, 535
- Patton, Gen. George S., Jr., 512
- Paul VI. *See* Pope Paul VI
- Pay. *See* Wages and pay
- Payne, John W., 388

Index

[Main references are to items except as otherwise indicated]

- Pazhwak, Abdul Rahman, 143
 Peace Corps, 90, 133 n., 218, 266, 275, 292, 400 n.
 Pearson, Lester B. (Prime Minister of Canada), 237, 239, 272, 543
 Peay, Oscar, 324 n.
 Peden, Katherine Graham, 326
 Pengel, Johan (Minister President of Surinam), 178
 Pennsylvania
 Bureau of Rehabilitation, 413
 Gov. Raymond P. Shafer, 426
 Remarks, 291
 Veterans' employment programs, 345
 Pennsylvania Avenue, Temporary Commission on, 71
 Pennsylvania Railroad, 223 [2], 542
 Pension plans, consumer protection, 57, 200
 Pentagon, peace demonstrations, 441
 Pepper, Repr. Claude, 28
 Perkins, Repr. Carl D., 30 n., 193, 338 n., 413
 Perkins, Dr. James, 423
 Perry, Edgar H., 210
 Peru, 44
 Peterson, Esther, 86
 Peterson, Rudolph A., 168 n.
 Petroleum, 358 [11]
 Philadelphia, Pa., 291
 Mayor James H. J. Tate, 291
 Philippines
 President Ferdinand E. Marcos, 328 [12], 409
 Rice research, 448
 Vietnam assistance, 83, 246
 Physical education, 160
 Physical Fitness, President's Council on, 160
 Physical Fitness Leadership Award, 160
 Physical rehabilitation, 413
 Physical Society, American, 192
 Physicians, 39, 77
 Pickle, Repr. J. J., 485 [1-3, 5-7]
 Pictured Rocks National Lake Shore, Mich., 20
 Pierce, William J., 342 n.
 Pifer, Alan, 474
 Pipeline safety, gas, 57, 200, 342, 393, 430, 465, 499, 520, 534, 539
 Pittsburgh, Pa., Mayor Joseph Barr, 252 n.
 Pizzello, Ralph J., 324
 Plainfield, N.J., 312 [6]
 Planning-Programing-Budgeting System, 13 (pp. 59, 60), 121
 "Plea for Realism, A," 225 ftm. (p. 543)
 Pleiku, South Vietnam, 309 [3]
 Plowshare program (peaceful uses for nuclear explosives), 336
 Plutonium, 491, 515
 Poage, Repr. W. R., 33, 405, 541
 Podgorny, Nikolai V. (President of the Presidium, Supreme Soviet, U.S.S.R.), 104 [8], 190, 472
 Point Pleasant, W. Va., 558
 Poland, 83, 245, 347 n.
 U.S. Ambassador John A. Gronouski, 225 [18]
 Police, 146, 382, 455
 District of Columbia, 15, 27, 71, 441, 466
 Facilities, 482
 Federal aid, 3 (p. 6), 71, 146, 482, 530
 Pay, 27, 382, 482, 575
 Standards, 35
 Training, 3 (p. 6)
 Warrants, arrest, 71
 See also Law enforcement
 Poliomyelitis, 286
 Political contributions, 204 [8], 236
 Political system, U.S., 123-124, 236, 502
 Polk, James K., 117
 Pollak, Stephen J., 225 [22], 411 [1], 466
 Polls, public opinion, 41, 225 [7, 15], 251, 297 [4, 13], 328 [3, 11], 375 [15], 466, 495 [2, 7], 502
 Pollution control, 23, 421, 484
 Air, 3 (p. 5), 13 (p. 53), 20, 149, 186, 216, 222, 295, 329, 503, 534
 Government cooperation with business, education, and labor, 20
 Great Lakes, 101
 Industrial, 16 (p. 85), 186
 Marine resources, 240
 Memorandum, 186
 Research, 20, 186
 Water, 3 (p. 2), 13 (p. 51), 16 (p. 85), 20, 101, 222, 223 [6], 295, 300, 329, 503, 534
 Pollution Control Administration, Federal Water, 13 (pp. 51, 57)

Index

[Main references are to items except as otherwise indicated]

- Pollution of the Seas by Oil, United States National Committee for the Prevention of, 240
- Pope Paul VI, 346, 570, 573
 Message, 42
 Vietnam peace efforts, 42, 116, 135, 411 [5], 571, 573
 Visit with, 571, 572
- Population
 Developing nations, 272
 Family planning, 469
 Increase, 92, 270, 498
 200 millionth American, 498, 499
 Urban, 234, 503
 Western Hemisphere, 110
 World, 63, 286, 469, 476, 491, 519
- Porter, William J., 104 [14], 131, 317 n.
- Poseidon missiles, 13 (p. 48)
- Post Office Department, 13 (p. 46), 121, 163, 168, 312 [1]
- Postal Organization, Commission on, 168
- Postal Policy Act of 1958, 163
- Postal Revenue and Federal Salary Act of 1967, 330 fn. (p. 741), 417 [1], 546
- Postal services. *See* Mail services
- Postmaster General (Lawrence F. O'Brien), 30, 216, 237 n., 315, 379, 546
- Potomac Valley, 13 (p. 51), 20
- Potts, Frederic A., 291
- Pound devaluation, British, 497, 499, 519, 524
- Poverty, 291, 354, 376, 442, 444, 448, 514, 517, 538
 Message to Congress, 114
See also Antipoverty programs
- Poverty, Conference on Women in the War on, 211
- Poverty, National Advisory Commission on Rural, 114
- Powell, Adam Clayton, 80 [3]
- Power projects, nuclear, 515
- Prayer breakfast, presidential, 32
- Prayer for Peace, Memorial Day, proclamation, 229
- Prenatal care, 39, 114
- Presidency, 115
 Comments, 34 [3], 495 [5]
 Powers, 358 [10], 375 [18]
 Responsibilities, 159, 358 [10]
 Succession or disability, 68
- President Adolfo Lopez Mateos Channel, 454
- Presidential documents published in Federal Register, Appendix B, p. 1219
- Presidential Election Campaign Fund, Advisory Board on the, 236
- Presidential Election Campaign Fund Act of 1966, 236
- Presidential reports to Congress
 List, Appendix C, p. 1225
See also Congress, reports to, messages transmitting
- Presidential Scholars, 201, 266
- Presidential Unit Citations, 61, 106, 226, 302, 334, 384, 407, 424, 456, 457
- President's Advisory Committee on Labor-Management Policy, 121
- President's Advisory Council on Cost Reduction, 121, 232
- President's Award for Distinguished Federal Civilian Service, 317
- President's Club, Democratic Party, 421 n.
 Dinner remarks, 281
- President's Commission on Campaign Costs, 236
- President's Commission on Crime in the District of Columbia, 15, 27, 71
- President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, 3 (p. 6), 13 (p. 56), 35, 39, 60, 146, 221, 276, 382, 385
- President's Committee on Consumer Interests, 86, 200, 393, 430, 465
- President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped, 388
- President's Committee on Mental Retardation, 373, 517
- President's Committee on the National Medal of Science, 37 n.
- President's Committee on Urban Housing, 252, 355, 358 [8], 412
- President's Council on Physical Fitness, 160
- President's Council on Recreation and Natural Beauty, 295
- Press
 Freedom, 286, 495 [13], 502
 Relations with President, 34 [3]
 Remarks to, 536
- President's Science Advisory Committee, 33, 48, 101, 271
- Price, Mrs. Margaret, 216, 421

Index

[Main references are to items except as otherwise indicated]

- Price Index, Consumer, 430
- Prices, 228, 294, 460 [12], 476, 496, 497, 518 [18], 545
 - Controls, 13 (p. 40), 16 (p. 78), 518 [9]
 - Food, 228
 - Increase, 3 (p. 7), 13 (p. 40), 16 (pp. 72, 74-76, 78, 89), 57, 63, 329, 417 [1, 6], 420, 430, 460 [12], 495 [9], 524, 534
 - Stability, 3 (p. 7), 16 (pp. 75, 78), 430, 524, 534
 - Wage-price policy, 16 (p. 78), 518 [9], 524
 - Wholesale, 16 (pp. 75, 78, 88)
- See also specific commodities*
- Prison Industries, Inc., Federal, 71
- Prisoners, 13 (p. 56), 71, 146, 382
- Prisoners of war
 - Geneva accords, 34 [2], 80 [4], 83, 116, 118, 144, 145, 366, 462, 564
 - Vietnam conflict, 312 [7], 572, 573
- Prisons, 146
- Privacy, right of, 35, 105
- Private organizations, participation in Federal programs, 412
- Private Resources, Office of (AID), 44
- Proclamations
 - Dairy import reductions, 294
 - List, Appendix B, p. 1219
 - Memorial Day, Prayer for Peace, 229
 - Pan American Day and Week, 152
 - Tariff reductions, 545
 - Thanksgiving Day, 481
- Product Safety, National Commission on, 57, 342, 499
- Production, 13 (p. 41)
 - Agricultural, 156, 496, 525
 - Food, 13 (p. 49), 271, 476, 496, 554 [12]
 - Increase, 16 (pp. 72, 73, 78, 89), 199, 270, 554 [13]
 - Industrial, 13 (p. 40), 498
- Profits, 3 (p. 7), 270, 420, 524, 534, 554 [13]
 - Corporate, 3 (p. 7), 13 (p. 40), 16 (p. 73), 329
- Project Head Start, 3 (pp. 3, 5), 13 (p. 54), 16 (pp. 75, 85), 39, 55, 77, 81, 114, 211, 277, 286, 291, 397, 452, 495 [5], 532, 540
 - See also Follow Through*
- Programming-Budgeting System, Planning, 121
- Project 100,000 (Department of Defense), 92
 - "Project Remed," 432 n.
- Project Transition, veterans' program, 345
- Protectionism, 465
- Protein fortification in food, 33, 101, 176
- Protestor, President as, 264 [17]
- Province, Harry, 532
- Psalms, Book of, 238
- Public accommodations, 55
- Public assistance, 13 (pp. 44, 46), 114
 - District of Columbia, 15
 - Expenditures, 329
 - Migrant workers, 114
 - State, 13 (p. 54), 16 (p. 83)
 - Taxes, 16 (p. 83)
 - Unemployed, 13 (p. 54), 16 (p. 83), 114
- Public Broadcasting, Corporation for, 77, 474
- Public Broadcasting Act of 1967, 77, 346, 474, 490
- Public debt, 13 (pp. 44-46, 56), 264 [6], 329
- Public Health Service, 13 (p. 57), 193, 520
- Public Health Services Amendments of 1966, 16 (p. 85), 121
- Public housing, 114, 355 n., 380, 412
- Public opinion polls. *See* Polls, public opinion
- Public Roads, Bureau of, 369
- Public service education bill, 121, 148
- Public television, 77, 346, 474, 490, 559
- Public works, 6 [5, 10], 114, 329, 330 [1]
- Publications Commission, National Historical, 538 n.
- Publishers Association, National Newspaper, 297 [14]
- Puerto Rican-Dominican Republic, Joint Economic Commission, 436
- Puerto Ricans, 199, 397
- Puerto Rico
 - Gov. Roberto Sánchez-Vilella, 436
 - U.S. citizenship, 50th anniversary, 84
- Punta del Este, Charter of, 152, 451
- Punta del Este meeting of American Chiefs of State, 70 [4], 272, 357, 394, 448, 451, 473, 495 [5], 519, 523
 - Message to Congress, 110
 - Releases, 171-175, 177
 - Remarks, 171, 173, 175-178
- Purcell, Repr. Graham, 405

Index

[Main references are to items except as otherwise indicated]

- Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906, 57
- Pyle, Ernie, 494
- Quang Tri Province, South Vietnam, 309 [5]
- Quebec, Canada, Premier Daniel Johnson, 237
- Quie, Repr. Albert H., 182
- Quilter, Gen. Charles J., 485 [2]
- Quinn, Lt. Gen. William W., 502 n.
- Racial Discrimination, Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of (U.N.), 488
- Radiation research, 31 n.
- Radio, 286, 474, 477
- Radio Hanoi, 136 n.
- Radio Propagation Laboratory, Central, 31 n.
- Radioactive fallout, 59
- Rahman, Abdul (Prime Minister of Malaysia), 409
- Railroad labor dispute, 204 [5, 9], 310, 312 [1, 3]
 - Economic impact, 170, 188, 194, 207, 310
 - Emergency board, 207, 310, 386
 - Joint resolution to provide for settlement, 311
 - Messages to Congress, 170, 207
 - "No strike" period, 172, 174, 194, 310
 - Special panel, 174, 188, 207, 310
 - Statements, 172, 174, 188
- Railroad Retirement Board, 244, 315 n.
- Railroads, 223 [2], 286
 - Labor dispute. *See* Railroad labor dispute
 - Rapid transit systems, 154, 234, 353, 358 [3]
 - Retirement system, 12, 244
 - Wages, 188
- Railway Labor Act, 170, 172, 188, 204 [5, 9], 207, 310
- Rainmaking projects in India, 230
- Rains, Albert, 87 n.
- Rama III, King (Thailand), 290 n.
- Ramsey, Judge William F., 79
- Randolph, A. Philip, 484
- Randolph, Sen. Jennings, 503
- Randolph Air Force Base, Texas, 151 n.
- Rankin, J. Lee, 68
- Rare earths, 506
- Rat control bill, 114, 318, 326, 328 [7], 358 [3], 534, 539, 554 [16]
- Rather, Dan, 529, 554
- Ratna, Queen (Nepal), 461 n., 462
- Ravitch, Richard, 4 n.
- Raw materials, 16 (p. 79)
- Rayburn, Sam, 63, 150, 156, 206, 228, 262, 296, 496
- Raye, Martha, 196
- Reactors, nuclear, 98, 515
- Recessions, 16 (p. 88)
- Recreation and Natural Beauty, Citizens' Advisory Committee on, 295
- Recreation and Natural Beauty, President's Council on, 295
- Recreation programs and facilities, 13 (p. 51), 15, 29, 240
 - Children, 160, 203, 209
 - Construction, 20
 - Rural, 114
 - Seashores, 553
 - State, 203
 - Trails, 20
 - Urban, 114, 553
- Red Cross, American National, 22, 287
- Red Cross, International Committee of the, 287, 312 fn. (p. 702)
- Redwood National Park, Calif., 20
- Refugees, Middle East, 264 [15], 272, 281
- Rehabilitation
 - Criminals, 13 (p. 56), 71, 382
 - Vocational, 413
- Rehabilitation, Bureau of, Pennsylvania, 413
- Reilly, John R., Jr., 518 [2]
- Reinecke, Repr. Ed, 227
- Reminiscences, the President's
 - Depressions, 286
 - Employment, early, 211, 267
 - Former Presidents, 21, 28
 - Rural electrification support, 267
 - Space program support, 38
 - Teaching experiences, 258
 - Visits abroad
 - American Samoa, 559
 - Asia, 272
 - Canada, 237
 - Iceland, 313

Index

[Main references are to items except as otherwise indicated]

- Reminiscences, the President's—Continued
Visits abroad—Continued
Iran, 363, 364, 509
Korea, 112
Mexico, 447
Thailand, 289, 290
Vietnam, 446
Remittances to Europe, Cooperative for
American, 33, 153
Rent supplements, 13 (p. 52), 15, 16 (pp.
75, 85), 23, 88, 114, 179, 223, [13], 225
[13], 261, 312 [6], 353, 358 [3, 8], 359,
370, 380, 460 [3, 10], 467, 534, 554
[6, 16]
Reorganization plans
District of Columbia (No. 3), 247, 307,
337, 339
Ships' mortgages (No. 1), 72
Tariff Commission, United States (No.
2), 99
Reports to the Congress
List, Appendix C, p. 1225
See also Congress, reports to, messages
transmitting
Reports to the President
Citizens' Advisory Committee on Recrea-
tion and Natural Beauty, 295
National Advisory Commission of Food
and Fiber, 525
President's Commission on Law Enforce-
ment and Administration of Justice,
60
President's Science Advisory Committee,
space program, 48
Railroad labor dispute panel, 188
Space Program in the Post Apollo Period,
48
Republican Coordinating Committee, 330
[9]
Republican Governors Association, 297 [6]
Republican Party, 225 [13], 251, 375 [15]
Record in Congress, 150, 479, 534
Vietnam conflict criticism, 204 [10, 16]
Research
Agricultural, 13 (p. 60), 449 n.
Biomedical, 76, 77, 540
Child health, 39
Crime, 35, 382
Education, 540
Fire safety, 57
Research—Continued
Grants, 6 [6]
Health 16 (p. 85), 77, 260, 319
Law enforcement, 35
Marine resources, 20, 101, 176
Medical, 13 (p. 53), 77, 161, 319, 477,
500
Military, 13 (p. 48)
Nuclear, 76, 515
Oceanographic, 20, 101
Pollution control, 20, 186
Rice, 448
Scientific, 37, 165, 491, 540
Space. See Space research and exploration
Transportation, 16 (p. 87)
Urban, 114, 353, 359, 370
Water resources, 284
Weather. See Weather prediction and con-
trol
Wheat, 448, 449, 452, 453
Research, Institutes for Environmental, 31 n.
Reserve forces, 92, 309 [1], 410, 475, 485
[6]
Reserve System. See Federal Reserve System
Residency voting bill, 236
Resignation, Secretary of Commerce, 8
Resor, Stanley R. (Secretary of the Army),
102, 166, 331, 384, 407, 494, 558
Resources Corporation, Development and,
73
Respiratory ailments, 20
Retardation, President's Committee on Men-
tal, 373, 517
Retirement
Government employees, 12
Insurance, 245
Military, 92
Railroad employees, 12, 244
Retirement Systems, Cabinet Committee on
Federal Staff, 25
Reuther, Walter P., 252 n.
Revenue and Expenditure Control Act of
1968, 329 n., 375 fn. (p. 819), 411
fn. (p. 886), 420 fn. (p. 905), 427 n.,
430 n., 495 fn. (p. 1050), 518 fn.
(p. 1089), 554 fn. (p. 1171)
Revenues, Federal, 13 (p. 39), 16 (p. 77),
329, 330 [1, 8], 358 [12], 411 [11], 417
[1], 430, 495 [9]
Revolutionary War, 485 [3], 495 [11]

Index

[Main references are to items except as otherwise indicated]

- Reynolds, Frank, 529, 554
 Reynolds, James J., 97, 170, 204 [5], 312 [3]
 Rhode Island, 223 [2]
 Gov. John H. Chafee, 222 n., 223 [2, 3]
 Rhodes, Gov. James A., 552 n., 558
 Rhodesia, Southern, 74, 488
 Rice, 448
 Rieke, Mary, 396 n.
 Rifle sales to Singapore, 104 [19]
 Right of privacy bill, 35
 Riis, Jacob A., 114, 146
 Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 351, 390
 Rio Grande, 47, 408 [5], 447, 454
 Riots. *See* Civil disorders
 Ripley, S. Dillon (Secretary, Smithsonian Institution), 265, 274, 540
 Ritchie, A. Edgar, 237
 Rivers system, scenic, 20
 Roads, Bureau of Public, 369
 Robb, Capt. Charles S., 529
 Robb, Mrs. Charles S., (Lynda Bird Johnson), 420, 493, 517, 529, 533
 Roberts, Mrs. Anne Mason, 93 n.
 Roberts, Charles, 132 [4]
 Roberts, Edmund, 290 n.
 Roberts, Roy, death, 69
 Robinson, Lt. Col. Hugh G., 536
 Robinson, Spottswood W., III, 81
 Robinson, Thomas E., 279 n., 281, 282
 Robinson, Mrs. Thomas E., 282
 Rockefeller, Laurance S., 295
 Rockefeller, Gov. Nelson A., 70 [6], 223 [11]
 Rockefeller Foundation, 448, 449
 Rocket propulsion, nuclear, 13 (p. 50), 76
 Rockets. *See* Launch vehicles
 Rockne, Knute, 480
 Rocky Mountains, oil shale processing, 358 [11]
 Rodgers, Maj. Marie L., 475
 Rodino, Repr. Peter W., Jr., 391
 Rogers, Will, 449
 Rolvaag, Karl F., 313
 Rolz-Bennett, José, 521
 Romania, 347 n.
 Prime Minister Ion Gheorghe Maurer, 312 [15]
 Rome, Italy
 Releases, 570, 571, 572
 Visit, 570
 Rome, Treaty of, 391 n.
 Romney, Carl F., 317 n.
 Romney, Gov. George W., 70 [11], 322, 328 [2], 331, 375 [10]
 Telegrams, 321, 325
 Roosevelt, Franklin D., 7 n., 12, 21, 25, 28, 39, 40, 43 n., 57, 92, 105, 112 n., 114, 121, 176, 211, 216, 241, 249, 251, 267, 270, 281, 299, 409, 470, 485 [5], 495 [11], 505, 512, 514, 537, 554 [6]
 Roosevelt, Franklin D., Jr., 28
 Roosevelt, John A., 28
 Roosevelt, Theodore, 39, 57, 114, 121, 125, 201, 262, 281, 450, 465, 541
 Roosevelt, Theodore, Memorial, 450
 Roosevelt Association, Theodore, 450
 Roosevelt Birthday Memorial Award, Franklin D., 21
 Rose, Alex, 484
 Rose, William Cumming, 37 n.
 Rosen, Abe S., 291
 Rosenblith, Walter A., 252 n.
 Rosengard, Dr. David E., 419 n.
 Rostow, Eugene V., 33, 230
 Rostow, Walt W., 113, 157, 254 n., 255, 264 [11, 19], 519, 562
 Roth, William M. (Special Representative for Trade Negotiations), 142, 428, 545
 Rover rocket, 76
 Roving Leader program, 15, 71
 Royal Thai Air Force Base, Khorat, Thailand, 565
 Rubilla, 319
 Rules governing this publication, Appendix D, p. 1227
 Rural areas, 13 (p. 60), 512
 Antipoverty programs, 3 (p. 5)
 Development, 13 (p. 57), 114
 Education, 479
 Electrification, 13 (p. 50), 267, 270
 Employment, 114, 199
 Income, 13 (p. 50)
 Loans, 114
 Message to Congress, 114
 Rural Electric Cooperative Association, National, 267
 Rural Electrification Administration, 13 (pp. 46, 51)
 Rural Poverty, National Advisory Commission on, 114

Index

[Main references are to items except as otherwise indicated]

- Rush-Bagot Agreement, 237 n.
- Rusk, Dean. *See* State, Secretary of
- Rusk, Mrs. Dean, 447, 449, 480, 519
- Russell, Harold, 388
- Russell, Sen. Richard B., 493
- Ryan, Gen. John D., 555
- Ryan, Repr. William F., 554 [1]
- Ryukyu Islands, 491

- Safe streets and crime control bill, 3 (p. 6), 35-36, 146, 221, 276, 297 [7], 326, 382, 455, 468, 482, 530, 560, 575
- Safety
 - Accident prevention, 499
 - Automobile, 77
 - Aviation, 392
 - Bridge, 558
 - Drug, 214
 - Fabric, 57, 200, 393, 465, 499, 520, 534, 539
 - Fire prevention, 57
 - Government employees, 265
 - Gas pipeline, 57, 200, 342, 393, 430, 465, 499, 520, 534, 539
 - Highway, 13 (p. 52), 20, 86, 200, 534
 - Hospitals, 534
 - Household, 200, 499, 534, 539
 - Meat, 57, 465, 499, 503, 520, 522, 534, 539, 541
 - Occupational, 77
 - Tire, 342
 - Toy, 86, 393, 465, 534
 - Transportation, 149
- SAFETY-70, Mission, 265
- Saigon, South Vietnam, 73, 309 [5]
- Saint Elizabeths Hospital, District of Columbia, 15
- St. John, Gospel of, 319
- Saint Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation, 398
- St. Louis, Mo.
 - Democratic Governors conference, 296, 297
 - News conference, 297
- St. Louis Cardinals, 429
- St. Paul, 376, 570
- Salaries. *See* Wages and pay
- Salary Commission, Joint, 163
- Saltonstall, Leverett, 312 [1, 3], 386
- Samoa. *See* American Samoa
- Samuels, Howard J., 512

- San Antonio, Texas
 - Housing, 531
 - Mayor Walter W. McAllister, 151 n.
 - Releases, 85-92, 151, 179-180, 209, 243, 293-295, 298-304, 378, 379, 410 n., 455, 504, 506, 507, 530, 531, 574-577
 - Vietnam policy address, 409, 411 [6], 460 [13], 554 [1]
- San Diego, Calif., 303
- San Gabriel Wilderness, Calif., 418
- San Luis, Colo., 452
- San Rafael Wilderness, Calif., 20, 29, 96, 418
- Sánchez-Vilella, Gov. Roberto, 436
- Sandburg, Carl, 320, 387
- Sandburg, Mrs. Carl, 387
- Sanders, Carl, 4 n., 87 n.
- Sanders, Harold Barefoot, 411 [2]
- Santa Ana, Calif., 485 [2]
- Saragat, Guiseppe (President of Italy), 515, 572
- Visit, 389-391
- Satellite Center, National Environmental, 31 n.
- Satellite Consortium, International Telecommunications (INTELSAT), 122, 346
- Satellite Corporation, Communications (ComSat), 122, 346
- Satellites, 346
 - Communications, 122, 176, 346, 389, 423, 425, 474, 533
 - Defense, 346
 - Global system, 346
 - Sputnik, 533
 - Weather, 121
- Sato, Eisaku (Prime Minister of Japan), 437
- Visit, 486, 487, 491, 492, 493 n.
- Sato, Mrs. Eisaku, 486, 487
- Saturn V launch vehicle, 19 n., 24, 76, 483, 533
- Savage, Francis S., 352
- Savang Vathana (King of Laos), 438 n.
- Savings, personal, 16 (p. 76), 86, 420
- Savings bonds, 66, 315
- Savings and loan associations, 3 (p. 8), 16 (p. 86), 88, 103, 104 [1], 420
- Savings note, Freedom Share, 66
- Sayre, Very Rev. Francis B., Jr., 387
- Scenic rivers system, 20
- Scenic sites preservation, 13 (p. 51), 295
- Scherer, Raymond L., 225 [19], 529, 554

Index

[Main references are to items except as otherwise indicated]

- Schiro, Victor H., 533
Schirra, Capt. Walter M., Jr., 533
Schlesinger, Arthur, Jr., 104 [4]
Schneider, Mrs. Edythe, 361 n.
Schnittker, John A., 33, 476
Schoendienst, Red, telegram, 429
Scholars, Woodrow Wilson Center for, 71
Scholarships and fellowships, 1, 13 (p. 55), 148, 217, 359, 451, 490
School Officers, Council of Chief State, 182 n.
Schools, 276, 484
 Computer uses, 77
 Construction, 532, 540
 Desegregation, 55, 77, 225 [12]
 District of Columbia, 15
 Dropouts, 55, 193, 199, 413, 532, 540
 Lunch and milk programs, 15, 39, 63, 228, 353, 405
 Peace Corps partnership, 90
 Urban, 493
 Vocational, 193
Schultze, Charles L. *See* Budget, Bureau of the, Director
Science, 192, 448
 Education, 165, 217, 230
 Research, 37, 165, 491, 540
Science, National Medal of, 37
Science, President's Committee on the National Medal of, 37 n.
Science Advisory Committee, President's, 33, 48, 101, 271
Science Foundation, National, 1, 77, 165, 193, 314
Science Scholars, Lyndon B. Johnson Australian, 1
Science Services Administration, Environmental, 31
Science and Technology, Federal Council for, 478
Science and Technology, Inter-American Foundation for, 176
Science and Technology, Office of, 20, 315 n.
Science and Technology, Office of, Director (Donald F. Hornig), 1, 20, 37, 65, 82, 139 n., 186, 192, 219, 388, 478 n.
 China, Republic of, mission, 416
 Memorandum, 186
Sciences, National Academy of, 101
Scientific and Cultural Organization, United Nations Educational, 198 n.
Scientists, 192
Scott, Sen. Hugh, 291
Scott Aviation Corp., 231 n.
Scotton, Frank W., 352 n.
Screwworm eradication, 319, 448
Sea grant colleges and programs, 101
Seaborg, Glenn T. (Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission), 227, 504, 515
Seashores, national, 553
SEATO. *See* Southeast Asia Treaty Organization
Second Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1967, 140 n., 203 n., 225 fn. (p. 541)
Securities, investor protection, 57
Securities and Exchange Commission, 57, 103, 104 [1]
Security Council, U.N. *See* United Nations
Seismic sea waves, 31 n.
Selassie, Haile (Emperor of Ethiopia), 51, 52
Seldovia, Alaska, 369
Selective Service, National Advisory Commission on, 3 (p. 6), 92, 104 [12], 205 n.
Selective Service Act of 1948, 92
Selective Service System, 3 (p. 5), 104 [12], 315 n.
 Draft requirements, 297 [9], 309 [4]
 FAIR (fair and impartial random) selection, 92, 205
 Message to Congress, 92
 Negroes, 104 [12]
 Rejectees, 92, 199
 State directors, remarks, 205
 Voluntary enlistments, 286
Selective Service System, Director (Lt. Gen. Lewis B. Hershey), 92, 104 [12], 205
Self-Help, National Advisory Committee on, 44
Selfridge Air Force Base, Mich., 321, 322
Senate committees. *See other part of title*
Service Agencies, International, 288
Servicemen. *See* Armed Forces, U.S.; Military, U.S.
Sessions, Clinton F., 275 n.
7th Airborne Battalion, Airborne Division, Army of the Republic of Vietnam, 457
Seward, Alaska, 369
Shackleton, Mrs. Polly, 406, 466 n.
Shafer, Eric E., 41 n.
Shafer, Gov. Raymond P., 426

Index

[Main references are to items except as otherwise indicated]

- Shakespeare, William, "Julius Caesar," 248 n.
- Shannon, Claude Elwood, 37 n.
- Shannon, James A., 319
- "Share Your Summer" children's program, 39, 209
- Sharp, Adm. U.S. Grant, Jr., 134, 204 [1], 246 n.
- Shaw Junior High School, District of Columbia, 15
- Sheet glass tariffs, 428
- Shellfish, 101
- Shen, Samson C., 219
- Shepley, Steven C., 352 n.
- Sherman, Roger, 376
- Ship Mortgage Act, 1920, 528
- Shipbuilding industry labor disputes, 104 [15]
- Shipp, Dr. Kathryn Grove, 93 n.
- Ships
Augusta, U.S.S., 485 [5]
 Construction, 13 (p. 48), 410, 528
 Contracts, 410
Enterprise, U.S.S., 484, 485 [5], 493, 495 [3]
Forrestal, James V., U.S.S., 330 [1]
John F. Kennedy, U.S.S., 241
Liberty, U.S.S., 264 [4]
 Masters, liens on wages, 528
 Mortgages, 72, 528
Oceanographer, 20
 Oceanographic research, 101
 Submarines, 515
Torrey Canyon, 240
- Shoe imports, 223 [3]
- Shoshone National Forest, Wyo., 418
- Shoumatoff, Madame Elizabeth, 28
- Shoup, Carl, 85 n.
- Shriver, R. Sargent. *See* Economic Opportunity, Office of, Director
- Shriver, Mrs. R. Sargent, 373, 517
- Siam, 290
- Siegel, Seymour N., 474
- Silk, Leonard S., 85 n.
- Silver Bridge, W. Va.-Ohio, collapse, 552, 558
- Simpson, Donald F., 458 n.
- Sinclair, Upton, "The Jungle," 541
- Singapore, 433-435
 British troop withdrawals, 312 [17]
- Singapore—Continued
 Economic and social development, 433, 434
 Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew, 409, 433-435
 Rifle purchases from U.S., 104 [19]
 Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs, 35, 94
- Sirikit, Queen (Thailand), 289, 290, 293
- Sisk, Repr. B. F., 227
- Sitton, Paul L., 485 [8]
- Sizer, Theodore, 396 n.
- Slavery, 49, 81
- Slums, 286, 512, 517, 554 [6]
 Clearance, 23
 Rat control, 114
 Renewal committee, 252
 Unemployment, 114
- Small business, 427
 Loans, 427, 504
- Small Business Act Amendments of 1967, 427
- Small Business Administration, 315 n., 369, 412, 427, 428, 504
- Small Business Administrator (Bernard L. Boutin), 325 n., 412
- Smallpox, 110
- Smeder, Rear Adm. O. R., 485 [8]
- Smith, Adam, 228
- Smith, Chloethiel W., 4 n.
- Smith, Gov. Hulett C., 514, 552 n., 558
- Smith, Sen. Margaret Chase, 475
- Smith, Merriman, 80 [7], 104 [2, 19], 204 [16], 225 [22], 375 [1, 23], 460 [6, 14], 495 [14], 518 [19]
- Smith, Preston, 409
- Smith, Roy J., 532
- Smith, Sam, 538
- Smith-Hughes Act (Vocational Education Act of 1917), 67, 193
- Smithsonian Institution, 265, 540
- Smithsonian Institution, Secretary (S. Dillon Ripley), 265, 274, 540
- Social security, 6 [13], 12, 13 (p. 42), 16 (pp. 76, 89), 23, 25, 216, 296, 330 [1], 358 [3], 479
- Benefits extension, 3 (p. 5), 12, 13 (pp. 41, 54), 16 (pp. 77-78, 83), 39, 81, 114, 244, 499, 500, 505
- Farmers, 12

Index

[Main references are to items except as otherwise indicated]

- Social security—Continued
 - Legislation, 312 [4]
- Social Security Act of 1935, 12, 15, 114, 299
- Social Security Administration, 298
- Social Security Amendments of 1965, 12
- Social Security Amendments of 1967, 244 n., 505 n.
- Social workers, 15
- Social Workers, Council of International Programs for Youth Leaders and, 365
- Socrates, 376
- Soil erosion, 300
- Solicitor General (Erwin N. Griswold), 275 n., 443
- Solicitor General (Thurgood Marshall), 81, 221, 264 [21], 266
 - Question of successor, 264 [7]
 - Supreme Court appointment, 263, 264 [9, 21], 266, 267 n.
- Somoza, Luis, 173
- Sorenson, Theodore C., 104 [13]
- South Carolina, 115
- Southeast Asia Treaty Organization, 3 (p. 11), 83, 116, 293, 409, 460 [9], 495 [14], 519, 534, 554 [1]
- Southern California, Metropolitan Water District of, 13 (p. 51), 284
- Southern Rhodesia, 74, 488
- Southwest Texas State College, 490 n.
- Souvanna Phouma (Prime Minister of Laos), 448, 480
 - Visit, 438, 439
- Souvanna Phouma, Princess Moune, 439
- Soviet Union, 80 [2, 7], 83, 245, 328 [25], 401
 - Ambassador Anatoly F. Dobrynin 18 n., 279, 282, 425
 - Anniversary, 472
 - Antimissile defense system, 3 (p. 11)
 - Chairman of the Presidium, Supreme Soviet, Nikolai V. Podgorny, 104 [8], 190, 472
 - Cooperation with U.S., 495 [5]
 - Civil air agreement, 80 [2]
 - Consular convention, 3 (p. 10), 34 [1], 80 [2], 104 [11], 119, 157, 225 [17], 519
 - Cultural exchanges, 80 [2]
 - Soviet Union—Continued
 - Cooperation with U.S.—Continued
 - "Hotline" (communications link with U.S.), 59, 264 [16], 297 [3]
 - Nuclear weapons control, 373
 - Space exploration, 425, 519
 - Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko, 279, 280, 282, 283
 - Foreign relations, 347 n.
 - India food aid, 33
 - INTELSAT participation, 346
 - Middle East conflict policy, 264 [3], 279
 - Military strength, 59
 - Missile strength, 13 (p. 48), 157
 - MOLNIYA telecommunications satellite system, 346
 - Premier Aleksei N. Kosygin, 80 [2, 7], 104 [8], 157, 264 [16], 279–283, 286, 312 [13], 346, 554 [2]
 - Relations with U.S., 3 (p. 10), 80 [2, 5, 7], 104 [11], 264 [16], 272, 279, 280, 282, 286, 346, 554 [2, 4]
 - Space exploration, 157
 - Trade with U.S., 16 (p. 80)
 - U.S. Ambassador Llewellyn E. Thompson, 80 [2], 104 [11], 282
 - Vietnam policy, 104 [8], 204 [12], 264 [5], 554 [2]
 - Space Administration. *See* National Aeronautics and Space Administration.
 - Space Council, National Aeronautics and, 315
 - Space objects, U.N. agreement for rescue and return, 557
 - Space research and exploration, 13 (p. 50), 18, 76, 425, 533, 557
 - Appropriations and expenditures, 13 (p. 50), 328 [14], 362, 533
 - International cooperation, 38, 157, 425
 - Laboratories, manned orbiting, 24
 - Mars, 13 (p. 50)
 - Moon, 13 (pp. 49–50), 24, 48 n., 104 [18], 533
 - Reports, 24, 48, 220
 - Treaty governing. *See* Space treaty
 - U.S.-Soviet cooperation, 157
 - Space treaty, 24, 38, 59, 80 [2], 220, 225 [17], 425, 488, 491, 519, 557

Index

[Main references are to items **except** as otherwise indicated]

- Space treaty—Continued
 Signing, 18
Spacecraft
 Apollo, 19 n., 24, 48, 104 [18], 533
 Gemini, 24
 Orbiter, 13 (p. 50)
 Surveyor, 13 (p. 50), 24
 Voyager, 13 (p. 50)
Sparkman, Sen. John, 537
Speaker of the House of Representatives
 (John W. McCormack), 3 (p. 2), 32,
 105, 169, 216, 217 n., 236, 338, 420, 460
 [5]
 Dinner honoring, 7, 206
 Letters. *See* Congress, letters to Members
 of
 Speech, freedom of, 286, 495 [13]
Spellman, Francis Cardinal, 270, 516
Spending, Government, 13 (pp. 39-40, 43),
 16 (p. 77), 329, 330 [1], 362, 417 [1,
 10], 518 [6], 556
 Defense funds statement, 120
 Increase, 6 [2], 13 (p. 42), 16 (pp. 76,
 79)
 Priorities, 328 [23], 358 [12], 556
 Reduction and control. *See* Cost reduction
 programs
 See also Budget; Defense spending
Spivak, Alvin A., 70 [12], 309 [8]
Springer, Repr. William L., 474
Sputnik satellite, 425, 533
SST. *See* Supersonic civil transport
Staats, Elmer B. (Comptroller General), 16
 (p. 87), 85 n., 236
Stabler, Neil, 34 [8]
Staggers, Repr. Harley O., 474, 517, 520, 539
Stainless steel flatware tariffs, 428
Stamp program, food, 63, 353, 405
Standard of living, 57, 393, 420, 498, 505
Standards, National Bureau of, 31 n.
Stanford University, 540
Stassen, Harold E., 421
State, Department of, 10 n., 157, 198, 344 n.,
 346, 365 n., 460 [1], 461, 478, 518 [12],
 568
 Appropriations, 417 [1]
 Foreign Policy Conference for Educators,
 272
 State, Secretary of (Dean Rusk), 18, 71, 74,
 80 ftn. (p. 261), 116, 134, 144, 147,
 162, 189, 195, 219, 230, 248 n., 249 n.,
 254 n., 255, 256, 272, 279, 280, 282, 283,
 286, 287, 294, 348, 356, 360, 390, 395,
 409, 425, 426, 433, 434, 446, 447, 449,
 451, 454 n., 461, 480, 486, 488-490, 492,
 519, 529, 545
 Memorandum, 186
 News conference remarks on, 34 [1], 70
 [1, 3, 4, 7], 104 [2, 10], 132 [8, 11],
 204 [2], 223 [8, 12], 225 [2], 264
 [20], 328 [25], 358 [10], 375 [1, 2],
 460 [7], 495 [13, 14], 554 [1, 5, 8]
State Colleges and Universities, Association
 of, 490 n.
State School Officers, Council of Chief, 182 n.
State Technical Services Act of 1965, 148
State of the Union Message, 3
 Comments, 11, 70 [3], 77, 104 [3], 121,
 124, 138, 148
State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges,
 National Association of, 490 n.
Statements by the President
 Abu Simbel Egyptian temples, preserva-
 tion, 198
 Adenauer, Konrad, death, 181
 Appointments. *See* Appointments and
 nominations
 Astronaut rescue, U.N. agreement, 557
 Atomic Energy Commission budget, 98
 Attlee, Clement, death, 422
 Bridge safety task force, 558
 British pound devaluation, 497
 Central Intelligence Agency, relations with
 private voluntary organizations, 147
 Chaffee, Lt. Comdr. Roger B., death, 19
 College students, Federal aid, 304
 Community development on site of Na-
 tional Training School, 372
Congress, messages to
 Children and youth, 40
 Consumer protection, 58
 Crime in America, 36
 Education and health, 78
 Equal justice, 56
 Foreign aid, 45
 Servicemen and veterans, 26

Index

[Main references are to items except as otherwise indicated]

Statements by the President—Continued

Consular convention with Soviet Union,
34 [1], 119
Cyprus, Greece-Turkey dispute, 521
District of Columbia reorganization, 307,
339, 341
Drug reaction monitoring, worldwide, 214
Economic development, regional, 576
Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Commit-
tee, meeting with U.S. Representa-
tive, 340
Electric power blackouts, 253
Federal Council for Science and Tech-
nology, enlargement, 478
Federal programs, deferred funds, 120
Fogarty, Repr. John E., death, 2
Freedom Share savings note, 66
Garner, John Nance, death, 471
Gestido, Oscar, death, 523
Government employees
Education, 184
Pay, 140
Safety, 265
Grains Arrangement, International, 476
Grissom, Lt. Col. Virgil I., death, 19
Health Sciences, International Center for
Advanced Study in the, 217
Holt, Harold E., death, 550
Housing construction, 88
Independence Day, 301
India
Livestock feed relief, 138
Wheat shipments, 375 [21]
International Cooperation, White House
Conference on, 157
Iran, AID program, 509
Kennedy, John F., 4th anniversary of
assassination, 501
Kennedy Round trade negotiations, 224
Komarov, Vladimir, death, 190
Labor Day, 354, 376
Lands for model communities, 531
Latin America, multinational science and
technology program, 473
Latin American conference. *See* Punta del
Este meeting of American Chiefs of
State
Luce, Henry, death, 75
McNaughton, John T., death, 316
Meat inspection bill, 522

Statements by the President—Continued

Medicare, first anniversary, 298
Middle East conflict
National Security Council committee,
255
Rising tensions, 233
United Nations cease-fire vote, 254
Victims, relief, 287, 510
Model cities, Senate committee action, 370
National Gallery of Art construction gift,
470
Negroes, social and economic report, 463
New Haven Railroad, aid, 542
Nuclear nonproliferation draft treaty, 367
Nuclear rocket and research facilities, 76
Oppenheimer, Dr. J. Robert, death, 62
Pacific Islands, meeting with High Com-
missioner of the Trust Territory, 133
Pearson, Prime Minister Lester B., retire-
ment, 543
Pope Paul VI, visit with, 571
Postal Organization, Commission on, 168
President's Award for Distinguished Fed-
eral Civilian Service, 317
President's Commission on Law Enforce-
ment and Administration of Justice,
report, 60
Railroad labor dispute, 172, 188
Rat extermination bill, 318
Rent supplements, Senate committee ac-
tion, 370
Rio Grande salinity control, U.S.-Mexico,
47
Roberts, Roy, death, 69
Safe streets and crime control bill, 530
Sandburg, Carl, death, 320
Saturn V rocket launch, 483
"Share Your Summer" children's pro-
gram, 209
Smith-Hughes Act, anniversary, 67
Social security bill, Senate approval, 505
Space objects, U.N. agreement on return,
557
Space program report, 48
Spellman, Francis Cardinal, death, 516
Student grants, 164
Supersonic civil transport, 197
Tariff "escape clause" actions, 428
Teacher Corps, 183
Textile industries, economy, 414

Index

[Main references are to items except as otherwise indicated]

Statements by the President—Continued

Tijuana River flood control, 303

Tornado relief in Midwest, 187

Veterans

Civilian health occupations, 432

Employment, 345

Vietnam, North, bombing by U.S., 50

Vietnam, South, Constitution, 129

Waterman, Alan T., death, 513

White, Lt. Col. Edward H., 2d, death, 19

Yoshida, Shigeru, death, 437

See also Joint statements with foreign leaders; Legislation, remarks or statements upon approval

States

Appalachian, 11

Commerce directors, remarks, 148

Creative federalism, 13 (p. 57), 296

Crime control, 146

Cultural resources, 53

Education, 490

Employees, 13 (pp. 53, 58), 121, 148

Employment, 199

Federal aid, 458, 576

Federal tax revenue sharing, 225 [21]

Governors. *See* Governors

Health programs, 13 (p. 53), 223 [6]

Jury selection, nondiscrimination, 55

Law enforcement assistance, 35

Meat inspection, 57, 541

Midwest, tornadoes, 187

New England, transportation, 223 [2]

Public assistance, 13 (p. 54), 16 (p. 83)

Recreational facilities, 203

Student aid, 338

See also Federal-State-local governmental responsibilities; Federal-State-local relations; *specific States*

Statistics. *See specific entry*

Steam, geothermal, 20

Steel, 286

Prices, 375 [4], 518 [18]

Steinbeck, John, "Grapes of Wrath," 114

Stennis, Sen. John, Vietnam conflict criticism, 375 [3, 18]

Stevenson, Adlai E., 100, 532

Stewart, William H. (Surgeon General), 57, 260, 477

Stigall, Lt. Col. and Mrs. Arthur D., 485 [1]

Stigall, Susan, 485 [1]

Stimson, Henry Lewis, 70 [9]

Stipp, John E., 420 n.

Stock market, 460 [12]

Stockpiles of strategic and critical materials, 16 (p. 87), 506

Strategic materials. *See* Stockpiles of strategic and critical materials

Strategic Service, Office of, 502

Strauss, Mrs. Anna Lord, 526

Strecker, R. J., 420 n.

Strikes. *See* Labor disputes

Stroke, 6 [15], 477

Student loan program, national defense, 304 n.

Students

Dropouts, 413

Employment, 378

Exchange programs, 143 n., 344

Federal aid, 77, 148, 164, 338, 378, 413, 423

Loans, 304, 338, 490

Military service, 92

Selective service, 205

Suicides, 285

Summer trainee program, 201

Work-study programs, 13 (p. 55), 77, 304 n., 378

Stulberg, Louis, 342 n., 484

Submarines, nuclear, 515

Subway construction, 20

Suez Canal, 264 [14], 375 [22]

Suffridge, James A., 87 n., 442

Suicide, 285

Sullivan, David, 87 n., 419 n.

Sullivan, Rev. Leon H., 291

Sullivan, Repr. Leonor K., 393, 405, 465

Sullivan Law (New York), 35

Summer Youth Opportunities, 39

Sunay, Cevdet (President of Turkey), 109, 155, 158, 162

Sunay, Mrs. Cevdet, 109, 155, 158, 162

Supersonic civil transport, 13 (pp. 48, 52), 31 n., 197

Supplemental Defense Appropriation Act, 1967, 14 n., 159

Supreme Court of the United States, 55, 105, 263, 411 [8]

Supremes, The (singing group), 281

Index

[Main references are to items except as otherwise indicated]

- Surcharge proposal. *See* Income taxes
Surgeon General (William H. Stewart), 57, 260, 477
Surinam
 Governor Lucien de Vries, 178
 Minister President Johan Pengel, 178
Surpluses. *See specific commodities*
Surveyor spacecraft, 13 (p. 50), 24
Suttle, William W., 23, 160, 286
Swearing-in ceremonies
 Commerce, Department of
 Secretary, 268
 Under Secretary, 512
 Consumer Affairs, Special Assistant for, 200
 District of Columbia
 Commissioner and Assistant Commissioner, 406
 Council, 466
 Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
 Chairman, 333
 Member, 258
 Justice, Department of
 Attorney General, 105
 Deputy Attorney General, 335
 Solicitor General, 443
 Labor, Department of
 Assistant Secretary for Labor-Management Relations, 97
 Under Secretary, 97
 Trade Negotiations, Special Representative for, 142
 Transportation, Secretary of, 5
 Switzer, Mary E., 413
 Sydney (Australia), University of, 1
 Symington, Sen. Stuart, 375 [1]

Taconic Foundation, 484
Taft, Robert A., 358 [10]
Taft, William Howard, 70 fn. (p. 224), 121, 281
Taft-Hartley Act. *See* Labor-Management Relations Act
Taiwan. *See* China, Republic of
Talent Search program, 304 n.
Tamm, Quinn, 382
Tanana River, Alaska, 369
Taos County, N. Mex., 452

Tariff Commission, United States, 99, 414, 428, 508
Tariffs, 175, 294
 "Escape clause" actions, 428
 Reduction, 142, 428, 442, 508, 545
 See also Trade, international; *specific commodities*
Tariffs and Trade, General Agreement on, 142, 224, 508
Task forces, governmental
 Bridge safety, 558
 Career advancement, Federal, 184
 Communications policy, 346
 Grant-in-aid processing time, 458
 Occupational training, 199
 Tariffs on sheet glass and carpets, 428
 Travel to U.S., 16 fn. (p. 81)
Tate, James H. J., 291
Taxation and Development Standards, Commission on Codes, Zoning, 4, 16 (p. 84)
Taylor, George W., 174, 188, 204 [5], 207, 310, 312 [1]
Taylor, Hobart, Jr., 81
Taylor, Gen. Maxwell D., 80 [4], 83, 134, 195, 225 [11], 328 [9, 12, 16], 352, 384
Taylor, Mrs. Otrie, 342 n.
Taxes
 Collection, 13 (pp. 44, 59), 16 (p. 76)
 Corporate, 6 [13], 13 (p. 41), 16 (p. 77), 329, 330 [1, 6, 7], 417 [7]
 District of Columbia, 15
 Excise, 6 [17], 16 (p. 76), 329, 420
 Federal-State revenue sharing, 225 [21]
 Income. *See* Income taxes
 Increase, 3 (p. 8), 6 [3, 13, 17, 19], 13 (p. 42), 16 (pp. 76, 77), 104 [3], 204 [6], 225 [9], 312 [4], 328 [8, 21], 329, 330 [1, 2, 5, 6-9], 358 [12], 362, 375 [8], 411 [11], 417 [1, 5-8, 10, 12], 420, 421, 427, 430, 460 [4, 12], 465, 490, 495 [9], 518 [4, 6, 9], 554 [13], 556
 Investment incentive plan, 6 [2, 9, 13, 17], 16 (p. 76), 103, 104 [1], 204 [6], 329
 Policy and reform, 12, 13 (p. 40), 16 (pp. 76, 81, 83, 86), 465, 533
 Political contributions, voluntary deductions, 204 [8], 236

Index

[Main references are to items except as otherwise indicated]

- Taxes—Continued
Revenues, 13 (pp. 39, 43), 16 (p. 77), 329, 330 [1, 8], 358 [12], 411 [11], 417 [1], 430, 495 [9]
Surcharge. *See* Income taxes
Urban, 4
Teacher Corps, 6 [13], 13 (p. 55), 15, 16 (pp. 75, 85), 77, 182–183, 223 [13], 225 [13], 266, 275, 276, 291, 292, 479, 534
Teacher of the Year Award, 182
Teachers, 423
District of Columbia, 15
Employment, 292, 396
Exchange programs, 344
Pay, 493
Shortages, 493
Training, 13 (p. 55), 77
Teague, Repr. Olin E., 374
Technical assistance to developing nations, 44, 157, 175, 346, 423, 469, 545
Technical Employees, International Federation of Commercial, Clerical, and, 442
Technological progress, 37, 57, 65, 192, 193, 431, 448, 465, 496
Technology, Federal Council for Science and, 478
Technology, Inter-American Foundation for Science and, 176
Technology, Museum of History and, 540 n.
Tehran, Iran, 363
Telecommunications Satellite Consortium, International (INTELSAT), 122, 346
Telephones, 346
Overhead utility lines, 295
Taxes, 329
Television, 474
“A Conversation With the President,” 554
Educational, 3 (p. 6), 13 (p. 55), 77, 176, 346, 474, 477, 492, 559
Public, 77, 346, 474, 490, 559
Temporary Commission on Pennsylvania Avenue, 71
Tennessee, 115–117
Gov. Buford Ellington, 87 n., 115–117
Tennessee, University of, 538 n.
Tennessee Historical Commission, 538 n.
Tennessee Valley Authority, 13 (p. 46), 117, 315 n.
Tenney, Mr. and Mrs. Roger, 182
Territory of the Pacific Islands, Trust, 133, 218
Terry, Gov. Charles L., 121 n.
Texas, 115, 397
Floods, 408
Gov. John B. Connally, 408 [1, 4, 8], 452
Hurricanes, 408
Remarks, 210, 270, 409, 452, 532
Rio Grande salinity control with Mexico, 47
Texas, University of, 210, 385
Texas Municipal League, 123
Texas Technological College, Lubbock, Tex., 448
Textiles, 223 [3], 414
Thailand, 44, 272, 290, 401, 409, 480
Communist aggression, 293, 409
Foreign Minister Thanat Khoman, 290, 409
King Bhumibol Adulyadej, 289, 290, 293
Queen Sirikit, 289, 290, 293
Relations with U.S., 289, 290, 293
U.S. forces, 565, 573
U.S.-Thai Treaty of Friendship, 290 n.
Vietnam assistance, 83, 246, 293
Visit, 565
Thalidomide tragedy, 214 n., 215
Thanat Khoman, 409
Thanksgiving Day proclamation, 481
Theodore Roosevelt Memorial, 450
Thieu, President. *See* Nguyen Van Thieu
3d Aerospace Rescue and Recovery Group, Military Airlift Command, 106
3d Marine Division, Reinforced, Fleet Marine Force Pacific, 456
Thomas, Helen, 6 [20], 225 [19]
Thompson, Charles C., 156
Thompson, Llewellyn E., 80 [2], 104 [11], 282
Thompson, William S., 406, 466 n.
Thoreau, Henry David, 474
Thornberry, Judge and Mrs. Homer, 210
Thornton, Charles B., 326
Thorsteinsson, Petur, 313
Thrash, Gen. William G., 485 [2]
388th Tactical Fighter Wing, 565 n.
Throckmorton, Lt. Gen. J. L., 322, 331
Thua Thien province, South Vietnam, 309 [5]
Thuc (Vu Quoc Thuc), 131

Index

[Main references are to items except as otherwise indicated]

- Thucydides, 301
 Thunberg, Mrs. Penelope H., 95
 Tidal waves, 31 n.
 Tijuana River, 303
 Tiran, Straits of, 272
 Tire safety, 342
 Tiros weather satellite, 121
 Tito, Josip Broz (President of Yugoslavia), 328 [13], 375 ftn. (p. 821)
 Tobriner, Walter N., 372 n., 466
 Tocqueville, Alexis de, 349 n., 415
 Tonkin, Gulf of, resolution, 358 [10], 460 [9], 495 [14], 534, 554 [1]
 Toohey, Edward F., 291
 Tootell, R. B. (Governor, Farm Credit Administration), 156
 Tornadoes, 31 n., 187
Torrey Canyon, 240
 Tower, Sen. John, 408 [1, 5, 8]
 Townes, Charles H., 192
 Toy safety, 86, 200, 393, 465, 534
 Trade, General Agreement on Tariffs and, 142, 224, 508
 Trade, international, 16 (p. 79), 121, 231, 250, 294, 442, 445, 465, 476, 491, 497, 508, 519, 524, 525, 545, 554 [5]
 Automotive products, 137
 Barriers reduction, 16 (p. 79), 428, 508, 545
 Fairs and exhibitions, 245
 Message to Congress, 508
 Protectionism, 465, 492, 508, 545
 Quotas, 492
 Trade agreements, program, 445
 United States and
 Asia, 231
 Canada, 137, 508
 Eastern Europe, 3 (p. 10), 16 (p. 80), 80 [2], 157, 225 [18], 231
 Korea, 113
 Latin America, 110, 173, 175-178
 Mexico, 451
 Southern Rhodesia, 74
 Soviet Union, 16 (p. 80)
 Trade Commission, Federal, 518 [2]
 Trade Committee, United States-Mexico Joint, 451
 Trade and Development, United Nations Conference on, 100
 Trade and Economic Affairs, Joint United States-Japan Committee on, 381, 491
 Trade Expansion Act of 1962, 16 (p. 80), 224, 428, 445, 508, 545
 Trade Negotiations, Special Representative for (William M. Roth), 142, 428, 545
 Trade Union Council for Human Rights, National, 484 n.
 Trade Week, World, 231
 Traffic accident prevention. *See* Safety
 Traffic safety bill. *See* National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Act of 1966
 Trails, nationwide system, 20
 Transit Authority, Washington Metropolitan Area, 15, 154
 Transportation, 13 (p. 52), 149
 District of Columbia, 15, 154
 Federal aid, 542
 New England, 223 [2]
 Rail rapid transit systems, 154, 234, 353, 358 [3]
 Research, 16 (p. 87)
 Safety, 149
 Saint Lawrence Seaway, 398
 Urban, 16 (p. 85), 20, 114, 179, 234, 353, 358 [3], 412, 467, 542
 User charges, 16 (p. 86)
 Transportation, Department of, 5, 13 (pp. 52, 57), 57, 121, 139, 149, 223 [2], 478, 542
 Appropriations, 417 [1]
 Transportation, Secretary of (Alan S. Boyd), 6 [3], 20, 57, 70 [6], 72, 114, 139 n., 149, 170, 186, 197, 204 [5], 208, 223 [2], 310, 542, 558
 Letter, 392
 Memorandum, 240
 Swearing in, 5
 Transportation Agency, National Capital, 15, 154
 Travel
 Americans abroad, 34 [1], 119, 389
 Foreigners in U.S., 13 (p. 51), 16 (p. 81), 389
 Government employees, 25
 Travel, Industry-Government Special Task Force on, 16 ftn. (p. 81)
 Travel, President's plans, 70 [5], 328 [22]
 Travel Service, United States, 16 (p. 81)

Index

[Main references are to items except as otherwise indicated]

- Treasury, Department of the, 13 (p. 56), 66, 88, 264 [6], 312 [4], 315 n., 330 [1], 420, 524 n.
- Treasury, Post Office, and Executive Office Appropriation Act, 1968, 417 [1]
- Treasury, Secretary of the (Henry H. Fowler), 6 [17, 18], 35, 63, 74, 77, 85, 89, 103, 236, 255, 330 [1, 4, 8], 371, 373, 394 n., 417 [1, 10], 511, 529, 554 [13]
- Treaties, proposed
- Nonproliferation treaty, 64, 80 [2], 157, 162, 169 n., 192, 204 [4], 225 [17], 272, 280, 328 [24], 340 n., 348, 365, 367, 371, 373, 390, 492, 495 [5], 515, 519, 545
 - Space exploration, 18, 24, 38, 59, 80 [2], 220, 225 [17], 519, 557
- See also specific subject*
- Treaty of Rome, 391 n.
- Trial Lawyers Association, National, 114
- Trimble, Vice Adm. Paul E., 485 [8]
- Trinidad and Tobago, 152
- Trowbridge, Alexander B. *See* Commerce, Secretary of
- Trowbridge, Mrs. Alexander B., 268
- Trowbridge, Kimberly, 268 n.
- Trowbridge, Scott, 268 n.
- Trowbridge, Stephen, 268 n.
- Trueblood, Robert, 85 n.
- Truman, President Harry S., 3 (p. 3), 12, 44, 55, 70 [10] and ftm. (p. 224), 99, 107, 108, 111-112, 121, 150, 158, 216, 233, 236, 251, 267, 270, 281, 358 [10], 375 [18], 421, 495 [2, 9], 539
- Truman Doctrine, 107-109, 155 n., 158, 162
- Trust funds, 13 (pp. 41, 43, 45, 59)
- Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, 133, 218, 360
- Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, High Commissioner (William R. Norwood), 133
- Truth in lending, 16 (p. 86), 57, 342, 393, 430, 460 [5], 465, 499, 503, 520, 534, 539
- Truth in packaging, 57, 86, 200, 393, 465, 534
- Tuberculosis, 161
- Tunisia, 245
- Tupper, Stanley R., 238
- Turkey, 449
- Assistance, 44, 158, 162
 - Communist aggression, 397, 409
 - Cyprus dispute with Greece, 100, 162, 518 ftm. (p. 1093) 519, 521, 545
 - Economic and social development, 44, 109, 155, 158, 162
 - Foreign Minister Ihsan Sabri Caglayangil, 162
 - Nuclear weapons, 167
 - President Cevdet Sunay, 109, 155, 158, 162
 - Relations with U.S., 109, 155, 158, 162
 - U.S. Ambassador Parker T. Hart, 158 n.
- Turner, Frederick Jackson, 236
- Turner, J. C., 406, 466 n.
- Turner, Robert C., 85 n.
- Turnkey housing project, 355 n., 372, 412, 460 [10], 467
- Twain, Mark, 275, 538
- 21st Tactical Air Support Squadron, USAF, 61
- Tydings, Sen. Joseph D., 193, 286
- Typewriter ribbon cloth tariffs, 428
- U-235 nuclear fuel, 491
- U Thant. *See* United Nations
- Ulysses, 37
- Underdeveloped countries. *See* Developing nations
- Unemployment, 13 (p. 40), 16 (p. 73), 199, 286, 329
- Decrease, 3 (p. 7), 13 (p. 39), 16 (pp. 73, 82), 114, 199, 286, 354, 412
 - Hard-core, 13 (p. 54), 412, 427, 512, 554 [6]
 - Insurance, 12, 16 (p. 84), 97, 114, 199, 548
 - Minority groups, 16 (p. 73), 55, 199
 - Older persons, 12, 199
 - Rural, 199
 - Statistics, 55
 - Unskilled workers, 16 (p. 73)
 - Urban, 144, 199
 - Veterans, 345
 - Youth, 55, 199, 328 [19]
- United Arab Republic, 198, 233, 254 n., 257, 264 [12, 13], 254 n., 257, 264 [12, 13]

Index

[Main references are to items except as otherwise indicated]

- United Arab Republic—Continued
Conflict with Israel. *See* Middle East conflict
Cotton exports to U.S., 375 [20]
United Community Campaigns of America, 402
United Givers Fund, 288
United Kingdom, 83, 204 ftn. (p. 497)
Ambassador Sir Patrick Dean, 18 n., 425
Foreign Secretary George Brown, 278, 404
Malaysia troop withdrawals, 312 [17]
Pound devaluation, 497, 499, 519, 524
Prices, 430
Prime Minister Harold Wilson, 249, 250, 518 [8, 10], 554 [5]
Queen Elizabeth II, 540
Ship construction contracts with U.S., 410
Singapore troop withdrawals, 312 [17]
Trade, 497, 508
Weapons purchases from U.S., 410
United Nations, 100, 109, 111, 143 n., 312 [12], 313 n., 390, 404, 423, 435, 438, 459, 480, 488, 491
Africa, action on, 100, 488
Astronauts and space objects, rescue and return, 557
Charter, 46, 74, 100, 144 n., 162, 233, 257, 272, 366, 488
Communist China membership question, 219
Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, 488
Cyprus conflict, 100, 162, 518 ftn. (p. 1093), 519, 521, 545
Developing nations aid, 100, 488
Dominican Republic, 100
Financial support, 100, 488
General Assembly, 38, 100, 219, 233, 425, 488
Kashmir dispute, 100
Korean conflict, 100
Middle East conflict, 233, 239, 254, 255, 257, 272, 287, 297 [3], 488, 519, 554 [2]
Narcotic drug control, 94
United Nations—Continued
Secretary General (U Thant), 18 n., 70 [12], 144, 225 [8], 233, 328 [4], 411 [5], 488, 521
Security Council, 74, 100, 204 [13], 233, 239, 251, 254, 257, 312 [9], 488, 521
Southern Rhodesia, 488
Space treaty, 18, 24, 38, 59, 80 [2], 220, 225 [17], 519, 557
U.S. participation and support, 100, 272, 488
U.S. Representative (Arthur J. Goldberg), 18 n., 38, 70 [12], 100, 116, 144, 204 [13], 233, 255, 257, 264 [1], 272, 297 [3], 425, 461, 488, 518 [12], 554 [2]
Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 488
Vietnam conflict, 100, 132 [9], 144, 204 [13], 225 [6], 312 [9], 409, 411 [5], 488, 495 [14], 518 [12]
Water resources development, 230
United Nations, Food and Agriculture Organization of the, 33, 415 n.
United Nations Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, 18 n.
United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, 100
United Nations Development Program, 100
United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 198 n.
United Nations Industrial Development Organization, 100, 488
United Nations Outer Space Committee, 557
United Nations Participation Act of 1945, 74
United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA), 510
United Press International, 460 [5]
United States Armed Forces Institute, 199
United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, 59
United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Director (William C. Foster), 64 n., 340, 365, 367

Index

[Main references are to items except as otherwise indicated]

United States Conference of Mayors, 337
 United States Employment Service, 13 (p. 54)
 United States Information Agency, 245 n., 357 n., 568
 United States Information Agency, Director (Leonard H. Marks), 238, 352
 United States-Japan Committee on Trade and Economic Affairs, Joint, 381, 491
 United States-Japan Conference on Development and Utilization of Natural Resources, 491
 United States Jaycees, 23, 160, 286, 291
 United States and Mexico, International Boundary and Water Commission, 408 [2, 8]
 United States-Mexico Commission for Border Development and Friendship, 451
 United States-Mexico Joint Trade Committee, 451
 United States Military Academy, 19 n., 495 [14]
 United States National Committee for the Prevention of Pollution of the Seas by Oil, 240
 United States Naval Academy, 440
 United States Supreme Court, 55
 United States Tariff Commission, 99, 414, 428, 508
 United States Travel Service, 16 (p. 81)
 Universities, Association of State Colleges and, 490 n.
 Universities and Land-Grant Colleges, National Association of, 490 n.
 University of Virginia, 184 n.
 UNRWA (United Nations Relief and Works Agency), 510
 Uplands R.C.A.F. Base, Ottawa, Canada, 239 n.
 Upward Bound program, 39, 114, 211, 532
 Urban areas, 4, 13 (p. 52), 23, 55, 222, 326, 329, 421, 460 [10], 463, 498, 517
 Antipoverty programs, 312 [6], 328 [19]
 Beautification, 295
 Civil disorders. *See* Civil disorders
 Crime, 353, 455
 Development, 3 (p. 2), 13 (pp. 52, 60), 114, 179, 223 [10], 252, 261, 353, 358 [3], 460 [10]
 Education, 479, 493

Urban areas—Continued

 Federal aid, 13 (p. 52), 16 (p. 84), 114, 179, 225 [1], 328 [14, 17, 26], 353, 358 [8], 380, 458, 467, 576
 Housing, 16 (p. 85), 23, 114, 252, 355, 380, 412, 460 [10]
 Insurance firms, aid, 380, 460 [10], 467
 Legislation, 353, 358 [8], 460, [2, 10]
 Message to Congress, 114
 Model cities program, 3 (p. 5), 12, 13 (pp. 46, 52, 58), 16 (p. 84), 23, 114, 124, 179, 216, 223 [13], 225 [13], 252, 261, 276, 286, 312 [6], 326, 353, 358 [8], 359, 370, 458, 460 [3, 10], 467, 484, 534, 554, [6, 16]
 Population, 234, 503
 Recreational facilities, 114, 553
 Research, 114, 353, 359, 370
 Slums, 14, 23, 252, 286, 512, 517, 554 [6]
 Study fellowships, 359
 Taxes, 4
 Transportation, 16 (p. 85), 20, 114, 179, 234, 353, 358 [3], 412, 467, 542
 Unemployment, 199
 Water resources, 16 (p. 84), 230
 See also Federal-State-local governmental responsibilities; Federal-State-local relations
 Urban Development, Institute of, 114
 Urban Housing, President's Committee on, 252, 355, 358 [8], 412
 Urban Studies Fellowship Advisory Board, 359
 Uruguay
 President Oscar D. Gestido, 171, 175 n., 176, 523
 Visit, 171, 173, 175, 176, 177
 Utility lines, overhead, 295
 Uttar Pradesh, India, 33

 Vail, Thomas, 500
 Valdez, Alaska, 369
 Valenti, Jack, 281, 391
 Valley Forge, Pa., 361
 Vance, Cyrus R., 166, 204 [1], 208 n., 321, 322, 325, 328 [2, 20], 331, 518 [15], 519, 521
 Vance, John T., 518 [3]
 Van Deerlin, Repr. Lionel, 303

Index

[Main references are to items except as otherwise indicated]

- Vandenberg, Arthur H., 495 [14]
 Vandergriff, Thomas, 4 n.
 Van Doren, Mark, 387
 Van Vleck, John Hasbrouck, 37 n.
 Vasquez, Capt. Francisco, 9
 Vatican City, 571
 Venezuela, Communist aggression, 453
 Vermont, Gov. Philip H. Hoff, 223 [1-4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 13], 544
 Vessels. *See* Ships
 Veterans, 485 [1], 493, 534
 Benefits, 13 (pp. 44, 46, 55), 25, 374
 Education, 25, 345, 374
 Employment, 345, 374, 432, 493
 Hospitals and medical care, 13 (p. 55), 25
 Message to Congress, 25-26
 Project Remed, 432 n.
 Project Transition, 345
 Unemployment, 345
 Vietnam conflict, 13 (p. 55), 25, 92, 161, 374
 Veterans Administration, 88, 161, 193, 345, 432 n.
 Veterans Affairs, Administrator of (William J. Driver), 25, 161, 374, 493
 Veterans Day tour of military installations, 485
 Veterans' Pension and Readjustment Assistance Act of 1967, 25, 92, 374
 Veterans' Readjustment Benefits Act of 1966, 13 (p. 55), 25, 374
 Veth, Rear Adm. Kenneth L., 567
 Veto messages and memorandums of disapproval
 Government employees' life insurance, 343
 Ship masters, liens on wages, 528
 Vice President (Hubert H. Humphrey), 3 (p. 2), 18, 20, 32, 39, 52, 68, 101, 102, 105, 112, 121, 167, 182, 216, 227, 228, 251, 255, 256, 258, 261, 268, 278, 294, 313, 315, 338, 356, 357, 373, 374, 403, 421, 439, 444, 449, 475, 487, 514, 519, 520
 Candidacy for reelection (1968), 104 [13]
 Dinner honoring, 7
 Vice President (Hubert H. Humphrey)—Continued
 News conference remarks on, 104 [6, 13], 225 [19], 264 [8], 297 [5], 460 [4], 554 [8]
 Victor, Wilma Louise, 93 n.
 Vietcong, 73, 195, 226, 309 [3], 352, 384, 409
 Casualties, 116
 Infiltration in Cambodia and Laos, 80 [4], 83, 132 [3, 4], 409, 480, 554 [1]
 Peace negotiation efforts, 132 [7], 460, 495 [4]
 Terrorism, 128-129, 131, 309 [5], 352, 375 [13], 409
 See also National Liberation Front
 Vietnam, North, 134-135, 352, 407, 460 [7], 495 [7], 565
 Aggression, 34 [2], 70 [8], 83, 104 [10], 116, 131, 136, 272, 309 [5], 409, 460 [8], 480
 Armed forces, 309 [3, 5, 7, 9], 384
 Bombing by U.S., 34 [2, 6], 50, 70 [7-8], 80 [4], 83, 100, 116, 136, 195, 312 [14, 16], 358 [1, 5, 7], 375 [1-3, 5, 6, 13, 19], 409, 411 [6], 460 [13], 491, 495 [3, 4], 518 [8], 554 [1]
 Foreign Minister Nguyen Duy Trinh, 34 [6]
 Foreign policy, 309 [7]
 Laos, infiltration, 80 [4], 83, 132 [3, 4], 409, 480, 554 [1]
 Peace negotiation efforts, response, 50, 80 [4], 104 [10], 116, 118, 131, 132 [9-10, 12], 136, 144, 195, 204 [16], 358 [5], 409, 411 [7], 460 [13], 495 [3], 518 [8], 554 [1], 564
 President Ho Chi Minh, 80 [4], 135, 136, 195, 225 [5], 281 312 [14, 16], 358 [5], 395, 409, 495 [3, 6], 534
 Vice Premier Vo Nguyen Giap, 195
 Vietnam, South, 286, 480
 AID programs, 73, 116, 235
 Appropriations and expenditures, 13 (pp. 40-41), 16 (p. 80), 43, 46, 48, 56, 328 [14, 23], 329

Index

[Main references are to items except as otherwise indicated]

Vietnam, South—Continued

- Armed Forces (ARVN), 55, 61, 73, 116, 136, 195, 302, 309 [3, 5, 6], 457, 554 [1]
- Assistance
 - Australia, 83, 246, 555, 562, 567
 - China, Republic of, 219
 - Korea, 83, 112 n., 113, 195, 246
 - Military, 83, 195, 309 [1, 2, 10], 312 [11]
 - New Zealand, 83, 246
 - Philippines, 83, 246
 - Thailand, 83, 246, 293
- Communist aggression, 3 (p. 11), 13 (p. 48), 83, 195, 219, 352, 384, 395, 397, 401, 409, 438 n., 442, 446, 460 [13], 495 [6, 14], 565
- Constituent Assembly, 129, 131, 132 [1, 2], 134, 135
- Constitution, 127-129, 131, 132 [1, 2, 4, 13], 134, 135
- Construction, 460 [11]
- Directorate, 131, 134, 135
- Economic and social development, 13 (p. 49), 44, 73, 116, 131, 134, 135, 195, 219, 352, 409, 526, 564
- Elections, 129, 132 [1], 297 [12, 15], 352, 358 [1, 2, 5], 374, 375 [13], 409, 460 [11], 495 [6], 502, 554 [1], 564
- Political situation, 129, 132 [13], 352, 358 [1], 409, 460 [11], 491, 564
- Government employees, U.S., 25
- Health programs, 235, 352, 409
- Komer, Robert, visit, 73
- Lilienthal, David, visit, 73
- Military Assistance Command, United States, Commander. *See* Westmoreland, Gen. William C.
- Missions from U.S., 526
- Population, 73
- President Nguyen Van Thieu, 127, 130, 131, 243, 297 [15], 352, 358 [5], 460 [11], 554 [1], 564
- Prime Minister Nguyen Van Loc, 564
- Prisoners, 312 fn. (p. 702)
- U.S. Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker, 309 [1], 352, 358 [2], 460 [11], 461, 490, 493, 495 [6, 13, 14], 503, 526, 567

Vietnam, South—Continued

- U.S. Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, 3 (p. 12), 70 [1], 104 [5, 14, 17], 116, 126-128, 130 n., 131, 132 [1, 4, 11, 13], 134, 225 [2]
- U.S. forces, 3 (p. 12), 9, 13 (p. 48), 14, 25, 55, 61, 83, 104 [4], 132 [8, 12], 134-136, 166, 195, 202, 204 [1, 3, 13], 226, 229, 275, 308, 309 [1-4, 6, 8, 10], 312 [10], 329, 330 [1, 3], 334, 358 [1], 361, 374, 375 [7], 384, 409, 424, 434, 446, 456, 460 [9], 475, 481, 485 [1, 3-5, 6, 8], 493, 494, 495 [1, 13], 518 [14], 544, 554 [1], 566, 567, 573
- U.S. policy, 13 (pp. 39, 48), 34 [2], 70 [11], 80 [4], 83, 104 [2, 14, 16], 116, 118, 126, 150, 162, 204 [7, 13], 219, 225 [4, 5, 11, 15, 20], 229, 270, 272, 286, 329, 352, 358 [1, 7], 361, 375 [13], 395, 407, 409, 411 [6], 421, 446, 460 [9, 13], 480, 491, 495 [14], 519, 534, 554 [1], 564
- Vice President Nguyen Cao Ky, 73, 127, 129, 131, 132 [1, 3-4, 10], 134, 135, 297 [15], 352, 358 [5], 567
- Visit, 566, 567
- Vietnam Civilian Service Awards, 352
- Vietnam conflict, 166, 195, 239, 243, 246 n., 248 n., 261, 280, 281, 283, 302, 310, 311, 329, 334, 352, 361, 384, 433 n., 434, 435, 456, 457, 462, 481, 484, 485 [3, 8], 492, 494, 514, 534, 536, 563, 568, 569
- Bombing policy, 34 [2, 6], 50, 70 [7, 8], 83, 104 [7, 10], 116, 136, 195, 358 [1, 5, 7], 375 [1-3, 5, 6, 13, 19], 409, 411 [6], 460 [13], 491, 495 [3, 4], 518 [8], 554 [1]
- Casualties, 83, 116, 132 [1], 134-136, 309 [5], 312 [10], 358 [1, 4], 409, 460 [11], 485 [4], 495 [6]
- Chinese Communist policy, 358 [7]
- Conferences. *See* Guam conference; Honolulu conference; Manila conference
- Congressional views, 132 [10], 358 [2, 10], 518 [12]
- Demilitarized zone, 225 [20], 309 [3], 554 [1]
- Demonstrations against, 225 [10], 441, 460 [7], 495 [13], 554 [8]

Index

[Main references are to items except as otherwise indicated]

Vietnam conflict—Continued

- Economic impact in U.S., 6 [12], 13 (p. 40), 16 (pp. 74, 75, 77, 87), 89, 430, 524
- Geneva accords, 34 [2], 80 [4], 83, 116, 118, 144, 145, 312 fn. (p. 702), 366, 462, 564
- Military situation, 70 [1, 3, 8, 10], 116, 132 [1-2, 4], 134, 195, 204 [3, 16], 225 [20], 261, 264 [5], 309 [1, 3, 5], 329, 358 [1, 6], 409, 460 [8], 495 [6], 564
- News conference remarks, 70 [1, 3], 80 [4], 104 [2, 4, 7, 10], 225 [11], 297 [9], 309 [1, 7], 328 [4, 9], 330 [1, 2], 358 [1], 375 [1-3, 19], 460 [7, 8], 495 [10], 518 [14], 554 [4]
- Pacification programs, 73, 132 [6, 8, 12], 135, 225 [2], 375 [13], 564
- Peace negotiation efforts, 34 [2, 6], 42, 50, 70 [9], 80 [4], 100, 104 [4, 7, 10], 116, 118, 131, 132 [7, 9, 10, 12], 135-136, 144-145, 195, 204 [16], 229, 272, 279 fn. (p. 673), 312 [16], 358 [5], 374, 407, 409, 411 [5-7], 442, 460 [11, 13], 495 [3, 11, 14], 518 [8], 534, 554 [1], 564, 571-573
- Pope Paul VI, peace efforts, 42, 135, 411 [5], 571, 573
- Prisoners, 312 [7], 572, 573
- Public opinion, 132 [10], 204 [10, 11, 13, 14, 16], 211, 225 [15], 328 [3, 11], 407, 409, 495 [7]
- San Antonio address, 409, 411 [6], 460 [13], 554 [1]
- Soviet policy, 104 [8], 204 [12], 264 [5], 554 [2]
- U Thant's peace efforts, 411 [5], 488
- United Nations role, 100, 132 [9], 144, 204 [13], 225 [6], 312 [9], 409, 488, 495 [14], 518 [12]
- Veterans, 13 (p. 55), 25, 92, 161, 374
- Vigorito, Repr. Joseph P., 391
- Virginia, 15
 - Rail rapid transit systems, 154
 - Remarks, 423, 485 [7, 8]
- Virginia, University of, 184 n.
- Viruses, synthetic, 540, 544

Visitors, foreign leaders

- Afghanistan, Prime Minister Maiwandwal, 143-144
- Australia, Prime Minister Holt, 246, 248
- Brazil, President-elect Costa e Silva, 17
- Cameroon, President Ahidjo, 444
- China, Republic of, Vice President Yen, 212, 213, 219
- Denmark, Prime Minister Krag, 278
- Ethiopia, Emperor Haile Selassie, 51-52
- Germany, West
 - Chancellor Kiesinger, 312 [2], 347-349, 351
 - Former Chancellor Erhard, 306
 - Vice Chancellor Brandt, 347-349, 351
- Ghana, Lt. Gen. Ankrah, 426
- Iceland, President Asgeirsson, 313
- Iran, Shah Pahlavi, 363, 364, 366
- Italy
 - Foreign Minister Fanfani, 278
 - President Saragat, 389-391
 - Prime Minister Moro, 278
- Ivory Coast, President Houphouet-Boigny, 356
- Japan, Prime Minister Sato, 486, 487, 492
- Korea, Prime Minister Chung, 111-113
- Laos
 - Crown Prince Vong Savang, 480
 - Prime Minister Souvanna Phouma, 438, 439
- Malawi, President Banda, 256
- Mexico, President Diaz Ordaz, 447-449, 451, 452
- Morocco, King Hassan II, 43, 46
- Nepal, King Mahendra, 459, 461, 462
- Niger, President Diori, 400, 403
- Singapore, Prime Minister Lee, 433-435
- Soviet Union, Premier Kosygin, 279, 280, 282, 283
- Thailand, King Bhumibol Adulyadej and Queen Sirikit, 289, 290, 293
- Turkey, President Sunay, 155, 158, 162
- United Kingdom
 - Foreign Secretary Brown, 278, 404
 - Prime Minister Wilson, 249, 250
- Vietnam, Chief of State Thieu and Prime Minister Ky, 127, 129-131

Index

[Main references are to items except as otherwise indicated]

- Visits to foreign countries
 Australia, 561
 Canada, 237-239
 Germany, 191
 Italy, 570-572
 Mexico, 453
 Pakistan, 569
 Thailand, 565
 Uruguay, 171, 173, 175-177
 Vietnam, 566, 567
VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America),
 114, 266, 275, 277
Visual Arts, Center for Advanced Study in
 the, 470
Vocational education. *See* Occupational
 training
Vocational Education Act of 1917 (Smith-
 Hughes Act), 67, 193
Vocational Education Act of 1963, 67, 77,
 193
Vocational guidance, 77
Vocational Rehabilitation Act Amend-
 ments of 1967, 413
Volker, Dr. Joseph F., 500
Vollmer, Clarence E., 485 [6]
Volpe, Gov. John A., 222 n., 223 [3, 4]
Volunteers to America, 365
Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA),
 114, 266, 275, 277
Von Braun, Wernher, 533
Vong Savang, Crown Prince (Laos), 480
Vo Nguyen Giap (Vice Premier of North
 Vietnam), 195
Von Hase, Karl Guenther, 264 [18]
Vorenberg, James, 146
Voting Rights Act of 1965, 55, 216
Voting rights and participation, 55, 81, 201,
 332
Voyager spacecraft, 13 (p. 50)
Vu Quoc Thuc, 131

WAAC (Women's Army Auxiliary Corps),
 475
Waddy, Joseph C., 81
Wages and pay, 329, 420, 554 [13]
 Controls, 13 (p. 40), 518 [9]
 Garnishment, 114
 Wages and pay—Continued
 Government employees, 6 [13], 13 (pp.
 43, 46-47), 16 (p. 78), 121, 140, 163,
 329, 330 [1], 343, 417 [1], 420, 546
 Increase, 3 (p. 7), 16 (p. 74), 270, 524,
 534
 Military, 13 (pp. 42, 46-47), 16 (p. 78),
 25, 92, 140, 163, 329, 330 [1], 343, 546
 Minimum. *See* Minimum wage
 Police, 27, 382, 482, 575
 Railroads, 188
 Ship masters, 528
 Teachers, 493
 Wage-price policy, 16 (pp. 78, 79), 518
 [9], 524
Waller, John Keith, 1, 246
Waller, Mrs. John Keith, 246
Walt, Lt. Gen. Lewis W., 225 [11], 264
 ftn. (p. 613)
War of 1812, 495 [11]
War on Hunger, Office of (AID), 44
War Labor Board, 310
War on Poverty, Conference on Women in
 the, 211
Warning System, National Disaster, 31 n.
Warrants, arrest, 71
Warren, Earl. *See* Chief Justice of the United
 States
Warren, Mrs. Earl, 7 n., 387
Warren Commission (Commission to Re-
 port Upon the Assassination of Presi-
 dent John F. Kennedy), 80 [5]
Wartburg College, Waverly, Iowa, 306
Washakie Wilderness, Wyo., 418
Washington, D.C. *See* District of Columbia
Washington, George, 43 n., 200, 465, 502,
 549
Washington, Walter E., 377, 411 [1], 466,
 544, 575
 Swearing in as Commissioner, District of
 Columbia, 406
Washington, Mrs. Walter E., 406
Washington Clearing House Association,
 27
Washington Metropolitan Area Transit
 Authority, 15, 154
Washington Post, 466

Index

[Main references are to items except as otherwise indicated]

- Washington State International Trade Fair, 231 n.
- Wasserman, Lew, 281
- Waste disposal facilities, 16 (p. 85), 114, 458
- Watch import tariffs, 16 (p. 79)
- Water Commission, National, proposed, 13 (p. 51)
- Water Commission, United States and Mexico, International Boundary and, 47, 303, 408 [2, 8], 451, 454 n.
- Water Conservation Fund, Land and, 13 (p. 51), 20, 553
- Water desalination, 230
- Appropriations, 284
- Atomic energy use, 13 (p. 51), 227
- California, 227
- Research, 284
- Rio Grande, 47
- United States and Mexico, 448
- Water District of Southern California, Metropolitan, 13 (p. 51), 284
- Water for Peace, International Conference on, 230
- Water for Peace Office, 230
- Water Pollution Control Administration, Federal, 13 (pp. 51, 57), 240
- Water Quality Act of 1965, 13 (p. 51), 20
- Water resources, 13 (p. 51), 230
- Coastal, oil pollution, 240
- Desalination. *See* Water desalination
- Development, 13 (p. 51), 20, 227, 230, 458
- Management, 230
- Pollution, 3 (p. 2), 13 (p. 51), 16 (p. 85), 20, 101, 222, 233 [6], 240, 295, 300, 329, 503, 534
- Research, 284
- Shortages, 227
- Urban, 16 (p. 84), 230
- User charges, 16 (p. 86)
- Waste disposal facilities, 16 (p. 85), 114, 458
- Water Resources Council, 20
- Waterfowl refuges, 547
- Waterman, Alan T., death, 513
- Watson, Bernard, 396 n.
- Watts area, Los Angeles, 55
- WAVES (Women's Reserve, USNR), 475
- Ways and Means, House Committee on, 6
- [19], 330 [1, 4], 358 [3], 371, 411 [10], 417 [1, 8, 10], 460 [4], 518 [6], 554 [13]
- Weapons, 442
- Arms control and disarmament, 3 (p. 11), 38, 59, 80 [2, 5, 7], 162, 167, 281, 283, 328 [24], 491
- Firearms control, 3 (p. 7), 35, 71, 326, 353, 382, 385, 468, 482, 560, 575
- Missiles, 13 (p. 48), 328 [25]
- Nuclear. *See* Nuclear weapons
- Weather Bureau, 31 n.
- Weather prediction and control, 13 (p. 52), 31 n., 101
- International cooperation, 157
- Report, 314
- Satellites, 121, 533
- Weather Watch, World, 13 (p. 52), 157
- Weaver, Robert C. *See* Housing and Urban Development, Secretary of
- Webb, James E. (National Aeronautics and Space Administrator), 77, 425, 504, 533
- Weeds, Lt. Gen. Richard G., 485 [7]
- Weirton, W. Va., 20
- Weisl, Edwin L., Jr., 411 [2]
- Weisl, Edwin L., Sr., 251, 411 [2]
- Welch, Louie, 87 n.
- Welfare. *See* Public assistance
- Welfare and pension plan protection bill, 57
- Wellington, Duke of, 216
- Wells, H. G., 236
- Wentzel, Mrs. Volkmar, 349
- Werts, Leo R., 458 n.
- West Point, 495 [14]
- West Virginia, Gov. Hulett C. Smith, 514, 552 n., 558
- Western Hemisphere, 357, 395, 448, 451
- Westmoreland, Mrs. James R., 309 [1]
- Westmoreland, Margaret, 494
- Westmoreland, Gen. William C. (Commander, United States Military Assistance Command, Vietnam), 3 (p. 12), 14, 25, 73, 116, 134, 135, 196, 308, 309, 329, 490, 494, 503, 526, 566, 567
- Birthday greetings, 141
- Distinguished Service Medal, 567

Index

[Main references are to items except as otherwise indicated]

- Westmoreland, Gen. William C.—Con.
 Luncheon honoring, 189, 195
 News conference remarks, 104 [5, 14, 17, 19], 132 [1, 2, 4, 8], 204 [1, 3, 11], 225 [2], 312 [11], 358 [6], 485 [1, 6], 495 [1, 6, 13, 14], 518 [14], 554 [1]
 Westmoreland, Mrs. William C., 309 [1], 494
 Wheat, 13 (p. 50), 63
 Exports, 476
 India, shipments to, 375 [21, 22, 23]
 Prices, 476
 Production, 448, 449, 452, 453
 Research, 449 n.
 Wheat Agreement, International, 476
 Wheeler, Gen. Earle G. (Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff), 134, 204 [1], 255, 278, 309, 324, 358 [6], 493, 518 [4]
 Wheller, John H., 252 n.
 White, Alvin S., 431
 White, Lt. Col. Edward H., 2d, death, 19, 38
 White, Lee C. (Chairman, Federal Power Commission), 186, 288
 White, John, 130 n.
 White, William Allen, 193
 White House, savings bond award, 315 n.
 White House Conference on International Cooperation, 157
 White House Fellows, 201, 266
 White House releases, list, Appendix A, p. 1197
 Whitehead, Alfred North, 268
 Whitlam, Edward G., 267
 Whitman, Walt, 387, 426
 Whitton, Rex M., 6 [3]
 Wholesale prices, 16 (pp. 75, 78, 88)
 Wholesome Meat Act of 1967, 342, 393, 520, 534, 539, 541
 Wholesome meat bill, 57
 Wichita, Kans., Mayor Clarence E. Vollmer, 485 [6]
 Widows, benefits for, 12
 Wiener, Leon, 252 n.
 Wilbur, Dr. Dwight L., 500
 Wilderness Act, 29, 96, 418
 Wilderness preservation, 295, 418
 Wilderness Preservation System, National, 20, 29, 96
 Wilkins, Roger W., 328 [19]
 Wilkins, Roy, 326
 Willamette National Forest, Oreg., 418
 Williams, Dick, 429
 Williams, Sen. John J., 6 [17]
 Williams, Dr. Marjorie, 93 n.
 Williams, Roger, 365
 Williams College, Mass., 290
 Williamsburg, Va., 423
 Wilson, Mrs. Fay O., 419 n.
 Wilson, Harold (Prime Minister of the United Kingdom), 518 [8, 10], 554 [5]
 Visit, 249, 250
 Wilson, Mrs. Harold, 249, 250
 Wilson, O. Meredith, 183 n.
 Wilson, Woodrow, 67-68, 117, 121, 193, 413, 415, 495 [11, 14]
 Windsor Locks, Conn., 222
 Wiretapping, 3 (p. 6), 35
 Wirtz, W. Willard. *See* Labor, Secretary of
 Withholding taxes, 16 (p. 76)
 Witnesses, crime, 71
 Wolfe, Thomas, 251, 270
 Woman's Award, Federal, 93
 Woman's Award Study Group, Federal, 95
 Women
 Armed Forces, 92, 475, 527
 Community service, 332
 Employment, 93, 95
 Equal opportunity, 475
 Government service, 93, 95
 Occupational training, 93
 Voting rights, 332
 Women in the War on Poverty, Conference on, 211
 Women's Army Auxiliary Corps (WAAC), 475
 Women's Reserve, USNR (WAVES), 475
 Wood, Robert C., 358 [8]
 Woodbury, Coleman, 4 n.
 Woodford, L. E., 420 n.
 Woodrow Wilson Center for Scholars, 71
 Woodrow Wilson Memorial Commission, 71
 Woods, George D., 511, 517
 Wool, 223 [3]
 Woolnough, Gen. J. K., 485 [7]
 Work-experience program, 55, 199

Index

[Main references are to items except as otherwise indicated]

- Work release programs, prisoners, 146
 Work-study programs, 13 (p. 55), 39, 77, 378
 Work-training programs, 13 (p. 54), 55, 114, 119
 Workers Defense League, 484
 Workweek, 270
 World Affairs Council, 246 n.
 World Bank. *See* International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
 World Crisis in Education, International Conference on the, 423
 World Food Panel report, foreword, 271
 World Health Organization, 214 n., 215
 World Meteorological Organization, 157
 World Series, telegrams, 429
 World Trade Week, 231
 World War I, 315, 438 n., 495 [11], 554 [6]
 World War II, 51-52, 13 (p. 40), 111, 315, 361, 397, 409, 423, 430, 437, 438 n., 460, [6], 475, 485 [8], 554 [6, 7]
 World war III, 225 [8], 534, 567
 World Weather Watch, 13 (p. 52), 157
 Wright, Maj. Gen. John MacNair, Jr., 485 [1]
 Wright, Bishop Milton, 533
 Wright, Sewall, 37 n.
 Wright brothers (Wilbur and Orville), 431, 533
 Wyoming, 418

 XB-70 supersonic aircraft, 431 n.
 Ximenes, Vicente T., 258, 259, 452

 Yankee Station, Vietnam, 493
 Yarborough, Sen. Ralph, 30, 374, 408 [1, 5, 8], 452, 493
 Yarborough, Richard W., 518 [3]
 Yeldell, Joseph, 406, 466 n.
 "Yellow peril," 446
 Yen, C. K. (Vice President of the Republic of China), visit, 212, 213, 219, 416 n.
 Yen, Mrs. C. K., 212, 213
 Yerby, Dr. Alonzo S., 500
 Yorktown Coast Guard Station, Va., 485 [8], 493

 Yorty, Samuel W., 227
 Yoshida, Shigeru, death, 437
 Young, Repr. John, 408 [1]
 Young, Sen. Milton R., 85 n.
 Young, Robert C., 132 [8]
 Young, Sen. Stephen M., 256
 Young, Whitney, 87 n., 252 n.
 Young American Medals, 275
 Youth
 Comments on, 286, 323, 446, 529, 554 [7]
 Conservation activities, 114
 Crime, 382
 Delinquency, 3 (p. 7), 15, 27, 35, 39, 71, 276, 353, 560
 Education, 114, 277
 Employment, 39, 114, 199, 203, 277
 Government employment, 41, 121, 148
 Health, 39, 160
 Message to Congress, 39-40
 Occupational training, 193, 484
 Unemployment, 55, 199, 328 [19]
 Youth Administration, National, 211, 258
 Youth Authority, California, 35
 Youth Corps, Neighborhood, 3 (p. 3), 13 (p. 54), 16 (p. 75), 39, 55, 77, 81, 97, 114, 199, 211, 277, 291, 408 [4]
 Youth Leaders and Social Workers, Council of International Programs for, 365
 Youth Opportunity Campaign, 39
 Youth Services Office, District, 71
 Yugoslavia, 245
 Foreign Secretary Marko Nikezic, 375 [17]
 President Josip Broz Tito, 328 [13], 375 fn. (p. 821)

 Zahir, King Mohammed (Afghanistan), 143-145
 Zenith Radio Corp., 231 n.
 Zimmerman, Charles, 484
 ZIP Code, 163
 Zoning, Taxation and Development Standards, Commission on Codes, 4, 16 (p. 84)
 Zoological Park, National, 265
 Zworykin, Vladimir Kosma, 37 n.



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